Notes

NOTES

Introduction

1. "Прелюбодеяние есть не только любимая, но и единственная тема всех романов." From chapter 9 of *What Is Art?* (*Что такое искусство?*), in Lev Nikolaevich Tolstoy, *Polnoe sobranie sochinenii* (*PSS*), 90 vols. (Moscow: Gosudarstvennoe izdatel'stvo khudzhestvennoi literatury, 1928–58), 30:88. Further references are to this edition (*PSS*) and will be given by volume and page number in the text.

2. Herbert Lottman, *Flaubert: A Biography* (London: Methuen, 1989), 137. In addition to Flaubert, the editors of the journal *Revue de Paris* were also the targets of the lawsuit, but all parties were acquitted on February 7, 1857.

3. In a book chapter titled "The Miserable Marriages in *Middlemarch, Anna Karenina,* and *Effi Briest*," Barbara Hardy attributes England's lack of an adultery novel to "the cultural difference, which inhibited the representation of adultery in English Victorian fiction, as both Thackeray and Henry James complained." She concludes, "An English novel's heroine as sympathetic as Edith Newcome or Dorothea . . . could not be led or driven to adultery, but she could be in Russian and German novels." In *George Eliot and Europe*, ed. John Rignall (Brookfield, Vt.: Scolar Press, 1997), 69.

4. George Eliot, *Middlemarch* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1997), 195–96. Further references to *Middlemarch* are to this edition and appear in the text.

5. I have the anonymous Reader 3 for Northwestern University Press to thank for this wonderful phrase.

6. August Šenoa, *The Goldsmith's Treasure*, trans. Neven Divjakinja (Zagreb: Spiritoso, 2015.)

7. Georg Lukács, *Theory of the Novel: A Historico-Philosophical Essay on the Forms of Great Epic Literature*, trans. Anna Bostock (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1971), 41. Lukács's omission of Sienkiewicz, the internationally recognized master of the novelistic epic, is particularly surprising.

8. One study that is contemporary to Tanner's but was far less favorably received is Judith Armstrong's *The Novel of Adultery* (London: Macmillan, 1976). The two more recent ones I have in mind are Bill Overton's *The Novel of Female Adultery: Love and Gender in Continental European Fiction, 1830–1890* (Basingstoke: Macmillan, 1996) and Maria Rippon's *Judgment and Justification in the Nineteenth-Century Novel of Adultery* (Westport, Conn.: Greenwood Press, 2002). The former contains useful sociological information

regarding the Woman Question (the effect of declining birthrates, for example), but the latter discusses Russia with the language of backwardness that appears out of place in contemporary academic discourse, relies on English translations of its non-English-language novels, and even gets part of Tolstoy's name wrong in the bibliography, listing Ilich instead of Nikolaevich as his patronymic.

9. Tony Tanner, *Adultery in the Novel: Contract and Transgression* (Baltimore, Md.: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1979), 12.

10. See Naomi Ritter's review in *Comparative Literature Studies* 19 (1982): 390–93.

11. Tanner, *Adultery in the Novel*, 13.

12. Tanner, *Adultery in the Novel*, 221.

13. Tanner, *Adultery in the Novel*, 12.

14. Benedict Anderson, *Imagined Communities: Reflections on the Origin and Spread of Nationalism* (London: Verso, 1983), 5.

15. Ernest Gellner, "The Coming of Nationalism and Its Interpretation: The Myths of Nation and Class," in *Mapping the Nation*, ed. Gopal Balakrishnan (London: Verso, 1996), 127; emphasis Gellner's.

16. Eric Hobsbawm, "Mass-Producing Traditions: Europe, 1870–1914," in *The Invention of Tradition*, ed. Eric Hobsbawm and Terence Ranger (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1992), 264–65.

17. Hannah Arendt, *Origins of Totalitarianism* (New York: Harcourt, Brace & World, 1966), 163.

18. Friedrich von Schiller, *Letters on the Aesthetic Education of Man*, in *Critical Theory since Plato*, rev. ed., ed. Hazard Adams (Fort Worth, Tex.: Harcourt Brace Jovanovich College Publishers, 1992), 422 (note 5).

19. Hobsbawm, "Mass-Producing Traditions," 268.

20. Arendt, *Origins of Totalitarianism*, 169.

21. Tanner, *Adultery in the Novel*, 235. Regarding the enormity of Flaubert's influence and his novel's generative potential, of note is Priscilla Meyer's article "*Anna Karenina*: Tolstoy's Polemic with *Madame Bovary*," *Russian Review* 54 (1995): 243–59.

22. Gustave Flaubert, *Madame Bovary* (Paris: Gallimard, 1972), 376.

23. Arendt, *Origins of Totalitarianism*, 162. She notes how Boulainvilliers's division of the French nation into the Germanic Franks and the subjugated Gauls indicates that, "paradoxical as it sounds, the fact is that Frenchmen were to insist earlier than Germans or Englishmen on this *idée fixe* of German superiority" (164–65).

24. Arendt, *Origins of Totalitarianism*, 165.

25. Hobsbawm, "Mass-Producing Traditions," 278.

26. A former student of mine, Mary Lingwall, wrote an excellent paper in which she argued that precisely because of the critique of the middle class and its desire for wealth accumulation in *Madame Bovary*, Tolstoy's novella *The Death of Ivan Ilyich*—whose protagonist dies of an injury sustained from a fall during the hanging of curtains in his brand-new house—makes a better companion to Flaubert's novel than *Anna Karenina*.

27. George Eliot, *Impressions of Theophrastus Such*, ed. Nancy Henry (Iowa City: University of Iowa Press, 1994), 160.

28. Anderson, *Imagined Communities*, 5.

29. Gellner, "The Coming of Nationalism and Its Interpretation," 110.

30. Too many books to enumerate have been written on this topic, particularly on the Indo-British relationship, which has perhaps more than any other been cast in terms of rape. I would just like to mention my favorite study on the topic, Jenny Sharpe's *Allegories of Empire: The Figure of Woman in the Colonial Text* (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1993).

31. Maria Todorova, *Imagining the Balkans* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1997), 16.

32. Todorova, *Imagining the Balkans*, 17.

33. Todorova, *Imagining the Balkans*, 16.

34. Larry Wolff, *Inventing Eastern Europe: The Map of Civilization on the Mind of the Enlightenment* (Stanford, Calif.: Stanford University Press, 1994), 7, 22.

35. Tanner, *Adultery in the Novel*, 12: "*Adulteration* implies pollution, contamination, a 'base admixture,' a wrong combination."

36. Todorova, *Imagining the Balkans*, 17.

37. Andrzej Walicki, *Philosophy and Romantic Nationalism: The Case of Poland* (New York: Clarendon, 1982), 5.

38. I use George Rapall Noyes's 1917 translation: *Pan Tadeusz or the Last Foray in Lithuania: A Story of Life among Polish Gentlefolk in the Years 1811 and 1812* (New York: Mondial, 2009), 9. His and Jewell Parish's translation of the title of Mickiewicz's other, shorter poem—"Do Matki Polki"—I think misses the point with "To a Polish Mother."

39. Ojdana Koharević, "Nakon 60 godina otkrivena tajna smrti autora pjesme 'Rajska djevo, kraljice Hrvata,'" *Slobodna Dalmacija*, May 15, 2010, accessed Dec. 10, 2013, http://www.slobodnadalmacija.hr/Split-županija/tabid/76/articleType/ArticleView/articleId/ 102669/Default.aspx. The original version of the song begins with "Zdravo" (Hello), instead of "Rajska," but this greeting carries Yugo-Communist connotations and was therefore changed.

40. Regarding the idea of "Mother England," I want to point out Cannon Schmitt's study *Alien Nation: Nineteenth-Century Gothic Fictions and English Nationality* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1997), which performs a theoretical twist similar to mine when reading novels of adultery as symptomatic of national anxieties. Schmitt takes the English gothic, which has frequently been read as confronting repressed female sexuality, and reads it as "a nationalist narrative in miniature" (11).

41. Quoted in Gordon A. Craig, *Theodor Fontane: Literature and History in the Bismarck Reich* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1999), 108.

42. Walicki, *Philosophy and Romantic Nationalism*, 2; emphases mine.

43. This discussion occurred on September 4, 2008, and can be accessed by the listserv subscribers in the SEELANGS Archive: https://listserv.ua.edu/cgi-bin/wa?S2=SEELANGS&m=32387&I=-3&L=SEELANGS&X-=6594E170409737D6A2&a=august+2008&b=october+2008&d=No+-Match%3BMatch%3BMatches&q=russia+she+or+it

44. Hobsbawm, "Mass-Producing Traditions," 272.

45. Hobsbawm, "Mass-Producing Traditions," 276.

46. Tolstoy makes a strong point of this when he describes how a real painter feels about Vronsky's work, even employing the word *смешно* (ridiculous), while simultaneously taking the opportunity to draw an analogy to Anna and Vronsky's

inauthentic relationship: "Он знал, что нельзя запретить Вронскому баловать живописью; он знал, что он и все дилетанты имели полное право писать что им угодно, но ему было неприятно. Нельзя запретить человеку сделать себе большую куклу из воска и целовать ее. Но если б этот человек с куклой пришел и сел пред влюбленным и принялся бы ласкать свою куклу, как влюбленный ласкает ту которую он любит, то влюбленному было бы неприятно. Такое же неприятно чувство испытывал Михайлов при виде живописи Вронского; ему было и смешно, и досадно, и жалко, и оскорбительно" (He knew he could not forbid Vronsky to toy with painting; he knew that he and all the dilettantes had a perfect right to paint what they pleased, but he found it unpleasant. One cannot forbid a man to make himself a big wax doll and kiss it. But if this man with the doll were to come and sit before a man in love and begin caressing his doll the way the man in love caressed the one he loved, the man in love would find it unpleasant. Mikhailov experienced the very same unpleasant feeling at the sight of Vronsky's painting; he found it ridiculous, and annoying, and pathetic, and offensive) (*PSS* 19:47).

47. To demonstrate just how far this idea can be taken in places like contemporary Texas, consider the following report by *New York Times* columnist Gail Collins: "There are a couple of conservative-versus-crazy Republican school board primaries, and the results may influence a pending war over requiring social studies students to learn how Moses impacted the founding fathers." February 21, 2014, http://www.nytimes.com/2014/02/22/opinion/collins-texas-strikes-again.html?hp&rref=opinion&_r=1.

48. William E. Gerard Winstanley, "The True Levellers' Standard" (1649), quoted in Laura Doyle, "'A' for Atlantic: The Colonizing Force of Hawthorne's *The Scarlet Letter*," *American Literature* 79 (2007): 250.

49. Conrad Cherry, ed., *God's New Israel: Religious Interpretations of American Destiny* (Englewood Cliffs, N.J.: Prentice Hall, 1971), 65.

50. Eliot, *Impressions*, 150.

51. Eliot, *Impressions*, 150.

52. Milica Bakić-Hayden, "Nesting Orientalisms: The Case of Former Yugoslavia," *Slavic Review* 54 (1995): 918.

53. Julia Kristeva, *Strangers to Ourselves*, in *The Portable Kristeva*, ed. Kelly Oliver (New York: Columbia University Press, 2002), 282. A similar gradation can be depicted in the United States as well. While the North may collectively look down on the South, in the South residents of Georgia tell incest jokes about their neighbors from Alabama, while these in turn reply that if it were not for Alabama, Georgia would have to suffer the indignity of being neighbors with Mississippi.

54. Wolff, *Inventing Eastern Europe*, 15.

55. Quoted in Catherine Brown's "Why Does Daniel Deronda's Mother Live in Russia?," *George Eliot-George Henry Lewes Studies* 58–59 (2010): 28.

Chapter 1

1. Deborah Nord has a chapter on George Eliot in her book, *Gypsies and the British Imagination, 1807–1930* (New York: Columbia University Press, 2006); quote on 107.

2. My information on the two Reform Bills comes from Clayton Roberts, David Roberts, and Douglas R. Bisson, *A History of England,* vol. 2: *1688 to the Present* (Upper Saddle River, N.J.: Prentice Hall, 2002), 572–615.

3. Some of the publications on colonialism and the role of Germany in Eliot's fiction will be referred to throughout the chapter. The monograph on Italy is Andrew Thompson, *George Eliot and Italy: Literary, Cultural and Political Influences from Dante to the Risorgimento* (New York: St. Martin's Press, 1998).

4. Karen Chase, Introduction to *Middlemarch in the Twenty-First Century*, ed. Karen Chase (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2006), 3.

5. See, e.g., Gillian Beer, "'Middlemarch' and 'The Woman Question,'" in *Middlemarch, George Eliot*, ed. John Peck (Basingstoke: Macmillan, 1992), 155–81; and Kathleen Blake, "*Middlemarch* and the Woman Question," *Nineteenth-Century Fiction* 31 (1976): 285–312.

6. To name only two of the many articles that engage this angle of the novel, see Lilian R. Furst, "Struggling for Reform in *Middlemarch*," *Nineteenth-Century Literature* 48 (1993): 341–61; and Mark Wormald, "Microscopy and Semiotic in *Middlemarch,*" *Nineteenth-Century Literature* 50 (1996): 501–24.

7. See George Levine, *Darwin and the Novelists: Patterns of Science in Victorian Fiction* (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1988); and Gillian Beer, *Darwin's Plots: Evolutionary Narrative in Darwin, George Eliot, and Nineteenth-Century Fiction* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2000).

8. Edward Said, *Orientalism* (New York: Vintage Books, 1979), 12.

9. Wolff, *Inventing Eastern Europe*, 4.

10. Said, *Orientalism*, 18–19; *Middlemarch*, 207.

11. Wolff, *Inventing Eastern Europe*, 359.

12. Wolff, *Inventing Eastern Europe*, 331.

13. Gordon S. Haight, ed., *The George Eliot Letters*, 9 vols. (New Haven, Conn.: Yale University Press, 1954–78), 5:441.

14. Henry James, review of *Middlemarch*, by George Eliot, *Galaxy* 15 (March 1873): 424–28. James's review can currently be found in *George Eliot: Critical Assessments,* vol. 1: *Biography, Nineteenth-Century Reviews and Responses*, ed. Stuart Hutchinson (East Sussex, U.K.: Helm Information, 1996).

15. Jerome Beaty's article on this topic is "The Forgotten Past of Will Ladislaw," *Nineteenth-Century Fiction* 13 (1958): 159–63.

16. Nord, *Gypsies and the British Imagination*, 105.

17. From one of the rare essays that defend Will Ladislaw, especially against doubts pertaining to his masculinity, Gordon S. Haight's "George Eliot's 'Eminent Failure,' Will Ladislaw," in *This Particular Web*, ed. Ian Adam (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1975), 24.

18. David Malcolm, "What Is a Pole Doing in *Middlemarch*?," *George Eliot Fellowship Review* 17 (1986): 66.

19. See Peter Brock, "Polish Democrats and English Radicals, 1832–1862: A Chapter in the History of Anglo-Polish Relations," *Journal of Modern History* 25 (1953): 139–56.

20. For more on Russia's suppression of the uprising, consult Nicholas Riasanovsky and Mark Steinberg's *A History of Russia*, 7th ed. (New York: Oxford University Press, 2005).

21. Andrew Halliday, "Beggars," in Henry Mayhew, *London Labour and the London Poor; A Cyclopaedia of the Condition and Earnings of Those That "Will" Work, Those That "Cannot" Work, and Those That "Will Not" Work: Those That Will Not Work, Comprising Prostitutes, Thieves, Swindlers, Beggars* (London: Griffin, Bohn, and Co., 1862), 419. Mayhew's series of articles, published in the *Morning Chronicle* in the 1840s, was compiled into a three-volume book in 1851; the supplementary fourth volume appeared in 1862. My use of "Polish fever" and "fair sex" is borrowed from Halliday.

22. Mayhew, *London Labour and the Poor*, 420–21.

23. Mayhew, *London Labour and the Poor*, 421.

24. Mayhew, *London Labour and the Poor*, 423.

25. George Eliot, *Scenes of Clerical Life*, ed. Graham Handley (Ware, U.K.: Wordsworth Editions, 2007), 33. Further references are to this edition and appear in the text.

26. Haight, "George Eliot's 'Eminent Failure,'" 37.

27. David L. Smith, "Will Ladislaw's Polish Ancestry," *Polish Anglo-Saxon Studies* 3–4 (1992): 57.

28. Haight, *The George Eliot Letters*, 4:102.

29. Haight, *The George Eliot Letters*, 4:117.

30. Haight, *The George Eliot Letters*, 5:89.

31. Smith, "Will Ladislaw's Polish Ancestry," 61.

32. This information comes from John F. Kutolowski's "Mid-Victorian Public Opinion, Polish Propaganda, and the Uprising of 1863," *Journal of British Studies* 8 (1969): 86–110. Kutolowski does not discuss *Middlemarch* or suggest that Count Ladislas Zamoyski could have served as a model for Will Ladislaw; that inference is my own.

33. Brock, "Polish Democrats and English Radicals," 146.

34. Information on the rulers and their accomplishments is from Anita J. Prażmowska's *A History of Poland* (Houndmills, U.K.: Palgrave Macmillan, 2004).

35. Haight, "George Eliot's 'Eminent Failure,'" 37.

36. Nancy Henry, *George Eliot and the British Empire* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2002), 73. Rosemarie Bodenheimer's book is *The Real Life of Marian Evans: George Eliot, Her Letters, and Her Fiction* (Ithaca, N.Y.: Cornell University Press, 1994).

37. Henry, *George Eliot and the British Empire*, 4.

38. Haight, *The George Eliot Letters*, 4:117.

39. George Eliot, "A Word for the Germans," in *Selected Critical Writings*, ed. Rosemary Ashton (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1992), 335.

40. Rosemary Ashton, *The German Idea: Four English Writers and the Reception of German Thought, 1800–1860* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1980), 153.

41. Ashton, *The German Idea*, 148. Eliot's second major publication was also a translation of a German work, Ludwig Feuerbach's *The Essence of Christianity* (1841), which came out in 1854.

42. Eliot, "A Word for the Germans," 334–35.

43. Eliot, "A Word for the Germans," 333.

44. Malcolm, "What Is a Pole Doing in Middlemarch?," 66–67.

45. Ashton, Introduction to *Selected Critical Writings*, xxv.

46. Beer, *Darwin's Plots*, 239.

47. Beer, *Darwin's Plots*, 140.

48. Eliot, *Middlemarch*, 3; Beer, *Darwin's Plots*, 139.

49. Herbert Spencer, *The Principles of Biology*, vol. 1 (New York: D. Appleton and Co., 1904), 541.

50. Spencer, *The Principles of Biology*, 456. To be fair to Spencer, although this hardly diminishes the impact of racial measurements in the nineteenth century, he relates jaw size to nutritional habits and goes on to write in the same footnote that "the Australian and Negro jaws are thus strongly contrasted, not with all British jaws, but only with the jaws of the civilized British." Also, in a much later work, *Factors of Organic Evolution* (1886), he denounced the jaw/brain correlation.

51. These come from Wolff's *Inventing Eastern Europe*; see p. 307 for Hegel, p. 315 for Herder, and p. 334 for Fichte.

52. Wolff, *Inventing Eastern Europe*, 342–43. Wolff claims that the attribution of the pamphlet's authorship to Frederick the Great is erroneous, but I would add that it points to how well known Prussian hostility to Poland was at the time.

53. Wolff, *Inventing Eastern Europe*, 333.

54. Nancy L. Paxton, *George Eliot and Herbert Spencer: Feminism, Evolutionism, and the Reconstruction of Gender* (Princeton, N.J.: Princeton University Press, 1991), 180.

55. Paxton, *George Eliot and Herbert Spencer*, 176.

56. For a history of the novel's compilation, see Jerome Beaty, *Middlemarch: From Notebook to Novel* (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1960). To be precise, Lydgate appears in *Middlemarch* prior to chapter 15, in chapters 11–13, but chapter 15 is one where the narrator "make[s] the new settler Lydgate better known" (132), and Eliot devotes the entirety of the chapter to his life story.

57. Anonymous, review of *Middlemarch*, by George Eliot, *Saturday Review* 34 (December 7, 1872): 733–74.

58. According to Paul Robert Magocsi, *Historical Atlas of East Central Europe* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1993), 219,000 Jews lived in Warsaw by 1900, making up one-third (32.5 percent) of the city's population.

59. See Robert A. Greenberg, "The Heritage of Will Ladislaw," *Nineteenth-Century Fiction* 15 (1961): 355–58; and Thomas Pinney, "Another Note on the Forgotten Past of Will Ladislaw," *Nineteenth-Century Fiction* 17 (1962): 69–73.

60. Pinney, "Another Note," 71.

61. Eliot, *Daniel Deronda*, ed. Terence Cave (London: Penguin Books, 1995), 241. Further references are to this edition and appear in the text.

62. In chapter 22 Klesmer is described as "not yet a Liszt" (238) and compared to Mendelssohn (240). Franz Liszt as the main inspiration for Eliot's fashioning of Herr Klesmer has been well documented, especially in Gerlinde Röder-Bolton's book, *George Eliot in Germany, 1854–55: "Cherished Memories"* (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2006); see chapter 4, "Franz Liszt and His Circle."

63. See Pinney's "Another Note" for a review of these. Bernard Semmel might have been influenced by these arguments as well when he proposed the young

Benjamin Disraeli as a possible model for Ladislaw in his work, *George Eliot and the Politics of National Inheritance* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1994), 98.

64. James, review of *Middlemarch*, 426.

65. Röder-Bolton, *George Eliot in Germany*, 4.

66. It is important to keep in mind here that Liszt, being Hungarian and therefore Eastern European, was not, however, Slavic. The two categories are frequently conflated because the majority of Eastern Europe is Slavic. There are several exceptions, however: Hungary, Romania, Albania, and the Baltic States (Estonia, Latvia, Lithuania) have geographically and politically been considered Eastern European, but they are ethnically not Slavic.

67. The essay, published in June 1855, following Eliot's first trip to Germany, ends with her recollection of "Wagner operas presided over by Liszt." *Fraser's Magazine for Town and Country* 51 (1855): 699–706.

68. Kovalevskaya visited Eliot one more time shortly before the latter's death. The Russian scholar's impressions of the English author were translated and published by Raymond Chapman and Eleanora Gottlieb under the title "A Russian View of George Eliot," in *Nineteenth-Century Fiction* 33 (1978): 348–65. Incidentally, in her account, Kovalevskaya reports being introduced to Spencer by Eliot as "a living refutation of your theory—a woman mathematician" (359).

69. Brown, "Why Does Daniel Deronda's Mother Live in Russia?," 30, 36.

70. Brown, "Deronda's Mother," 40.

71. Brown, "Deronda's Mother," 30; Eliot, *Deronda*, 243.

72. Henry, *George Eliot and the British Empire*, 55.

73. Nord, *Gypsies and the British Imagination*, 6.

74. Nord, *Gypsies and the British Imagination*, 100–101.

75. Eliot, *Impressions of Theophrastus Such*, 163.

76. Eliot, *Impressions of Theophrastus Such*, 161. The "Eastern Question" was the designation for the concern over the fate of South Slavic provinces in the Ottoman Empire, and it was used interchangeably with "the Slav(on)ic Question," which I use in the title of chapter 3.

77. Wolff, *Inventing Eastern Europe*, 244.

78. Brock, "Polish Democrats and English Radicals," 141, 145.

79. For more on religious and national divisions in Eastern Europe, see Magocsi's *Historical Atlas*; for Poland specifically, see p. 51.

80. Edith Simcox, review of *Middlemarch*, by George Eliot, *Academy* 4 (January 1, 1873): 2–4.

81. Gary Saul Morson, *Anna Karenina in Our Time: Seeing More Wisely* (New Haven, Conn.: Yale University Press, 2007), 29.

82. Sarah Gates, "'Dim lights and tangled circumstance': Gender and Genre in George Eliot's Realism," *Genre* 31 (1998): 145.

83. Gates, "'Dim lights and tangled circumstance,'" 144. My previous two references to Dorothea's domestication in the Victorian decorum or mode are also inspired by Gates.

84. Gates, "'Dim lights and tangled circumstance,'" 147.

85. Gates, "'Dim lights and tangled circumstance,'" 152.

86. For an interesting take on Kristeva's own positioning vis-à-vis Eastern and Western Europe, see Dušan Bjelić, "Julia Kristeva: Exile and Geopolitics of the Balkans," *Slavic Review* 67 (2008): 364–83.

87. Nord, *Gypsies and the British Imagination*, 105.

88. Kristeva, *Strangers to Ourselves*, 281.

89. Kristeva, *Strangers to Ourselves*, 288.

90. Kristeva, *Strangers to Ourselves*, 277–78.

91. Eliot herself most likely did not realize the ethnic pun she was making when she described Ladislaw's desire that Dorothea "should know that she had one slave in the world" in him (339).

92. Kristeva, *Strangers to Ourselves*, 272, 273.

93. Kristeva, *Strangers to Ourselves*, 270.

94. In addition to appearing in the introduction to *Orientalism*, *Middlemarch* also belongs to Said's list of English novels that participate in the imperial project, in *Culture and Imperialism* (New York: Knopf, 1993). Alicia Carroll argues that Eliot stands out as subversive among her contemporaries in *Dark Smiles: Race and Desire in George Eliot* (Athens: Ohio University Press, 2003). Nancy Henry's book has been quoted earlier, and my discussion of Thornton Lewes's Civil Service exam is partly informed by its second chapter, "'Colleagues in Failure': Emigration and the Lewes Boys."

Chapter 2

1. Todd Kontje, "Introduction: Reawakening German Realism," in *A Companion to German Realism, 1848–1900*, ed. Todd Kontje (Rochester, N.Y.: Camden House, 2002), 1.

2. Jeffrey L. Sammons, review of *The Truth of Realism: A Reassessment of the German Novel, 1830–1900*, by John Walker, *Monatshefte* 104 (2012): 131. The very title of the book under review, with the words *truth* and *reassessment*, reveals the nature of the problem, as does the title of Kontje's introduction cited above, with *reawakening*.

3. Helen Chambers, *The Changing Image of Theodor Fontane* (Columbia, S.C.: Camden House, 1997), 97.

4. Alan Bance, *Theodor Fontane: The Major Novels* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 1982), 6.

5. Henry Garland, *The Berlin Novels of Theodor Fontane* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1980), 5.

6. Garland's book (see n. 5 above) is considered the classic work on this segment of Fontane's literary output, and my list of his Berlin novels mirrors his.

7. Thomas Mann, *Gesammelte Werke*, 12 vols. (Frankfurt am Main: S. Fischer Verlag, 1960), 9:34. Mann's more frequently cited comment on Fontane, one that is present in just about any article on *Effi Briest* or introduction to the novel, is that *Effi Briest* belongs among the six most significant novels ever written. See Thomas Mann, *Das essayistische Werk*, ed. Hans Bürgin (Frankfurt am Main: S. Fischer Verlag, 1968), 106.

8. Bance, *Theodor Fontane*, 6.

9. Quoted in the Introduction to *A Companion to German Realism*, ed. Todd Kontje, 4.

10. Tanner, *Adultery in the Novel*, 210.

11. Barbara Everett, "Night Air: *Effi Briest* and Other Novels by Fontane," in *Theodor Fontane and the European Context: Literature, Culture and Society in Prussia and Europe*, ed. Patricia Howe and Helen Chambers (Amsterdam: Rodopi, 2001), 86.

12. Theodor Fontane, *Sämtliche Werke*, 24 vols. (Munich: Nymphenburger Verlagshandlung, 1959–1975), 7:222. Further references are to this edition (*SW*) and will be given by volume and page number in the text.

Regarding my assessment of Anna's age, I base it on her son being eight in the beginning of the novel. Considering her young marriage, typical of Russian women at the time, and the assumption that she conceived shortly thereafter, also typical, I estimate that she is around twenty-seven.

13. Hardy, "The Miserable Marriages," 67.

14. A few examples: Hardy's previously cited "Miserable Marriages"; Christiane Seiler, "Representations of the Loving, Hateful and Fearful Wife in Flaubert's *Mme Bovary*, Fontane's *Effi Briest*, and Tolstoy's *Anna Karenina*," *Germanic Notes and Reviews* 25 (1994): 3–7; and Gisela Zimmermann, "The Civil Servant as Educator: *Effi Briest* and *Anna Karenina*," *Modern Language Review* 90 (1995): 817–29.

15. Gordon A. Craig, *Theodor Fontane: Literature and History in the Bismarck Reich* (New York: Oxford University Press), 196.

16. Kristin Kopp, *Germany's Wild East: Constructing Poland as Colonial Space* (Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 2012), 16.

17. See Henry T. Finck, *Wagner and His Works*, vol. 1 (New York: Haskell House, 1893), 69–70; and John F. Runciman, *Richard Wagner: Composer of Operas* (Charleston, S.C.: BiblioBazaar, 2007), 47.

18. Kopp, *Germany's Wild East*, 15.

19. Quoted in Richard Blanke, *Prussian Poland in the German Empire (1871–1900)* (Boulder, Colo.: East European Monographs, 1981), 8.

20. Kutolowski, "Mid-Victorian Public Opinion," 90.

21. Agnieszka Barbara Nance, *Literary and Cultural Images of a Nation without a State: The Case of Nineteenth-Century Poland* (New York: Peter Lang, 2008), 3.

22. Garland, *The Berlin Novels*, 5.

23. Craig, *Theodor Fontane*, 145.

24. See, e.g., Sean Franzel's "Cultures of Performance, Gender, and Political Ideology in Fontane's *Vor dem Sturm*," *Colloquia Germanica* 41 (2008): 20, 29.

25. Quoted in (and the German translated by) Garland, *The Berlin Novels*, 5–6; emphasis Fontane's.

26. Although *Fathers and Sons* is the more common English translation of Turgenev's title, I use the literal translation here (from the Russian *Отцы и дети*), not only because it is more accurate, but also because it is more appropriate for the generational issues in Fontane's novel. It should also be noted that Turgenev became known to Western Europeans earlier than Tolstoy or Dostoevsky because, unlike the two famous Slavophiles, Turgenev was a Western sympathizer and spent much of his life living abroad.

27. Garland, *The Berlin Novels*, 25.

28. Nance, *Literary and Cultural Images*, 55. Walter Müller-Seidel, for a contrasting example, reads the conclusion of the novel as rejecting the notion that a Pole can ever become a loyal Prussian subject. See "Fontane und Polen: Eine Betrachtung zur deutschen Literatur im Zeitalter Bismarcks," in *Studien zur Kulturgeschichte des deutschen Polenbildes, 1848–1939*, ed. Hendrik Feindt (Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz, 1995), 41–64.

29. Craig, *Theodor Fontane*, 112.

30. See, e.g., Craig, *Theodor Fontane*, 187, though many scholarly works on *Effi Briest* also point out this conversation as such.

31. Garland, *The Berlin Novels*, 70.

32. Craig, *Theodor Fontane*, 113.

33. When his more liberal friend Oblonsky asks, "А слияние сословий?" (And what about the merging of the classes?), Levin answers, "Кому приятно сливаться—на здоровье, а мне противно" (Whoever likes merging—he is welcome to it, but to me it is disgusting) (*PSS* 18:179).

34. I use the years these works came out in book form for their publication dates. Each was serialized prior to that, *L'Adultera* in *Nord und Süd* in 1880 and *Cécile* in *Universum* in 1886.

35. In order to avoid confusion over the designations "Berlin novels" and "Berlin society novels" regarding Fontane's literary output, Fontane's first novel, *Vor dem Sturm*, is also his first Berlin novel and, as such, is the topic of the first chapter of Henry Garland's *The Berlin Novels of Theodor Fontane*. This novel, however, as well as his second one, *Schach von Wuthenow*, belongs to the genre of historical novels. The Berlin society novels, on the other hand, are set in the contemporary Berlin of Fontane's time. *L'Adultera* is, therefore, Fontane's third Berlin novel (and, concomitantly, it occupies the third chapter of Garland's book) but his first Berlin society novel. Garland's chapter on it opens with the following statement: "With *L'Adultera* Fontane abandons the historical setting of the Napoleonic wars, transferring his attention to his own day and so beginning a series of social novels which has for its background the Berlin of Bismarck's heyday and the first years of the young Emperor William II" (45).

36. Garland, *The Berlin Novels*, 62.

37. See, e.g., Fritz Hubertus Vaziri, Levana Oesting, Hans-Georg Wendland, and Imke Barfknecht, *Fontane's "femme fragiles": Effi Briest, Cécile und Frau Jenny Treibel* (Munich: Science Factory, 2013).

38. Michael D. Coogan, ed., *The New Oxford Annotated Bible*, 3rd ed. (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2001), 162 [New Testament]. All biblical quotations used in this book come from this edition, henceforth abbreviated *NOAB*.

39. John 8:11b; *NOAB*, 162 [New Testament].

40. St. Augustine, *De Conjug. Adult.*, II:6.

41. Craig, *Theodor Fontane*, 190.

42. Chambers, *Changing Image*, 53.

43. It ought to be noted that for Fontane naming a novel after its heroine does not necessarily mean she is an adulteress. *Frau Jenny Treibel*, for example, *Mathilde Möhring*, and *Stine* do not conform to that trend.

44. Röder-Bolton, *George Eliot in Germany*, 126.

45. Theodor Fontane, *Briefe*, 5 vols., ed. Kurt Schreinert and Charlotte Jolles (Berlin: Propyläen Verlag, 1968–71), 2:306; emphases Fontane's.

46. "A Word for the Germans," in *Selected Critical Writings*, 335.

47. Clifford Alfred Bernd, "Fontane's Discovery of Britain," *Modern Language Review* 87 (1992): 114.

48. Fontane's grandfather's decision is understandable given Prussia's feud with France, especially after Napoleon humiliated the nation at Jena in 1806 (which, incidentally, is the theme of Fontane's second novel, *Schach von Wuthenow*, usually translated in English as *A Man of Honor*).

49. Garland, *The Berlin Novels,* 73.

50. Samuel Beckett, *Krapp's Last Tape and Other Dramatic Pieces* (New York: Grove Press, 2009), 10.

51. Garland, *The Berlin Novels*, 173.

52. Russell A. Berman, *Enlightenment or Empire: Colonial Discourse in German Culture* (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 1998), 135.

53. David Blackbourn, *The Long Nineteenth Century: A History of Germany, 1780–1918* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1998), 447.

54. Kopp, *Germany's Wild East*, 2.

55. See, e.g., Christian Grawe, *Theodor Fontane: Effi Briest* (Frankfurt am Main: Diesterweg), 1985.

56. J. P. M. Stern, "*Effi Briest*, *Madame Bovary*, *Anna Karenina*," *Modern Language Review* 52 (1957): 374 (in fn. 4).

57. Friedrich Seebaß, ed., *In Freiheit dienen: Briefe von Theodor Fontane* (Munich: Carl Hanser, 1956), 107.

58. Kopp, *Germany's Wild East*, 102; Judith Ryan, "The Chinese Ghost: Colonialism and Subaltern Speech in Fontane's *Effi Briest*," in *Literature and History: Essays in Honor of Karl S. Guthke*, ed. William Collins Donahue and Scott Denham (Tübingen: Stauffenberg Verlag, 2000), 373.

59. Kristen Kopp reads the Chinese ghost thus in *Germany's Wild East*, as does Valerie Greenberg in "The Resistance of *Effi Briest*: An (Un)told Tale," *PMLA* 103 (1988): 770–82.

60. Kopp, *Germany's Wild East*, 120–21.

61. Kopp, *Germany's Wild East*, 117.

62. Nance draws the contrast between Fontane as pro-Polish and Freytag as anti-Polish in *Literary and Cultural Images*.

63. Kopp, *Germany's Wild East*, 105.

64. Quoted in Kopp, *Germany's Wild East*, 104. Original reference in Karl Emil Franzos, *Halb-Asien: Land und Leute des östlichen Europa* (Stuttgart: J. G. Cott'sche Buchhandlung Nachfolger, 1914), 1.

65. Seiler, "Representations," 5.

66. Julian Preece, "Fear of the Foreigner: Chinese, Poles, and Other Non-Prussians in Theodor Fontane's *Effi Briest*," in *German Studies at the Millenium*, ed. Neil Thomas (Durham, U.K.: University of Durham, 1999), 185.

67. Roswitha speaks a dialect, which highlights her subservient status. I use Hugh Rorrison and Helen Chambers's translation of *Effi Briest* (London: Penguin, 2000) for rendering her speech in English.

68. Helmut Walser Smith, *German Nationalism and Religious Conflict: Culture, Ideology, Politics, 1870–1914* (Princeton, N.J.: Princeton University Press, 1995), 57.

Chapter 3

1. Nikolai Nikolaevich Gusev, *Letopis' zhizni i tvorchestva L'va Nikolaevicha Tolstogo* (Moscow: Gosudarstvennoe izdatel'stvo khudozhestvennoi literatury, 1958–60), 468; emphases Gusev's.

2. Boris Eikhenbaum, *Tolstoi in the Seventies* (Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 1982), 111.

3. Amy Mandelker, *Framing Anna Karenina: Tolstoy, the Woman Question, and the Victorian Novel* (Columbus: Ohio State University Press, 1993); Judith Armstrong, *The Unsaid Anna Karenina* (New York: St. Martin's Press, 1988).

4. Susan Layton's *Russian Literature and Empire: Conquest of the Caucasus from Puskhin to Tolstoy* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1994), for example, contains a chapter on each of the Tolstoy novellas mentioned above, and the title of Daniel R. Brower and Edward J. Lazzerini's edited collection speaks for itself: *Russia's Orient: Imperial Borderlands and Peoples, 1700–1917* (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1997).

5. Eduard Grigor'evich Babaev, *Lev Tolstoi i russkaia zhurnalistika ego epokhi*. (Moscow: Izdatel'stvo Moskovskogo Universiteta, 1978), 133.

6. George Eliot, *The Mill on the Floss*, ed. Hugh Osborne (New York: Modern Library, 2001), 408.

7. Olga Matich, *Erotic Utopia: The Decadent Imagination in Russia's Fin de Siècle* (Madison: University of Wisconsin Press, 2005), 42.

8. In the last paragraph of chapter 39, part 2, volume 3, of the novel, Tolstoy describes the end of the battle of Borodino as "победа нравственная" (a moral victory) for Russia, a victory that "убеждает противника в нравственном превосходстве своего врага" (convinces the opponent of the moral superiorty of his enemy), and ends the chapter with "погибель Наполеоновской Франции, на которую в первый раз под Бородиным была наложена рука сильнейшего духом противника" (the destruction of Napoleonic France, upon which for the first time at Borodino the hand of an opponent mightier in spirit was laid) (*PSS* 11:265).

9. In her book *Unattainable Bride Russia: Gendering Nation, State, and Intelligentsia in Russian Intellectual Culture* (Evanston, Ill.: Northwestern University Press, 2010), Ellen Rutten lists Natasha as one of the nineteenth-century literary heroines that embody the nation. Rutten also notes that Napoleon is described in the same novel as looking upon Moscow as a girl who has lost her virginity (presumably to him). But the most obvious example of the enormous role that the fictional Natasha Rostova has played in representing her nation shows in the title of Orlando Figes's book on the cultural history of Russia: *Natasha's Dance* (New York: Metropolitan Books, 2002).

10. Sofya Andreevna Tolstaya, *Dnevniki*, 2 vols. (Moscow: Khudozhestvennaia literature, 1978), 1:61.

11. Tolstaya, *Dnevniki*, 1:61.

12. Tolstaya, *Dnevniki*, 1:61.

13. Donna Orwin, *Tolstoy's Art and Thought, 1847–1880* (Princeton, N.J.: Princeton University Press, 1993), 144, 215.

14. Tolstoy's answer to Katkov's objections was the following: "В последней главе не могу ничего тронуть. *Яркий реализм*, как вы говорите, есть единственное орудие, так как ни пафос, ни рассуждения я не могу употреблять. И это одно из мест, на котором стоит весь роман. Если оно ложно, то всё ложно" (In the last chapter I cannot touch anything. *Vivid realism*, as you say, is the only tool, such as neither pathos nor reflections could be. And that is one of the places on which the whole novel stands. If it is false, then everything is false) (emphasis Tolstoy's) (*PSS* 62:139).

15. Mikhail Nikiforovich Katkov, ed., *Russkii vestnik: Zhurnal literaturnyi i politicheskii* 129 (1877): 472.

16. For historical information on the Slavonic Question, I have relied on Barbara Jelavich, *Russia's Balkan Entanglements, 1806–1914* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1991); Peter J. S. Duncan, *Russian Messianism: Third Rome, Holy Revolution, Communism and After* (London: Routledge, 2000); and two books by Jelena Milojković-Djurić, *Panslavism and National Identity in Russia and in the Balkans 1830–1880: Images of the Self and Others* (Boulder, Colo.: East European Monographs, 1994) and *The Eastern Question and the Voices of Reason: Austria-Hungary, Russia, and the Balkan States, 1875–1908* (Boulder, Colo.: East European Monographs, 2002).

17. From a conference paper, titled "Ambiguous Harvest: the Tolstoyan Scythe as a Rhetorical Weapon," delivered at the Annual Meeting of the Association of Slavic, East European, and Eurasian Studies (ASEEES), November 20, 2010—which happened to be the centenary of Tolstoy's death (new calendar)—on the panel "Imagining Peace, Engendering Strife: Russian Pastoral and Its Discontents."

18. Rebecca West, *Black Lamb and Grey Falcon: A Journey through Yugoslavia* (New York: Penguin, 1994), 1009.

19. Aleksandr Nikolaevich Pypin in an article for *Vestnik Evropy*, cited by Milojković-Djurić in *The Eastern Question*, 14, 35.

20. Quoted from Stephen Lukashevich, *Ivan Aksakov, 1823–1886: A Study in Russian Thought and Politics* (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1965), 120.

21. William E. Gladstone, "Montenegro: A Sketch," *Nineteenth Century* 3 (May 1877): 378.

22. Gladstone, "Montenegro," 359.

23. Fedor Mikhailovich Dostoevsky, *Polnoe sobranie sochinenii* (*PSS*), 30 vols. (Petersburg: Nauka, 1972–90), 23:50, emphasis Dostoevsky's. Further references are to this edition (*PSS*) and will be given by volume and page number in the text.

24. Tolstoy, in fact, names Paris Sodom twice in the same letter addressed (though not sent) to Turgenev from Geneva during the spring of 1857, after having just departed Paris: "Отлично я сделал, что уехал из этого содома. Ради Бога, уезжайте куда-нибудь и вы" (I did very well to get away from that Sodom. For God's sake get away somewhere yourself too); and: "Я прожил 1 ½ месяца в содоме, и у меня на душе уж много наросло грязи, и две девки, и гильотина, и праздность, и пошлость" (I spent 1 and a half months in Sodom, and there is

great accumulation of filth in my soul: two whores, and the guillotine, and idleness and vulgarity) (*PSS* 60:170). I borrow the English translation of Tolstoy's letter from R. F. Christian, *Tolstoy's Letters* (London: Athlone Press, 1978), 97, 98.

25. See Milojković-Djurić, *Panslavism*, 105–11.

26. The title of Momo Kapor's essay is "Serbia—Vronsky's Last Love," and it appears in his collection, *A Guide to the Serbian Mentality* (Belgrade: dereta, 2006). The essay takes the same naive approach to Russian and Serbian brotherhood that is so harshly criticized in the epilogue to *Anna Karenina*.

27. Nikolai Berdiaev, *The Russian Idea* (Boston: Beacon Press, 1962), 6–7.

28. Matich, *Erotic Utopia*, 43.

29. Gusev, *Letopis'*, 384.

30. Matich, *Erotic Utopia*, 43.

31. Renita J. Weems, *Battered Love: Marriage, Sex, and Violence in the Hebrew Prophets* (Minneapolis, Minn.: Fortress Press, 1995), 3.

32. *NOAB*, 357.

33. *NOAB*, 1211–12.

34. For other biblical passages that mention the adulteress's breasts, see Ezekiel 23:3, 8; and Hosea 2:2. In Tolstoy's oeuvre, it is Hélène Bezukhova who is most frequently subjected to similar condemnatory rhetoric, as, for example, when her husband, Pierre, recalls how her own brother, Anatole, "целовал ее в голые плечи" (used to kiss her naked shoulders) and she "позволяла целовать себя" (allowed herself to be kissed) (*PSS* 10:29), or when Natasha recalls, after a night at the opera, how the "голая с спокойною и гордою улыбкою Элен в восторге кричала браво" (naked Hélène, with a calm and proud smile, rapturously shouted "bravo") (*PSS* 10:333).

35. See, e.g., A. Brenner and F. van Dijk-Hemmes, *On Gendering Texts: Female and Male Voices in the Hebrew Bible* (Leiden: Brill, 1993); and Athalaya Brenner, *The Intercourse of Knowledge: On Gendering Desire and "Sexuality" in the Hebrew Bible* (Leiden: Brill, 1997). In *On Gendering Texts* Brenner compares the porno-prophetic texts of Jeremiah with the 1954 French sadomasochistic erotic novel *The Story of O*, which partly inspired my own exploration of Tolstoy's novel in that manner. T. Drorah Setel's "Prophets and Pornography: Female Sexual Imagery in Hosea" was first published in *Feminist Interpretations of the Bible*, ed. Letty M. Russell (Philadelphia, Pa.: Westminster Press, 1985).

36. Isaiah 47:3; *NOAB*, 1043.

37. Critics from Boris Eikhenbaum to Vladimir E. Alexandrov have read the parallels between Anna and Frou-Frou as intended by the author, especially given the similarity of language employed to describe Vronsky's reaction to each "murder": "бледный, с дрожащею нижнею челюстью" (pale, with shivering lower jaw) (*PSS* 18:157) with Anna and "бледный и с трясущеюся нижнею челюстью" (pale and with trembling lower jaw) (*PSS* 18:210) with Frou-Frou. I would like to add, however, that the reaction of Sergei Kasatsky, the future Father Sergei, to finding out that his fiancée had been the tsar's mistress is almost identical: "Он вскочил и бледный как смерть, с трясущимися скулами, стоял перед нею" (He jumped up and pale as death, with trembling cheekbones, stood before her) (*PSS* 30:10). So is Vasily Kuragin's in *War and Peace*, as Pierre

Bezukhov notices in the moment after his wealthy father's death that Vasily, who was hoping for an inheritance, "был бледен и что нижняя челюсть его прыгала и тряслась, как в лихорадочной дрожи" (was pale and that his lower jaw twitched and trembled, as in a feverish shiver) (*PSS* 9:104).

38. Translation by G. S. Smith, from *The Russia Reader: History, Culture, Politics*, ed. Adele Barker and Bruce Grant (Durham, N.C.: Duke University Press, 2010).

39. Ivan Sergeevich Aksakov, *Sochineniia, 1860–1886*, 7 vols. (Moscow: Tip. M. G. Volchaninova, 1886–87), 1:299.

40. Matich, *Erotic Utopia*, 43.

41. Regarding Tolstoy's pacifism, this is another issue in which *Anna Karenina* occupies middle ground. Levin does not so much protest the war per se—though he acknowledges its horrors—as he does its being waged without official government sanction: "Да моя теория та: война, с одной стороны, есть такое животное, жестокое и ужасное дело, что ни один человек, не говорю уже христианин, не может лично взять на свою ответственность начало войны, а может только правительство, которое призвано к этому и приводится к войне неизбежно" (My theory is this: war is, on the one hand, such a beastly, cruel, and terrible thing that no man, to say nothing of a Christian, can personally take upon himself the responsibility of starting a war, but only a government, which is called to it and led into war unavoidably) (*PSS* 19:387).

42. Tolstoy was reading the complete works of the philosopher, and raving about him, at the end of the 1860s. See Eikhenabaum, *Tolstoi in the Seventies*, 145; and Orwin, *Tolstoy's Art and Thought*, 150.

43. Eikhenbaum, *Tolstoi in the Seventies*, 146.

44. Viktor Shklovsky, *Lev Tolstoy* (Moscow: Progress Publishers, 1978), 436. For a more detailed review of the various interpretations of the epigraph, see Mandelker, *Framing Anna Karenina*, 44–47. Noteworthy also is Tolstoy's statement, recorded by his wife, "что задача его сделать эту женщину только жалкой и не виноватой" (that his task was to make that woman only pitiable and not guilty) (*PSS* 20:577).

45. Cited in Eikhenbaum, *Tolstoi in the Seventies*, 145.

46. See Vladimir E. Alexandrov, *Limits to Interpretation: The Meanings of "Anna Karenina"* (Madison: University of Wisconsin Press, 2004), 308 (fn. 3) and chapter 7 for more on the epigraph.

47. Alexandrov, *Limits to Interpretation*, 67, 69. The epigraph ought also to be considered in light of Anna's suicidal motivation, which few scholars have done. As her relationship with Vronsky takes a downward turn, "death, as the sole means of renewing love for her in his heart, of punishing him and of gaining the victory in that fight which the evil spirit that had moved into her heart was waging with him, presented itself clearly and vividly to her" (*PSS* 19:331). Anna's last words to Vronsky are, "You will regret this" (*PSS* 19:333), and a few chapters later she experiences "an uncertain anger and need for revenge" (*PSS* 19:341). Finally, as she considers which part of the train to jump under at the station, she thinks, "There, in the very middle, and I will punish him and escape for everyone and from myself" (*PSS* 19:348). Anna's vengefulness is actually a toned-down version of the one wreaked by her real-life model, who left her

lover the following note: "You are my murderer. Be happy, if an assassin can be happy. If you like you can see my corpse on the rails at Yasenki."

48. The Russian word *inorodtsy* literally means "[those of] other birth," and no English translation is quite satisfactory. Richard Pevear and Larissa Volokhonsky (London: Penguin, 2003) use "racial minorities"; Marian Schwartz (New Haven, Conn.: Yale University Press, 2014), "native populations"; and the classic Constance Garnett (New York: Doubleday, 1944), "native tribes." For a precise historical definition (as well as how the concept changed over time), see John W. Slocum, "Who, and When, Were the *Inorodtsy*? The Evolution of the Category of 'Aliens' in Imperial Russia," *Russian Review* 57 (1998): 173–90.

49. Hosea 1:2; *NOAB*, 1279.

50. Hosea 3:3; *NOAB*, 1282.

51. The phrase is Sofya Andreevna Tolstaya's and is quoted here from Eikhenbaum, *Tolstoi in the Seventies*, 94.

52. For a review of the original serial publication dates in the *Russian Herald*, see William Mills Todd III's article, "The Responsibilities of (Co-)Authorship: Notes on Revising the Serialized Version of *Anna Karenina*," in *Freedom and Responsibility in Russian Literature: Essays in Honor of Robert Louis Jackson*, ed. Elizabeth Cheresh Allen and Gary Saul Morson (Evanston, Ill.: Northwestern University Press, 1995), 159–69. As the dates show, regular monthly publication was interrupted each summer and fall.

53. In manuscript #88, for example, the naive Karenin thinks that Lydia is the only one compassionate toward him because she is the only true Christian among his friends (*PSS* 20:420).

54. Gusev, *Letopis'*, 462.

55. Rutten, *Unattainable Bride Russia*, 24.

56. The *svoi/chuzhoi* binary has become commonplace in Russian studies and is typically employed in discussions of Russia's colonial past. For an excellent example, see Alexander Etkind's article "Russkaia literatura, XIX vek: Roman vnutrennei kolonizatsii," *Novoe Literaturnoe Obozrenie* 59 (2003): 103–24.

57. I am indebted for this insight, as well as a previous one regarding Mitya Levin's recognition of *svoikh*, to Cathy Popkin, whose paper, "Occupy and Cultivate: Foreign Policy and Domestic Affairs (or The Case of *Anna Karenina*)," was presented and discussed at the University of Illinois Russian Reading Circle (*Kruzhok*), Urbana, November 10, 2005.

58. I wish to make a strong case for the specific translation I use for the opening line of the novel, one of the most famous opening lines in world literature. Richard Pevear and Larissa Volokhonsky, who are otherwise lauded for being literal, miss it with their rendition of "alike" for "похожи друг на друга," as does Rosamund Bartlett in her more recent translation (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2014). Marian Schwartz, however, publishing in the same year as Bartlett, gets it right—as did previously Aylmer and Louise Maude (New York: Oxford University Press, 2008) but not Constance Garnett—and here is, according to my humble opinion, why: "resemble one another" replicates the rhythm of the Russian "похожи друг на друга" to a syllable, while the repetitive sounds produced by "*one ano*ther" mirror the repetitiveness of "друг на друга" and thus reinforce the very concept of resemblance.

59. Morson, *Anna Karenina in Our Time*, 68.

60. Orwin points out the difference in meanings of Levin's and Vronsky's estate names. See *Tolstoy's Art and Thought*, 182.

61. Morson, *Anna Karenina in Our Time*, 70.

62. The idea that Russia had two tsars, one on the throne and the other in Iasnaia Poliana, was wildly popular in the last decade of the author's life, when he had become known worldwide as a great moral authority. The literary critic and publisher Aleksei Sergeevich Suvorin wrote in his diary in 1902, "Два царя у нас: Николай II и Лев Толстой. Кто из них сильнее? Николаи II ничего не может сделать с Толстым, не может поколебать его трон, тогда как Толстой, несомненно, колеблет трон Николая и его династии" (We have two tsars: Nikolai II and Lev Tolstoy. Who among them is the more powerful? Nikolai II cannot do anything with Tolstoy, cannot shake up his throne, whereas Tolstoy, undoubtedly, shakes the throne of Nikolai and his dynasty). A. S. Suvorin, *Dnevnik*, ed. N. V. Potatueva (Moscow: Novosti, 1992), 316.

Chapter 4

1. Šenoa's fifth novel was interrupted by the author's early death, at the age of forty-three, and subsequently completed by Josip Eugen Tomić.

2. Quoted in Vesna Goldsworthy, *Inventing Ruritania: The Imperialism of the Imagination* (New Haven, Conn.: Yale University Press, 1998), 8.

3. Robert William Seton-Watson, *German, Slav, and Magyar: A Study in the Origins of the Great War* (London: Williams and Norgate, 1916), 82.

4. West, *Black Lamb and Grey Falcon*, 52.

5. One might take issue with this argument on forethought in Anna Karenina's case, as her suicide is an act of jealous revenge, with her last words to Vronsky being "вы раскаетесь в этом" (you will regret this) (*PSS* 19:333), but that does not necessarily mean she has his death in mind, especially since it is living with regret that is its punishing aspect.

6. Miroslav Šicel, *Hrvatska književnost 19. i 20. stoljeća*, 2nd ed. (Zagreb: Školska knjiga, 1997), 52.

7. Šenoa mentions, somewhat ironically, the Magyarones' self-designation as "old Croats" in his "Pamflet na Ilirce" (A Pamphlet for the Illyrians), published in *Vienac* 10 (1878): 92–95. Reprinted in and quoted here from *Polemike u hrvatskoj književnosti*, 10 vols. (Zagreb: Mladost, 1982), 4:711.

8. Šicel, *Hrvatska književnost,* 51.

9. Commonly referred to as Gaj's *Pravopis*, the entire title of his work is *Kratka osnova horvatsko-slavenskoga pravopisaña* (A Brief Foundation of Croatian-Slavic Orthography).

10. The translation is taken from the bilingual *Monumenta Serbocroatica* (Ann Arbor: Michigan Slavic Publications, 1980), but I would like to suggest a more literal rendering of "srce ne iskali," which has more cathartic connotations than "appease his anger": "he did not release/empty his heart."

11. Nedjeljko Fabrio, *Vježbanje života* (Zagreb: Večernji list, 2004), 88. In relation to the present chapter, it ought to be mentioned that Fabrio is considered a twentieth-century Šenoa within the Croatian literary canon, focusing the actions of his historical novels in and around the coastal city of Rijeka and thus giving it the literary prominence that Šenoa gave Zagreb. In relation to the pre-

vious chapter, it might be of interest to readers to know that Fabrio's 1994 novel, *Smrt Vronskog—deveti dio Ane Karenjine* (Death of Vronsky—The Ninth Part of Anna Karenina), places the nineteenth-century count and other Russian volunteers in the Croatian town of Vukovar, which fell to Serb forces in November 1991.

12. Two monographs that take up this position are Branimir Anzulović's *Heavenly Serbia: From Myth to Genocide* (New York: New York University Press, 1999) and Michael Anthony Sells's *The Bridge Betrayed: Religion and Genocide in Bosnia* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1996).

13. As an example of this, Danilo, one of the Christian Montenegro leaders heading the "investigation," is described as a Montenegrin Hamlet in the 1970 *Anthology of Yugoslav Literature*, edited by Vlatko Pavletić.

14. Barbara Jelavich, *History of the Balkans: Eighteenth and Nineteenth Centuries*, vol. 1 (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1983), 168.

15. Julijana Matanović, "August Šenoa između teorije i prakse," *Dani Hvarskoga kazališta* 25 (1999): 270.

16. August Šenoa, *Sabrana djela*, 12 vols., ed. Slavko Ježić (Zagreb: Znanje, 1963–64), 9:522. Most further references, unless otherwise noted, are to this edition (*SD*) and are given by volume and page number in the text.

17. On a personal note, as someone who grew up in the Croatian republic of then-Yugoslavia, I can testify to the middle and high school student's miseries over having to read Mažuranić and the youthful enthusiasm with which Šenoa's novels were greeted in the classroom.

18. Mirko Rogošić, ed., *Ljubavna pisma hrvatskih književnika: Antologija* (Zagreb: Stvarnost, 1984), 67–84.

19. "Švapčić" is the diminutive of the word "Švaba," which would properly speaking be a designation for an inhabitant of the German region of Schwaben (today's Württemberg portion, roughly, of the state of Baden-Württemberg) but is frequently used by speakers of various Yugoslav languages to denote Germans in general. Also, both "Švaba" and "German" have historically been applied to all German-speaking nations, including Austria. Tolstoy, for example, calls the Austrians "Germans" in *War and Peace*, and Šenoa, given Croatia's political dependencies, most often has "Austrian" in mind when he says "German."

20. Dubravko Jelčić, *August Šenoa* (Zagreb: Naklada Slap, 2006), 22.

21. The distinction is a bit tricky, since *jug* means "south"; therefore, Yugoslavia—literally, "Southslavia"—is the land of the South Slavs.

22. Unlike in Russian, the Croatian word *pravo* only means "right" as opposed to "wrong" or "not having rights/being disenfranchised"—the latter being the meaning that the party had in mind—and not "right" as opposed to "left," though the latter would be apt in terms of the party's political bent. The initial split between Pravaši and Narodnjaci, in fact, reemerged in the newly independent Croatia of the 1990s and is described by John Lampe as "the nationalism and liberalism that have survived to the present day in Croatia." See John Lampe, *Yugoslavia as History: Twice there was a Country* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1996), 60.

23. Seton-Watson, *German, Slav, and Magyar*, 89. The two *bans* who were in power during the writing and publication of *The Goldsmith's Gold* both

came from the Union Party: Levin Rauch (1868–71) and Koloman Bedeković (1871–72).

24. Quoted in Šicel, *Hrvatska književnost*, 81.

25. Jelčić, *August Šenoa*, 27.

26. The Book of Judith mistakenly names the Assyrians as Israel's national enemy of the time, which is one of the reasons it is considered apocryphal. The main reason is that it originates in the Greek Septuagint and does not appear in the Hebrew Bible.

27. Šicel, *Hrvatska književnost*, 81.

28. Rebecca West's strong condemnation of the *Ausgleich* as a "very vulgar" love triangle is worth mentioning in relation to the theoretical framework of this study: "When the Dual Monarchy was framed to placate Hungary, the Croats were handed over to the Hungarians as their chattels. I do not know of any nastier act than this in history. It has a kind of lowness that is sometimes exhibited in the sexual affairs of very vulgar and shameless people: a man leaves his wife and induces a girl to become his mistress, then is reconciled to his wife and to please her exposes the girl to some public humiliation" (*Black Lamb and Grey Falcon*, 54).

29. Jelčić, *August Šenoa*, 22.

30. Antun Barac, *August Šenoa* (Zagreb: Narodna knjižnica, 1926), 55.

31. Eliot, *The Mill on the Floss*, 353.

32. Laza Lazarević, *Sve će to narod pozlatiti i druge pripovijetke*, 6th ed. (Zagreb: Mladost, 1981), 5.

33. Lazarević, *Sve će to narod pozlatiti*, 131.

34. Lazarević, *Sve će to narod pozlatiti*, 119.

35. Lazarević, *Sve će to narod pozlatiti*, 125.

36. Lazarević, *Sve će to narod pozlatiti*, 127.

37. Lazarević, *Sve će to narod pozlatiti*, 136.

38. Lazarević, *Sve će to narod pozlatiti*, 152.

Chapter 5

1. Nance, *Literary and Cultural Images*, 13.

2. Jean-Jacques Rousseau, *The Plan for Perpetual Peace, On the Government of Poland, and Other Writings on History and Politics*, trans. Christopher Kelly and Judith Bush, ed. Christopher Kelly (Hanover, N.H.: Dartmouth College Press, 2005), 217.

3. Wolff, *Inventing Eastern Europe*, 241.

4. Beth Holmgren, *Rewriting Capitalism: Literature and the Market in Late Tsarist Russia and the Kingdom of Poland* (Pittsburgh, Pa.: University of Pittsburgh Press, 1998), 174. Original reference is the Polish *Illustrated Weekly* 52 (1900): 1020.

5. Holmgren, *Rewriting Capitalism*, 174.

6. Stanislaw Eile, *Literature and Nationalism in Partitioned Poland* (New York: St. Martin's Press, in association with School of Slavonic and East European Studies, University of London, 2000), 112.

7. Jerzy J. Maciuszko, review of *With Fire and Sword*, by Henryk Sienkiewicz, trans. W. S. Kuniczak, *World Literature Today* 65 (1991): 514–15.

8. Thomas Napierkowski, "Introduction to *The Deluge*," in *The Trilogy Companion: A Reader's Guide to the Trilogy of Henryk Sienkiewicz*, ed. Jerzy R. Krzyżanowski (New York: Hippocrene Books, 1992), 43. Although the essay primarily concerns, as its title indicates, the second novel of the *Trilogy*, the reference in the line quoted is to its first ("written . . . in 1883").

9. For more on this moral criticism—not unlike the one directed against Njegoš's *Mountain Wreath*, discussed in the previous chapter—see Eile, *Literature and Nationalism in Partitioned Poland*, 115–16, 120–21.

10. Holmgren, *Rewriting Capitalism*, xi.

11. http://www.nobelprize.org/nobel_prizes/literature/laureates/1905/

12. The original statement of Sienkiewicz's was made in French, in a letter to the French writer and critic Auguste Jean Boyer d'Agen, dated January 24, 1912, and published in *Listy* I, 99: "Il est incontestable que les persécutions dont souffrent les Polonais sous le joug de la Prusse et surtout sous le joug de la Russie, ont eu une influence considérable sur mes projets." I came across it in a dissertation by Krzysztof Szymonik, "Romantic-Messianism in the Novels of Henryk Sienkiewicz" (University of Maryland, 1984), 288. The translation from the French is my own.

13. From Michael A. Guzik, "From Soldier to Saint: Ignatian Spiritual Elements in Henryk Sienkiewicz's *Quo Vadis?*," *Polish Review* 53 (2008): 3.

14. This was not only the case for Polish realism, but also for the realist movement in Europe more generally. Bernard Semmel, in *George Eliot and the Politics of National Inheritance*, discusses how heavily George Eliot was influenced by positivism.

15. Berdiaev, *The Russian Idea*, 7.

16. Nikolai Berdiaev, "The Russian and the Polish Soul," trans. Fr. S. Janos, 2009; ellipsis Berdiaev's. This essay, first published in the newspaper *Birzhevye vedomosti* under the title "Russia and Poland" in 1914 (October 10, no. 14610–14424), was reprinted in 1918 in the book *The Fate of Russia*, chapter 18. It is most easily accessible on the following website: http://www.berdyaev.com/berdiaev/berd_lib/1914_178.html

17. See John J. Pilch, "How We Redress Our Suffering: An Exercise in Actualizing Biblical Texts," *Polish Review* 48 (2003): 38.

18. *NOAB*, 441 [New Testament].

19. *NOAB*, 442 [New Testament].

20. Sinead O'Connor has a song on her 1994 album, *Universal Mother* (an album "dedicated as a prayer from Ireland"), titled "Fire on Babylon." It is the first song on the album and, in its reference to England, provides a strong contrast to the title of the album as a whole, which refers to Ireland.

21. My quotations from Sienkiewicz's original Polish *Quo Vadis* come from the following online version: http://wolnelektury.pl/katalog/lektura/quo-vadis.html, 2571, 2578. The numbers identify the paragraph as opposed to the page. Further references are to this edition, henceforth identified as *QV*, and are given by paragraph number in the text.

22. Walicki, *Philosophy and Romantic Nationalism*, 3 and 7, respectively.

23. Holmgren, *Rewriting Capitalism*, 170.

24. See Eile, *Literature and Nationalism in Partitioned Poland*, 114, 115.

25. My information on the early church saints comes from the Catholic Encyclopedia. For Saint Lucina, see http://www.newadvent.org/cathen/09410c.htm; for de Rossi, see http://www.newadvent.org/cathen/04739c.htm.

26. "Warns Prussian Poles," *New York Times*, September 28, 1902; available at http://query.nytimes.com/mem/archive-free/pdf?res=F20E1EFF3F5F12738-DDDA10A94D1405 B828CF1D3

27. The first two stanza's of Blok's lengthy poem are sufficient to convey his satire:

You have millions. We are numberless,
numberless, numberless. Try doing
battle with us! Yes, we are Scythians! Yes,
Asiatics, with greedy eyes slanting!

For you, the centuries; for us, one hour.
We, like obedient lackeys, have held up
a shield dividing two embattled powers—
The Mongol hordes and Europe!

From Aleksandr Blok, *Selected Poems*, trans. Jon Stallworthy and Peter France (Manchester, U.K.: Carcanet Press, 2000), 111.

28. John 8:6b; *NOAB*, 162 [New Testament].

29. *Quo Vadis*, iTunes, dir. Mervin LeRoy (Metro-Goldwyn-Mayer, Hollywood, Calif., 1951), 1:25:28–1:25:33.

30. See Antoni Semczuk, "Échos Polonais à la mort de Tolstoj," *Revue des études slaves* 81 (2010): 47–52.

31. N. N. Gusev, *Dva goda s L. N. Tolstym: Vospominaniia i dnevnik byvshego sekretaria L. N. Tolstogo, 1907–1909* (Moscow: Izd. Tolstovskogo muzeia, 1928), 185. Quoted in *PSS* 77:274.

32. Regarding Tolstoy's abandonment of fiction for spiritual writings, an anonymous assessment in the American *Dial* of "Living Writers of Fiction" placed him in opposition to the rising Sienkiewicz in the following entertaining way: "Of the three or four great novelists that Russia has produced, Count Tolstoi alone is left, and from him there is little reason to expect any further work comparable with "War and Peace," "Anna Karenina, " or even with "The Cossacks." The writer of almost first-rate fiction has become a producer of third-rate tracts, and literature mourns the defection. But the great Slavonic North has sent us of recent years, in the person of Henryk Sienkiewicz, the Polish novelist, a writer of fiction quite the equal of the Russian soldier turned pietist. His magnificent romantic trilogy devoted to the seventeenth-century wars of the Polish Commonwealth, and his subtle piece of psychological analysis called "Without Dogma," are masterpieces in their respective kinds, and with them Polish literature renews the appeal to European attention first made by Mickiewicz half a century ago." (16, no. 192 [June 16, 1894]: 352)

33. Eliot, *Impressions of Theophrastus Such*, 156.

34. Eliot, *Impressions of Theophrastus Such*, 147.

Conclusion

1. Benedict Anderson, Introduction to *Mapping the Nation*, ed. Gopal Balakrishnan (London: Verso, 1996) , 8.

2. The juxtaposition is obvious in the title of Tolstoy's letter, "Патриотизм или мир" (Patriotism or Peace), written in 1896 in response to the English jour-

nalist John Manson's inquiry into Tolstoy's position on the standoff between the United States and the United Kingdom over the Venezuelan crisis.

3. For an informative study on how both Hawthorne from the United States and Gogol from Russia built their national literatures in response to (Western) Europe, see Anne Lounsbery, *Thin Culture, High Art: Gogol, Hawthorne, and Authorship in Nineteenth-Century Russia and America* (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 2007).

4. Kate Chopin, *The Awakening*, ed. Margo Culley (New York: W. W. Norton, 1994), 10.

5. Chopin, *The Awakening*, 18.

6. D. H. Lawrence, *Lady Chatterley's Lover* (London: Penguin Popular Classics, 1960), 22, 24, and 67, respectively.

7. Lawrence, *Lady Chatterley's Lover*, 98, 254, 254, and 98, respectively.

8. Mann, *Gesammelte Werke* 3:322.

9. Mann, *Gesammelte Werke* 8:458.

10. Anderson, Introduction to *Mapping the Nation*, 8.

11. In 1991, when the poem was written, the war had not yet spread to Bosnia, where it began a year later. The Croatian town of Vukovar fell to the Serbian-dominated Yugoslav army in November 1991, which occasioned Ferida Duraković's first war poem. The entire collection is titled, in homage to Joseph Conrad, *Srce tame* (The Heart of Darkness) and was translated into English by Amela Simić and Zoran Mutić (Fredonia, N.Y.: White Pine Press, 1998). The translation of the poem I use in the epigraph, however, is my own.

12. Another instance worth mentioning is a short recitation by the popular Serbian singer Đorđe Balašević, titled "Odjebi, JNA" (Fuck off, JNA). JNA is the acronym for Jugoslovenska narodna armija (the Yugoslav National Army), which led the fight against the seceding republics. Balašević's statement, first made at a concert in Belgrade in 1992, the year in which the war spread from Croatia to Bosnia, was incredibly bold. He starts out by saying, "Dao sam ti jednu dobru godinu života" (I gave you one good year of my life), referring to the obligatory military service every Yugoslav male had to complete, which Balašević did, as his text reveals, in his nineteenth year. He goes on to say, "Ali . . . ja sam bar imao . . . 20-te i 30-te, za razliku od dečaka na čije crno uokvirene fotografije svakodnevno nailazim na predzadnjim stranicama štampe" (But . . . I at least had . . . [my] twenties and thirties, unlike those boys whose black-framed photographs I come accross every day on the second to last pages of the press). https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=KKWRyUTs7-w.

13. My reading of the possible political analogies for the beast is entirely influenced by the analysis of the poem performed by one of my doctoral advisees in her dissertation. The background information about the poem's composition also comes from her. See chapter 2 in Kristine Kotecki, "After the Archive: Framing Cultural Memory in Ex-Yugoslav Collections" (Ph.D. diss., University of Texas at Austin, 2013). Regarding the equation of "homeland" with "nation," rather than the "state," Kotecki points out that Duraković uses "homeland" as a synonym for "nation" by contrasting "homeland" to "state" in another poem (*domovina* and *država* in Bosnian). The world *nacija* can hardly measure up to *domovina* in the feelings of belonging and warmth that it evokes, and the

speakers of former Yugoslav languages, just like the Russians, are more likely to employ *narod* for "nation."

14. http://news.bbc.co.uk/2/hi/europe/348340.stm

15. http://www.vesti.ru/doc.html?id=784205

16. From personal communication with the author I learned the following about her poem (I quote her e-mail in my own translation from Bosnian): "Because it was written then, the direct association is the Yugoslav National Army and the war in Yugoslavia and all that, but my reason was broader and higher (I remembered my own parents, who lost everything in World War II, and then other wars in the world at the time when ours broke out, Palestine, Vietnam, etc.)—I simply realized that ideologies raise boys so that they would die for them. Insofar every war is unjust. In that sense the poem relates to all the wars in the world, before and after ours. My stance in the poem is actually a civilian, powerless, politically unimportant, female perspective." I find the last line of her explanation particularly enlightening regarding both the poem and my project because the female perspective assumes horrendous importance and power when utilized by men, whether it be the Hebrew prophets foretelling Israel's demise for her unfaithfulness to God, Dostoevsky casting Russia in the role of the self-sacrificing mother of all Slavs, or contemporary world leaders and military commanders who keep "the deception of patriotism" alive.

17. http://www.theatlantic.com/international/archive/2014/03/ukrainian-women-have-launched-a-sex-strike-against-russian-men/284614/

18. Clarence A. Manning, trans., *Taras Shevchenko, the Poet of Ukraine: Selected Poems* (Jersey City, N.J.: Ukrainian National Association, 1945), 88. The English translation of the line from Shevchenko's poem is also Manning's.

19. http://www.elle.com/culture/career-politics/news/a19128/ukraine-sex-ban-campaign-interview/

20. Beer, "'Middlemarch' and 'The Woman Question,'" 160.

21. Matanović, "August Šenoa između teorije i prakse," 254.