V. ALEXEI EVSTRATOV (University of Paris-Sorbonne, France) Russian Drama in French: Sumarokov’s *Sinav and Truvor* and its Translations.

The reception of European literature in Russia and the pro-Russian stance of European writers are traditional subjects in literary history and the study of cultural transfer. Early translations of Russian literary works in European languages appeared in historiography as *cosa rara*, the effect of the efforts of a few enthusiasts (like Gottsched, for instance). But these translations were, in fact, at the center of the Russian monarchy’s cultural project, which was closely related to the Russian Empire’s political interests. Because of this connection an important work could be published abroad in translation before the Russian edition (e.g. the first editions of Kantemir’s *Satires*: 1749 – in French, 1752 – in German, 1762 – in Russian; another example – the first editions of *Semira* by Sumarokov: 1762 – in German, 1768 – in Russian, etc.). The position of these translations – between two or more linguistic areas – makes them an interesting subject to study. Yet, this aspect of cultural interaction within the eighteenth-century Republic of Letters has not been studied in any comprehensive way. This paper explores the case of Alexandr Sumarokov’s *Sinav and Truvor*, one of the most important Russian tragedies of the eighteenth century from the point of view of staging history and criticism. The study seeks to reconstruct the history of the tragedy’s translations and to give an idea of the translations’ pragmatics.

1. My interest in the subject arose from the study of a manuscript that I “rediscovered” in the French National Library (BNF). This is a French translation of Sumarokov’s tragedy *Sinav and Truvor*, which has escaped scholars’ attention, though it is listed in Horn-Morval’s bibliography of French translations and adaptations of foreign dramas. From the point of view
of form, the text is unique in the history of Russian literature in translation because this is the first French verse translation of a Russian dramatic text.

1.1. The Russian version of the tragedy was first performed in July 1750. The original edition was published in 1751, as well as the first French translation *in prose* by Aleksandr Dolgoruky (Sinave & Trovère, tragédie. St. Petersbourg: Dans l’Académie Impériale des Sciences, 1751). The translator was probably Prince Aleksandr Sergeevich Dolgoruky, the son of Sergej Petrovich Dolgoruky, a state official, and Irina Petrovna Dolgoruky. Aleksandr was born in 1722, and went to Paris to study in 1742. He was perfectly fluent in both Russian and French, which explains the accuracy of the translation, and its closeness to the Russian text. See, for instance, Gostomysl’s lines from the opening scene (I, 1):

Пришло желанное, Ильмена, мною время,
Соединить тобой мое с цесарским племя.
Весь град сего часа нетерпеливо ждет,
В который кровь моя в порфире процветет.
Уж к брацу олтари цветами украшены,
И брачных свечи в светильники военны:
Готовся, дщерь моя, готовься винуть в храм.

Cf.:

Le jour que j’avois tant désiré, Ilmène, est enfin venu, d’unir par vous ma Famille à celle de l’Empereur. Toute la ville attend avec impatience cette heure où la Pourpre doit donner un nouvel éclat à mon sang ; déjà les autels sont ornés de fleurs pour la Pompe nuptiale, & les flambeaux de l’himen sont prêts à s’allumer ; preparés, vous ma Fille, preparés vous, à aller au Temple (p. 5).
In March 1751, sending a copy of the work to Thomas Birch Daniel Dumaresq, the chaplain of the English Factory at St Petersburg wrote that this novelty was meant to please the Austrian envoy, thus suggesting that the play was in some way relevant to the political situation at that time.

1.2. This translation made the tragedy accessible to the European reader. In 1753 Johann Christoph Gottsched, a German writer and professor, published a review of Dolgoruky’s translation of Sinav and Travor in his magazine Das Neueste aus der anmuthigen Gelehrsamkeit (1753. Bd. 3. S. 684-691). The article gave a summary of the play with a few lines in German translation (see articles of Gukovskij and Graßhoff). Gottsched admired Sumarokov’s treatment of national history, and finished the piece by urging German writers to imitate the Russian poet.

Some two years later, in April 1755, the Parisian Journal étranger published a long and complimentary review of Sumarokov’s play, setting out the subject of the tragedy and quoting its most remarkable scenes. The quotations were, obviously, based on the Dolgoruky translation, but the author slightly changed the text, for instance, in the opening scene:

Le jour que j’avais tant désiré, Ilmene, est enfin venu ; jour heureux, qui par vous doit unir ma famille à celle de nos Maîtres. Toute la Ville attend avec impatience ce moment, où la pourpre va donner à mon sang un nouvel éclat. Déjà les Autels sont ornés de fleurs, les flambeaux de l’hymen s’allument. Préparez-vous ma fille, préparez-vous à me suivre au Temple (p. 115-116).
The anonymous critic also set some themes from the tragedy into the context of the century’s political discourse. He commented, for instance, on the dialogue between Sinav and Truvor in the first scene of the second act:

Le jeune Prince [Truvor] continue d’entasser ici sentances sur sentances. On ne peut que sçavoir gré a l’Auteur d’avoir saisi cette occasion, pour déclamer contre l’injustice et la cruauté; vice odieux, trop souvent reprochés aux Gouvernemens despotiques; vice dont sa nation s’est vue plus d’une fois la victime, mais dont les Peuples n’étoient pas autrefois plus exempts que les Princes & leurs Ministres: & s’ils ont terni quelquefois le caractère du Réformateur même de la Russie, il faut avouer que souvent il en trouva l’excuse dans le génie de la Nation. Ainsi M. Soumarokoff ne peut trop s’élever contre les défauts si long-temps communs aux Souverains & aux Sujets. Prêcher à la Russie la justice & l’humanité, c’est seconder l’exemple auguste, qu’elle reçoit aujourd’hui de la Princesse qui la gouverne. C’est donc l’Auteur lui-même qu’il faut écouter ici, & non pas le Prince Trouvore (p. 130).

Thus, according to the Journal étranger, this dramatic soliloquy was used to defend and legitimize Elisabeth’s reign. In the final passage of the article the author explains that he does not know whether or not the play has any historical basis, but concludes that the tragedy was tremendously successful in Russia, and would be as successful on any foreign stage, which are sufficient reasons why the poet’s motherland should be proud of the work: “C’est un monument des progrés, que les Arts, introduits par Pierre le Grand, ont faits en Russie sous la protection de son Auguste Fille” (p. 156). There are clear echoes here of the official rhetoric glorifying the Russian monarchy commonly used in pro-Russian writings of the time like Voltaire’s Histoire de l’empire de Russie sous Pierre le Grand (1759-1763) and others.
One of Gottsched's disciples, Christian Gottlib Kölner, translated the summary of the play that had been published in the Journal étranger for the collection *Sammlung einiger ausgesuchter Stucke der Gesellschaft der freien Kunsie zu Leipzig* (1755. 2 Jg. S. 81-149). (Soon after, in 1757, Kölner received a position in Moscow University). In 1758, an extract from the French article translated by Grigorij Kozickij was published in the Russian periodical *Ežemesâčnye sočineniâ* (T. 2. Dec. P. 507-539).

1.3. The verse translation found in the BNF is accurate and correct:

Cet instant ou mon cœur a long temps aspiré
Cet instant qu'en secret j'avois tant désiré
Cet instant est venu d'unir par vous, ma fille,
Au sang de l'Empereur celui de ma famille.
La Porpre qui distingue Ílmene, un si haut rang
Donne un nouvel éclat à l'éclat de mon sang,
Quand Novogrod l'attend avec impatience
Pouvez vous témoigner autant d'indifférence?
De vos tristes regards que dois-je presumer?
Les flambeaux de l'hymen sont prets a s'allumer;
Les autels sont parés; la pompe nuptiale
Brille deja des pleurs qu'a nos yeux elle étale

The translation is evidently quite close to Dolgoruky's (see above). The author's name is mentioned in the title of the work: "Sinave et Trouvère Tragédie Russe Par Monsieur de Soumarokoff Mise en vers français Par M. Lespine de Morembert Comedien français De Sa Majesté Imperiale De toutes les Russies A Saint Petersbourg 1751" (*Ibid.*, f. 3).

2. Antoine-Nicolas de Lespine de Morembert, originally a French actor, also served as tutor in the Corps of Pages while in Russia. We do not know much about his life and career. However the information gleaned from his letters to Charles-Simon Favart and Favart's wife is
useful, not only for a biographical study, but also for the diplomatic and social history of the Russian court.

2.1. The correspondence of de Morembert with Favart, a famous dramatist, librettist, and director of the Opéra comique in Paris, was published for the first time in 1808 by Favart’s grandson. This publication contained five letters: four from de Morembert to Favart and one of Favart’s responses. Chronologically, there are two parts: two letters date from 1745 and three are from the early 1760s. I have found in the BNF the manuscripts which Favart’s grandson used while preparing the publication. These manuscripts include six of Morembert’s letters (two to Mr Favart and four to Mme Favart) which were not published, all dating from the early 1760s. This correspondence, as well as some other sources, makes it possible to reconstruct the main phases of de Morembert’s career and life in Russia.

2.2. De Morembert was born in 1708 in France and came to Saint-Petersburg in 1742 to serve the Empress Elisabeth as an actor in the French company. From his first known letter to Favart in September 1745 one can learn a little about his situation by that time. His correspondence with Favart, and also with Jean Monnet, another director of the Opéra comique, testifies to the fact that he was in contact with the theatrical milieu of Paris. Indeed, he also mentions Boquet, the costume designer of the Opéra comique, and some other people connected with the Parisian stage.

De Morembert performed both tragic and comic roles, but it seems that the Russian courtiers were not completely satisfied with his qualities as an actor. In the summer of 1758 Ivan Shuvalov wrote to Karl Sievers, a master of ceremonies, that de Morembert would stay with the company until the following spring, but that he was not a very good actor. De Morembert did not write at all about his stage career in the correspondence remaining from the early 1760s, probably because of his dismissal. The most frequent topics of his correspondence
are debts, favours and acquaintances. In January 1761, after Elisabeth’s death, de Morembert’s tone was disillusioned. He observes of the Russian court: “Les fous et les bas bouffons y font fortune.” He was unhappy with his situation and wanted to leave the country. The prince Repnin had already agreed to take him to Spain as a secretary, but debts prevented de Morembert from receiving an official diplomatic position. Still, he hoped to receive an unofficial one.

2.3. On 22 January 1757, Elisabeth signed the treaty of Versailles uniting the Russian, Austrian and French courts. Chevalier McKenzie Douglass, a Scotsman in service to Louis XV, was one of the active supporters of this alliance. In a missive asking the Foreign Minister to pay the agents providing him with information while he was in Russia, Douglass wrote of de Morembert as someone well-informed about Russian affairs.

When Catherine came to power, de Morembert decided to remind the French Foreign Ministry about his past service and seek to have his appointment renewed. The main subject of his unpublished letter to Favart of 9 October 1762 was his financial troubles. He sought to revive an annual gratuity he had received from the Foreign Ministry in 1756 and 1757. In the letters to Favart de Morembert explains the kind of services he provided for the French diplomatic mission: he had prepared reports on the Russian court’s political disposition and sent them to France. Apparently his attempts to approach the Foreign Ministry in the early 1760s were fruitless, and, dismissed from the theater, he chose a literary career.

3. De Morembert’s earliest literary works showed to his attention to the Russian court requirements, both as an actor and as Ivan Shuvalov’s client.

3.1. De Morembert sent the manuscript of the translation to Favart and asked his old friend to publish it, promising both commercial success and the king’s approval of the publication:
Voila la tragedie Russienne de ma traduction en vers dont je parle la mienne du 28 : septembre d[ernie]: si tu peux la faire imprimer et me faire le plaisir dont je te parle par ladi[te], ni roy ni Prault n’auront rien a s’en repentir (Ibid., f. 1).

Among the letters we have, that dated 28 September 1762 does indeed mention some dramatic works, which de Morembert promised to send to Favart the next spring. So, we can date this transmission to the beginning of the Catherine’s reign (spring of 1763?). The verse translation could have been written earlier still: first, the titlepage of the manuscript gave 1751 as the date; second, Sinav and Truvor was performed in French on 6 September 1754 in the court theater and the staged version would have been in verse. This performance could also explain the need to translate the work into verse.

3.2. A newly translated edition, which was planned but never carried out, certainly had its own pragmatics. De Morembert wrote a great deal about his literary projects in the early 1760s. In his letter to Favart dated 28 September 1763, he remarks that, if he had not left France twenty years earlier, he would attempt a career as an author: as proof of his talent, he includes a short poem. He also mentions an ode on the death of Elisabeth and a tragedy called Licurse, both of which he sent to France, the former having been lauded by Favart. (I could find no evidence that these works still exist.) In February 1763, he sent a poetic work divided into songs to Favart and a certain abbé Couché and asked them to read it. In January 1764 he asked Mme Favart to carry out an experiment with his new play in verse: she should forward the work to Favart without naming the author and then await his judgement on it:

S’il la condamne absolument, au feu sans appel, au feu: si par un bonheur inesperé il la trouve la la, passable; digne d’etre joué, qu’il la fasse executer, si elle tombe motus: si elle
reussit grace a ses corrections parlés, Madame, parlés; dites luy alors le noeud de ce badinage (BNF. Coll. Rondel. MS 291. Pièce 34, f. 1 verso).

One of de Morembert’s ideas was to collaborate on a comic opera with Mme Favart. According to the project, she was to send him the plan of a play and his work would be to put it into verse: “Si cette piece n’est pas belle par ma faute s’entend elle n’en sera pas moins rare Plan fait a Paris Piece versifiée en Russie!” (letter from Moscow, February 11 (22), 1763, BNF. Coll. Rondel. MS 291. Pièce 30, f. 1 verso).

After his dismissal in the late 1750s, de Morembert wanted to try his luck as a dramatic author. To achieve this goal he used his Parisian connections, especially the Favarts, who, by that time, were renowned for their dramatic works in both France and Russia.

3.3. The manuscript in question consists not only of the text of the tragedy, but also of de Morembert’s foreword and a dedication to Ivan Shuvalov. In the foreword de Morembert makes a mysterious observation on the choice of the play: “Des raisons que je ne peux rendre publiques m’ont fait préférer cette Piece cy d’autres du même auteur...” (BNF. Coll. Rondelle. M.RE 249, f. 2 verso). He also stresses that he could not have finished the work without the support of the high-ranking people who helped him. One of them was, obviously, Shuvalov himself. De Morembert begins the dedication with the following rhetorical question:

A qui pourrais je offrir un travail qui pour ainsy dire s’en fait sous vos yeux, et auquel vous m’avez aidé dans ses difficultez par la delicatessse que vous possedez et de votre langue et de la notre même, si ce n’est a V.E.? (Ibid., f. 3 verso).

In the foreword, de Morembert regrets the limited use of the Russian language among the European literati, and stresses the speed of the Russian theater’s development:
...le théâtre Russien est encore dans son enfance pour ne pas dire au berceau mais aussi pour rendre justice à la vérité s'il va du pas dont il commence il est a croire qu'il atteindra tous les autres en peu de temps. L'on trouve parmi la jeunesse Russienne le goût, l'emulation, et le génie dramatique (*Ibid.*, f. 2).

There is no explanation given for the striking rapidity of the evolution of Russian dramatic arts, but the dedication to Shuvalov clearly aims to emphasize the role of aristocratic patronage. In 1762, Shuvalov was preparing to travel to Europe, and, in encouraging the edition of *Sinav and Truvor*, he probably wanted to revive his fame as a patron of the arts before his arrival.

The simultaneous publication of *Sinav and Truvor* in Russian and in French was very significant, for it highlights an important aspect of this early evolution of Russian literature: the creation of a national literature was especially important not simply in the local context of the country, but also in the broader international cultural and political context.

Friedrich Moser wrote in *Der Herr und der Diener* (1759), that the court had its own language and its own politics. In tragedy these two systems operate in close correlation. Tragedy's importance in the shaping and transference of political categories gave the genre the force of a political declaration. This is why the Russian court ordered the translations and summaries of topical literary works.

De Morembert's adaptation of *Sinav and Truvor* was part of his career project. To bring it to fruition, he relied on two different social networks: the Parisian theatrical milieu and the Russian aristocratic sphere. The text, however, was never published. Thus, the case of de Morembert reveals the gap between the two modes of existence of literary works translated from Russian in the eighteenth century: 1) the propagandist use of the texts (see the history of
VI. GALINA BABKOVA (Russian State University for Humanities (RGGu), Moscow):
"Открывая детство...": детская преступность в России 18 в."

Вторая половина XVIII в. традиционно считается временем кардинальной трансформации законодательства в отношении малолетних преступников, изъятие которых от общеуголовных санкций произошло в соответствии с указом от 26 июня 1765 г. Для понимания характера судопроизводства при разбирательстве дел, в которых были замешаны несовершеннолетние, в 1740-60-х гг. значительный интерес представляет комплекс делопроизводственной документации, сложившейся 1) в процессе выработки и утверждения вышеназванного указа; 2) в результате переписки между Сенатом и Экспедицией о колодниках при канцелярии Сената, с одной стороны, и Сыскным приказом, а затем образованной на его месте в 1763 г. Московской Розыскной экспедицией, с другой стороны. Поводом для переписки стал сенатский указ, датируемый в ПСЗРИ по дню его публикации 31 марта 1763 г.

Указ стал следствием обсуждения проблемы малолетних преступников в Сенате 28 февраля 1763 г. В результате всем судебным местам было приказано в течение недели прислать в Экспедицию о колодниках ведомости о содержащихся у них несовершеннолетних, которые находились под следствием по подозрению в совершении