

ECHOES OF THE POMERAN SLAV'S CULTURE IN THE SCIENTIFIC POETRY
OF M.V. LOMONOSOV: THE ATTEMPT OF ETHNOGRAPHIC COMMENTARY

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Defining the forms of expression of ethnic self-consciousness, K.V. Chistov was correct in determining them as a socio-psychological category, which "reflects" state and forms of realising of ethnic community, its relations with others, ways of "ethnic self-expression".

This determination is mostly substantial for Slavonic nations whose problem of ethnic identification is mainly connected with feeling of belonging to the Slavonic superethnic community. Of course, realisation of this mentioned double-unity during the centuries-old history of the Slavonic peoples showed itself in a different way as the historical experience witnesses, the ideas and feelings of Slavonic solidarity or using the well-known formula of Jan Kollar, "slavonic mutuality" were becoming stronger in crucial periods, when life bid cruel defiance to the whole Slavonic peoples or even only to the part of them! It's just worth mentioning the role of Great Moravian state and activities of Saint Constantin and Saint Methody in its territory, the eve and the years of Gus movement, the epoche of national Renaissance with forming of nations and national cultures so characteristic of it, the years of the First and the Second World Wars.

Taking into account the reality of geopolitical factors, these processes were in one or another attitude to Slavonic-German connections, which didn't play by all means the last role in the self-consciousness of the Slavonic peoples. From this point of view turning to the scientific poetry of M.V. Lomonosov is of considerable interest. Being a passionate supporter of development of not only Russian culture, but Russian-Slavonic connections as well, Lomonosov repeatedly touched these problems both in his scientific researches and

his poetical experiments, by means of which he tried to extend knowledge about the past and the present of Slavonic nations among as wide as possible group of readers. To prove these words, let us examine some aspects of Lomonosov's Ode "To The Emperor Petr Fedorovitch On His Accession And On New 1762".

This ode, which contained in the allegorical form advice of Lomonosov to the new sovereign, has one strophe which didn't attract the attention of The Complete Works commentators before. Here it is:

"Amuse, Holstein,
That from you blossoms our krin.
Aspire to the sea in celebration,
Tsveitin blossoming in glory.
Althou you are not deep in waters;
But take the happiness of the Neva,
Spread your noise to Zund.
United by Russiane
Put on the Baltic shores
The altars of the true desires".

It's really strange that this strophe was not commented properly - although as we'll see soon, there were some reasons, conditioned by the influence of wrong stereotypes, so-called self-censorship. However, what does it mean "krin", "lily" according to Dal's commentaries, where the river Tsveitin flows and why she (or he as Lomonosov used) blossoms of glory? What is the meaning of mention about Zund and about the altars on the Baltic shore. The answer to the question we can find in Lomonosov's estimation of personality and rights on Russian throne of Peter the Third, a grandson of Peter the Great, and if wider, - in his conception of Varangian problem and Rurik's summoning. Let's try to investigate these problems.

Lomonosov, according to his created theory of the enlightened monarch, saw in the heir of the throne Petr Fedorovitch - and after the death of Elisaveta Petrovna - in the emperor Peter the Third - the direct continuer of the activities of Peter the Third, worshipped by Lomonosov. A lot of his statements on subject witness about it and also the dedication text to the first volume of "Russian History" by V.N. Tatischev, written by Lomonosov from the name of Tatischev, who asked him about it. After the expression of confidence that the grandson

will follow the glorious activity of great grandfather, Tatishev (and in fact Lomonosov) wrote:

"Your Emperor Highness remarkable qualities give a doubtless hope that in time determined by God an ardent imitator of immortal by the deserts to her in your Highness Russia will see". Without touching this subject in detail we can only mark that in majority these hopes were approved, although the extremely short period of Peter the Third being a sovereign borns difficulties in the final value. It's clear that the motives of his overthrown formulated in manifestos of Catherine the Second, were a lie which didn't much believe thoughtful contemporaries, but which was taken on believe by the following generations of historians and writers fortunately - not everybody!

But even if to deflect from the argument about the personality of Petr Fedorovitch, it's undoubtedly that Lomonosov, and not only he, set considerable hopes on the grandson of Peter the Great and the new view of Elisabeth. And he searched not only psychological but also socio-genealogical grounds for it. That's why, at first, he called Golstina (Holstein) to "amuse", because from here "blossoms our krin". Indeed, with the death of Peter the Second, the grandson of Peter the Great and the son of poor prince Alexey the dynasty of Romanovs in men generation was broken. The last direct descendant, through princess Ann, anyhow before the birth of Pavel Petrovitch, was Petr Fedorovitch named at the birth in 1728 as Peter Karl - the son of Holstein - Gottorf (not Gottorp, as was written later) duke Karl Friedrich. As far as after the death of the father Petr Fedorovitch, who was since 1742 the heir of the Russian throne, became at the same time Holstein - Gottvorf duke - in law, he accordingly nominally headed the dynasty.

It's no mere chance that in "Brief Russian Annals" Lomonosov paid attention to fact of genealogical relationship of Petr Fedorovitch with Russian sovereigns before the Romanov's accession. In the genealogy of Russian sovereigns from Rurik (Roorik) as Lomonosov wrote enclosed to "Annals", it is written that the daughter of Tver's prince Alexandre Mikhailovitch, Uliana, married Lithuanian prince Olgerd. She "gave birth to Yagaylo, Polish king; from him was born Kazimir the Forth, Polish king. Kazimir's princess Ann married Boguslav the Great, Pomeran duke. Their princess married Friederich the First, king of Denmark. Their prince Adolf was the ancestor of Hosltein dukes and from him were: Ivan - Adolf, Friederich, sovereign great duke Petr Fedorovitch, the twenty-fifth from Roorik."

Besides these marked political and dynastic considerations, the question of Peter the Third's relationship with Russian sovereigns was important for Lomonosov by another reason which was implied by him ingeniously in words "That from you blossoms our krin". It was connected with the questionable subject of Rurik's ethnic belonging. Lomonosov was eadically disagree with the statements of Beier and Müller (Miller- in Russia) who supposed Varangrians to be Scandinavians by birth.

That argument, however, had even more ancient history, from the time when Z. Herberstein in his "Notes about Moscow affairs" (1549) concluded that Rurik was a Slav, by birth from ancient Vagria or Holstein. The same thing affirmed Lomonosov in his remark to thesis of G.F. Müller "The Origin Of Name And Nation Of Russians" (1749) proving that "Varangians - Rus and Prusses speak the Slavonic language", Lomonosov aduced the following reasons:

"Before Roorik and his time, when as we've seen before, Slavonic nation and language rather widely spreaded, then from Holstein to the mouth of the river Dvina, nations lived on the southern Varangian cost spoke the Slavonic language in proof of which we still have rather equal and clear signs that is not only names of villages, rivers, and towns but also whole lands".

As far as Lomonosov hadn't an opportunity to reject an annalistic story about Variangan's calling, he tried to announce them unconditionally as also Slavs to localise them in the regions of Baltic southern shore and to name this land "the ancident motherland of first Russian sovereigns". But if it is so, his appeal "Amuse Holstein" was happening to be a poetical device, by means of which Lomonosov wanted to emphasize that Petr Fedorovitch, native of ancient Slavonic Vagria, came on the banks of the Neva for the renovation of Russian dynasty the same as Rurik by birth of that place founded it in former times. The idea of not only state but also dynastic community between Rurikovitchs and Romanovs, Lomonosov, as we've seen, was developing also in his historical works. That borned the line "That from you blossoms our krin" which meant, as Lomonosov supposed, an indigenous connection of Vagria-Holstein with Russia.

Now about the river Tsveitin and Zund. From the mentioned quotation we can see that Lomonosov payed attention to preservation of Slavonic substratum in the toponymy of Germany, especially in its northern regions. It's really so. If we look at the modern maps, we can clearly make sure of it: Schverin - anciet Slavonic Zverin (zver - animal in Russian), Güstrow - ancient Slavonic Ostrov (Ostrov - is-

land in Russian), Oldenburg - Stargrad (old city - in Russian) and also the toponymes without necessary translation, as Grabow, Dobberan, Dömitz, Rostock and many others with materialised memory about Slavonic tribes lived there in former times. That's why the river flowing from East into Kil's fiord and in German called Schventin, Lomonosov named Tsveitin. As far as Zund concerns, this is a seastrait which separates the isle Zealand from the seacoast of Scandinavia, although this name, all the more in poetical meaning, could be understood wider, with spreading it on Southbaltic coast (compare with the seaport Schtralzund near the isle Rugen).

If the river Tsveitin for Lomonosov was a symbol of Vagria, as the Neva - symbol of Russia, mention of Zund kept in it rather gentle hint of Petr Fedorovitsch's desire to return, after his accession to Russian throne, he inherited dukedom Schleswig occupied by Denmark at the beginning of the eighteenth century. Being just a heir in Petersburg (and at the same time a duke - in - law in Kil) Petr Fedorovitch didn't conceal his intentions, and Lomonosov, in fact belonging to Peter's encirclement through his protector I.I. Shuvalov, couldn't but know about them. What was, at last the sense of three lines of the strophe we examine:

"United by Russian
put on the Baltic shores
The altars of the true desires?"

Here the historical views of Lomonosov were crossing with the political interest we've just mentioned.

The fourth chapter of "The Ancient Russian History" named "About dispositions, behaviour and beliefs Slavonic" contained some information about the customs of Polab - Pomorsky Slavs, in German named "Venden". It's however notable that Lomonosov, appealing to them, separated those who "especially ... lived in Vagria". Referring to the words of his predecessors, he wrote in detail about their religion beliefs and rites, description of which he found in the works of medieval annalists Titmar, Adam Brensky, Helmold and others. For instance, in the corresponding part of that chapter we can find considerable information about the Slavonic barbarian heathen temple Arkon on the isle Rugen (Rooyan), which was broken by Aanes in 1168. He also used Helmold's information about the legendary Slavonic town Vineta on the isle Volin: "Merchanting by the goods of different kinds very rich town

and had everything which used to be seldom and pleasant, Ruined from some Danian king". It happened in 1184. It's not hard to notice not only historical but also military-political orientation of such allusions. And the words "United by Russian" were to emphasize the unification of forces of Russia and Holstein by means of Peter the Third ascending to the throne.

It's worth remarking that the idea of that Russian - Holsteinian double-unity was attractive for Peter the Third. Being just a heir of Elisaveta Petrovna, he radically opposed to the refusal from his dynastic rights on Schleswig what the chancellor A.P. Bestuzhev-Rumin in particular insisted on. In the note of Petr Fedorovitsch a Holstein duke, referring to the empress in 1760, he reminded her an immutable aspiration of Peter the Great for "having possessions at the Baltic shore" and asserted unambiguously that it will be really put into life when Russian sovereign and Holsteinian duke join in person of her heir. It's characteristic that this idea had got her object representation at the silver thaler of prince, hallmarked coining of which was made in 1753: at the other side of the coin Russian and Holsteinian emblems were pictured in the compositional unity.

That's the concealed sense of Lomonosov's symbolic, who used in his strophe the historical and cultural reality of Slavs-Vagrs. However this sense is concealed only for the readers of the twentieth century. Two ages ago "Venden" question was "on everyone's ear" Anyway, in sixteenth-eighteenth centuries, using in majority the material of medieval annalists, Polish and German scientists - from A. Krantz, M. Bielsky, M. Cromer to M. Leibnitz - inevitably touched upon this problem in one or another way. It was so also because nevertheless "Venden" were violently assimilated and joined in mass German ethnos, their isolated rest remained.

Without speaking about Luzhitsky Srb, who still exist, there were, for instance, drevlyane (or ancient Polabs) in district of Luneburg, in German still named Vendland. For eighteenth century and the more for preceding ages that was a reality. The most commented bibliografic report of sources and literature about Polab "drevlyane" belongs to the well-known German Slavonic scholar R. Olesch passed away not long ago.

Though the material represented here is mainly devoted to the earlier periods, some publications contain information on drevlyane's ethnography of sixteenth-eighteenth centuries. They usually keep remarks about preservation of many customs and beliefs which go back to

the barbarian antiquity - worship to trees and water, fortunatelling on domestic animals - although the christianisation done in eleventh-twelfth centuries. For instance, in the travel notes of the member of British Royal Society I. Kraisler published in 1740-1741 in Hannover, he used remarks of Y. Hildebrandt belonging to the end of seventeenth century.

"Once - was written - in Rebensdorf (or however another say Dangsdorf) there was a case when a village bull on his way home from pasture began to scratch his itching haunch so strong that the tree fell down and killed him to death. Peasants perceived it as an additional omen of big misfortune." When commenting this text Kraisler added: "There is nothing surprising in the fact that so much ado was about the violent death of the bull. 'Venden' living in the territory of Braunschweig - Luneburg didn't perceive the natural death of a bull as a particular misfortune and in such situation they most often bury him in the centre of a village". This commentary is notable because of the fact that it reflected the situation contemporary to the author. But even in those German regions where Polab and Pomorsky Slavs had been already dissolved in German ethnos long ago, the toponymy witnessed about their former existence to which Lomonosov, as we've seen, payed his attention. This attracted attention of not only scholars but also quite ordinary inhabitants of the territories populated by "Venden" in the old days.

Meklenburg historian G.F. Stiber in 1717 marked that "in Meklenburg as however in Brandenburg mark and in Maisen, we can find the names of towns which, as now tell, have Russian titles". In that connection he remarked: "I recall now how nearly four years ago during the first entry of Russian troops into this land, mister baron Guisen who accompanied his Highness the prince (Alexey M. Petrovitch) used to tell that Russians, when they were detached with assignments, remarkably memorised the name of towns of that land as far as that ones had in majority 'venden' titles quite similar to Russian ones".

"Venden" of Baltic southern coast who practically disappeared by that time continued to interest minds of people in eighteenth century both in Germany and in Russia. For Lomonosov who believed in Slavonic roots of Rurik the problem of Vagria was just an external symbol of his more deep interest to the perished brunch of the Western Slavonic peoples. That's why he used such phrases as "Pomeran Slavs, especially those who lived in Vagria". But also German scholars - his contempo-

raries - when turning to the same problem were inevitably running across the question of the Slavonic cultural unity.

The thread of times is really indissoluble! The historical memory about Slavonic tribes, inhabited lots of German territories in former time, promoted not only strengthening of separated Slavonic nations in the epoche of Enlightenment but also their useful contacts with German neighbours. We can affirm that for some German regions with their conditions of preserving stability of inhabitants feeling of Slavonic roots got into the regional self-consciousness of the member of German ethnoses.

It's known that Meklenburg dukes, whose direct ancestors were Obodrit princes, were proud to constatate that their dynasty was at the first place among other powerful German dynasties for the continuity of existence and for the antiquity. For instance, the monument of Obodrit prince Niklot built in the previous age is still towering at the pediment of the Duke Home of Oldenburg in December of 1990 one of Oldenburg dukes told us that his granny's brother descended from Meklenburg House immutably called himself Obodrit in the cheerful minutes of life. The historical reminiscences connected both with ancient Vagria and Hosltein origin of Peter the Third play an important role in the scholar activity of the scientific library in the town Eutin of Eastern Holstein.

The exhibition devoted to the question of German-Russian contacts was demonstrated both in Eutin and Kil in 1987-88. We can judge about its orientation by the title "Kil, Eutin, St. Petersburg: The connections of Holstein-Gottorf's dukedom with the dynasty of Russian tzars in the Eighteenth century. Policy and culture".

In spite of the all quaint curves of history, in spite of the tragedies of estrangement, wars and oppositions of long ago and not so long ago periods of time, Slavonic nations used showing to the world the examples of openness and good-neighbourhood. And if these lessons were not always learned by everybody - it's a lesson too. But also a warning.

And that's why the investigators (scholars) have to enlighten those pages of history, which could strengthen and make percepts and believe of our ancestors irresistible - in the name of their memory, in the name of ourselves, in the name of those who will come to change us.

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ОТЗВУКИ КУЛЬТУРЫ "ПОМЕРАНСКИХ СЛАВЯН" В УЧЕНОЙ ПОЭЗИИ

М. В. ЛОМОНОСОВА: ОПЫТ ЭТНОГРАФИЧЕСКОГО КОММЕНТАРИЯ

Р е з ю м е

На примере этнографического осмысления оды русского энциклопедиста XVIII в. Михаила Васильевича Ломоносова "Императору Петру Федоровичу на восшествие на престол и на новый 1762 год" автор рассматривает воздействие славяно-германских контактов на развитие национального самосознания в славянском мире.

Будучи горячим сторонником Петра III, еще когда он являлся наследником российского престола, Ломоносов характеризовал его как прямого продолжателя в будущем дела своего деаа, императора Петра Великого. Поскольку отцом Петра III был шлезвиг-гольштейнский герцог Карл

Фридрих (матерью будущего русского императора была старшая дочь Петра - Анна Петровна). Ломоносов подчеркивал, что в древности, примерно с VI по X-XI вв. наследственные земли Петра Федоровича были населены славянами и именовались Вагрией. Поэтические аспекты сливались для Ломоносова с аспектами историческими, входя в активно пропагандировавшееся им антинорманистское направление. Отрицая приход летописных варягов в Новгород из Скандинавии и их скандинавское происхождение, Ломоносов стремился доказать, что Рюрик с братьями и дружиной пришли на Русь из славянской Вагрии и были с этнической точки зрения славянами. Отсюда и метафорическое сопоставление Петра Федоровича с Рюриком: последний положил начало династии русских князей и царей, первый обновил мужскую линию династии Романовых. Вместе с тем Ломоносов стремился выявить реликты славянской культуры в Северной Германии, коренное немецкое население которой несло в себе наследие своих славянских предков.