

The Theme of the *Činovnik* and the Antinomies of Order and Life in Nineteenth-Century Russian Literature¹

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Very near the beginning of *Crime and Punishment*² a character is introduced by means of a reference which is likely to appear both familiar and a bit curious to the casual reader of nineteenth-century Russian literature. The character is Marmeladov, the disgraced and drunken contrasting study of guilt and repentance who impinges on Raskol'nikov's awareness after the latter has entered a low-class tavern. Marmeladov is introduced as a *činovnik* (a "clerk" in Garnett's translation and a "civil servant" in Magarshack's). For no immediately obvious reason, Marmeladov's profession receives considerable emphasis. It is an essential element of the remarkable first impression created by Marmeladov, an impression which Raskolnikov will remember long afterward as having been a sort of "presentiment" (*predčuvstvie*). Aside from this mysterious hint, the narrator leads us to assume that the public profile of Marmeladov's calling is remarkably pronounced and discernible. In the process of being introduced, this unshaven, dirty figure who has traded his official uniform for hay-strewn worker's clothes is nonetheless repeatedly said to appear "like a retired government clerk," "like a clerk," in lacking beard or mustache (*"vybrito . . . po-činovnič'i"*), and "respectable, [...] like an official" in manner (*"v uchvatkach*

¹ Reprinted from *Russian Literature Tri-Quarterly* XI (1982) 309-332.

² Fjodor Dostoevskij, *Crime and Punishment* (New York 1959), trans. Constance Garnett, 8-10. F. M. Dostoevskij, *Prestuplenie i nakazanie, Sobranie sočinenij*, T. V (Moskva 1957) 14-15.

ego” [...] *bylo čto-to solidno-činovnič’e*”). Finally, we learn that Marmeladov himself attaches considerable importance to his own professional status. When at last he addresses Raskolnikov, it is with the words, “I am a titular counsellor,” which are immediately repeated: “Marmeladov. Titular counsellor” (“... *sostoju tituljarnym sovetnikom. Marmeladov—takaja familija; tituljarnyj sovetnik*”). There follows his own account of the plight of his wife and children, a consequence of his drunkenness and departure from service.

The narrator’s repeated references and insinuations together with the detail of Raskolnikov’s mysteriously remembered “premonition” might well seem excessive to a modern reader. After all, Marmeladov’s profession plays hardly any role in his subsequent interactions with Raskol’nikov. However, the emphasis is not uncharacteristic. Similar emphatic references to the rank and position of *činovniki* are found in the works of most major nineteenth century writers and those of many minor ones. The references allude confidently to “collegiate assessors,” “titular registrars,” “civil counsellors” or to bearers of the fifth, ninth, fourteenth or other similarly designated ranks. By means of these references which were clear in import to the contemporary reader, characters are equipped with psychological and social motivations. Indeed, the rank and position of the *činovnik* perform the sort of motivating function in Russian literature exercised in the novels of a Dickens or Balzac by property ownership and monetary transactions. Just as the latter generated conflicts, positioned characters in settings, and set plots in motion, so rank and office exert strong forces, often in ironic fashion, upon the social and psychological behavior of the Russian protagonists. And not on them alone. Rank (*čin*) was an overriding obsession in nineteenth century Russia. *Čin*, *čaj*, and *šč* (rank, tea, and cabbage soup), writes historian Richard Pipes, formed a triad around which life revolved in czarist Russia.³ Similarly, Hans-Joachim Torke, a scholar of the czarist bureaucracy, writes that *čin* and Petersburg were “*magische*

³ Richard Pipes, *Russia under the Old Regime* (New York 1974), 125.

Anziehungspunkte” (magical points of attraction) which drew everything toward them.⁴ It is not surprising, then, that the living embodiment of *čín*, the *činovnik*, should serve as an important traditional type in Russian literature.

As a literary type or thematic material, the *činovnik* merits analysis for several reasons. First of all, his importance rises above that of background detail or historical coloration. The thematic traits and conflicts associated with this figure are varied, but they revolve around a core problematic which constitutes them as an integral thematic reality—an evolving constellation of logically related motives. Second, the thematic type of the *činovnik* requires attention because it is peculiarly Russian in nature and origin. Status based on money or property in the works of Dickens or Balzac can be grasped readily by the modern reader. Status based on *čín* is more elusive; it derived from a social structure which was peculiar to Russia and which has vanished. Efforts at offering West European equivalents based on the concepts of the “bourgeoisie,” “aristocracy,” or even on Western bureaucratic systems, would distort rather than translate the object. Finally, the themes and motives centered on the *činovnik* are of importance because their elucidation can reveal much concerning the thematic unity of nineteenth-century Russian literature. It is not only Raskol’nikov who is linked to Marmeladov by a mysterious affinity: both are linked to fictional predecessors and successors by virtue of a tradition that encompasses social history as well as thematic evolution. The following study will explore each of these points in detail.

A theme in the broad sense of the term may be a subject, an idea, or a problem. A theme in the narrower sense accepted by thematology or *Stoffforschung* is a plot or fable, shared by several works and structured in each case by motives common to all. That there is a theme of the *činovnik* in the narrower sense has been argued by Aleksandr Cejtin in a monograph published in Moscow in 1923:

⁴ Hans-Joachim Torke, *Das russische Beamtentum in der ersten Hälfte des neunzehnten Jahrhunderts*, Forschungen zur osteuropäischen Geschichte, 13 (Berlin 1967), 37.

Povesti o bednom činovniku Dostojevskogo: k istorii odnogo sjužeta.⁵ Cejtlin founds his study upon an interesting premise: that the works of great writers like Dostoevskij are built upon a “literary foundation,” consisting of the themes and motives of numerous predecessors who, being frequently of lower or even trivial stature, are subsequently forgotten. As a result, much that seems to characterize the great literary work as unique is in fact misconstrued as having sprung forth *ex nihilo*. In reality, only the foundation, cumulatively built up out of often trivial sources, makes the great work possible: they are its “soil” (*počva*).⁶ 5

One such soil is the fecund Russian tradition of works about *činovniki*. Cejtlin traces the beginnings this tradition to seventeenth-century Russia and finds in the nineteenth century its time of full flowering. The increased literary interest in the figure began even before Gogol’ with writers like Bulgarin, Panov, and Puškin (*Ežerskij* and *Mednyj vsadnik*); but it was under Gogol’'s influence that the theme acquired its “canonical” form. Following the success of *Šinel’* and *Zapiski sumasšedšego*, the so-called Natural School elaborated upon—and often trivialized—the figure which Gogol’ had brought into the focus of literary attention. Cejtlin writes that in the 1840s alone more than 150 stories were written about *činovniki*.⁷

In this mass of literature, certain motives began to crystallize and form a distinct pattern. Cejtlin enumerates a number of situations and settings which recur in the *činovnik* stories. There are many, for example, which concentrate upon the *činovnik*’s failures at the office, describing the official world with great realism. Another characteristic approach is to show the *činovnik* amidst the circle of his colleagues, within the microcosm of the *kanceljarija* or bureau with all its attendant trivialities. The *činovnik*’s home life, in which he is in turn the subordinate of his wife, may also provide the story with

⁵ Aleksandr Cejtlin, *Povesti o bednom činovniku Dostojevskogo: k istorii odnogo sjužeta* (Moskva 1923).

⁶ Cejtlin, op. cit., 1-3, 53-54.

⁷ Cejtlin, op. cit., 37.

its focus. However, for present purposes the motives of greatest interest are those that concern the unhappy love of the *činovnik*. These often involve a triad of motives which correspond to the three principal figures of the stories concerned: there is the poor *činovnik* himself; there is the motive of his love, sometimes reciprocated and sometimes not, for a young girl who may be the daughter of a high official or of the *činovnik*'s own superior; and finally there is the motive of the obstructing influence of an "important personage" (a "*značitel'noe lico*" in Gogol's term). The obstructing *značitel'noe lico* may be the girl's father, or he may be a rival who does not really love the girl. In either case he ruins the *činovnik*'s happiness forever.⁸

The triad of poor *činovnik*, girl, and obstructing important personage is of particular interest because it coincides with the situation found in Gogol's *Zapiski sumasšedšego* (*Diary of a Madman*) and Dostoevskij's *Dvojniki* (*The Double*) and *Bednye ljudi* (*Poor Folk*). But one must add that this applies with an important difference in the first two works. There the love of the *činovnik* is hardly so much as acknowledged by the girl; the obstructing force of the *značitel'noe lico* is accordingly minimal; and as a result the fable is less a real and overt conflict among characters than an internal struggle in a realm of delusion. This difference may be due to the fact that Gogol' and Dostoevskij had a clearer understanding than the writers of the Natural School of the *činovnik*'s true situation: the minor official was oppressed not only from without, by circumstances, superiors, and rivals, but also from within by his own chimerical notions. However, Cejtlin is mainly interested in showing the continuity of a thematic history which leads through the Natural School to the early Dostoevskij, encompassing many of his *Petersburg Tales* and extending as far as *Crime and Punishment*, where the *činovniki* still occur, though in Cejtlin's view they are no longer thematically central. In revealing this, Cejtlin performs an admirable service.

⁸ Cejtlin, op. cit., 9ff., 3ff.

The major flaw of Cejtin's study is that it does not go far enough. In terms of its own "soil" metaphor, *Povesti o bednom činovnike Dostojevskogo* remains at the topsoil level—the median level of a many-tiered, deep-rooted, and high-crested reality and fiction. Manifestations of the theme of the poor *činovnik* are shown springing up ubiquitously; and they are enumerated, analyzed, and classified. But Cejtin does not penetrate to the "geophysical" conditions which made this outgrowth possible; nor does he reveal to us the dynamic chemistry of its seeds. We learn that Dostoevskij's work evolved in part from lesser thematic precursors. But how were the latter capable of attracting and holding the attention of the serious writer? And if, as Cejtin suggests, the literary evolution is a continuous one, encompassing both the trivial and the significant production, what does the former contribute to the latter? Cejtin observes that even in Dostoevskij's mature novel *Crime and Punishment*, *činovniki* are present.⁹ Are these figures merely atrophied appendices carried over by chance or habit from an earlier stage of development; or do they contribute something essential to the thematic life of the great work? In order to answer these questions, it is necessary to seek out first the social-historical sources which account for the mutable vitality of the theme, and then pursue the course of its developmental influence in a number of major Russian authors. In the process the concept of theme will be broadened to include not only the figure of the *činovnik* but also the greater variety of characteristic motives or conflicts involving his relationship to authority and duty, as well as the literary meaning which our interpretation discerns in these conflicts.

In essence, a *činovnik* is a creature of *čin*; and the latter, though roughly equivalent to "rank," sacrifices a wealth of traditional social and political meaning in translation. James Billington has argued that the early political thought of Muscovite Russia crystallized not in ideas but rather in images which were suggested by her omnipresent icons. With reference to this hypostatized world order, the term

⁹ Cejtin, op. cit., 51.

čin could indicate both the general order of images in the icon screen and the analogous order of positions within the social and political system.¹⁰ Long before Peter the Great created the modernized, rationalized civil service staffed by the *činnovníki* proper, Muscovite Russia knew a system for ordering official appointments and functions, called *mestničestvo* (“placement”). It was a system which, in lavish detail, assigned priorities to the service rights and obligations of the nobles based on clan membership and seniority. The order of rightful “places” was recorded in thousands of volumes, known as the *Razriad*. The compelling import of position is attested by the fanatical, sometimes absurd, resistance of boyars commanded to fulfill an obligation which they regarded as beneath their rightful places within the appointed scheme of things.¹¹ Although the *mestničestvo* system was formally abolished in 1682, its powerful fetishization of “position” surely lingered on in Russian culture.

However, the pre-Petrine service classes also displayed forms of administrative order which were more akin to the rational order of modern bureaucracy. Professor Pipes depicts the unlanded Muscovite service class as a unique “proto-meritocracy”: “It was a pool of skilled manpower used by the state to perform any and all functions: soldiering, administration, legislation, justice, diplomacy, commerce and manufacture [...]. Its members enjoyed superior status by virtue of their usefulness to their employer. Whatever their advantages vis-à-vis the rest of the population, with regard to the crown their position was utterly precarious.”¹² A uniquely versatile and readily deployable servitor class completely subordinate to the czar’s command was an indispensable instrument for maintaining control of the vast and primitive domains of Muscovite Russia.

The *čin* of the *činnovník* can therefore be viewed against the historical background of several precursor entities: the mythic vestiture of rank within a traditional hierarchical order; the elaborate

¹⁰ James H. Billington, *The Icon and the Ace: An Interpretive History of Russian Culture* (New York 1970), 35.

¹¹ Pipes, op. cit., 90-92.

¹² Pipes, op. cit., 97-98.

codified system of clan-based rights and obligations; the execution of diverse tasks and functions within a developing system of administration; and the abject subordination of the official to his taskmaster, the czar. These influences and precedents were to be transformed and crystallized in the administrative order established by Peter I. The precise manner in which the resultant system was enunciated exerted an enormous influence upon both the popular culture and the literature of czarist Russia. The peculiarities of his system therefore merit close attention.

Peter I restructured the government service in accordance with his understanding of Western bureaucracies. The seminal document of his reform was the ukaz known as the *Tabel' o rangach*. It replaced the Muscovite hierarchy of traditional noble distinctions with a new hierarchy of ranks based largely on the German bureaucracy. The *Tabel' o rangach* was remarkably rational in design. The three branches of government service—armed forces, civil service, and court—were listed in parallel columns with fourteen official gradations in each. All who entered the service, *dvorjane* and commoners alike, were expected to begin at the lowest, fourteenth, rung of the ladder and work their way up. The ascending commoner would attain first to personal nobility and at a higher rank attain the hereditary *dvorjanstvo*. In its conception at least, the Petrine system therefore appeared to be the very model of meritocratic efficiency, sweeping away with a single stroke the redoubts of vested privilege against which the West European bourgeoisies had to struggle for centuries.¹³

However, the *Tabel' o rangach* proved flawed both in conception and application. The difficulty began with the structure of the Table. In order to rationalize the official hierarchy, Peter had introduced the foreign word “rank” (*rang*) to indicate position on the scale of authority. The office or task (*officium*) of the official was to be designated by the Russian *čin*, which had traditionally meant both “rank” and “office.” The official titles such as “counsellor,” “assessor,” and “registrar” were supposed

¹³ Pipes, op. cit., 124-125.

to designate an official's activity, while their rank order coincided with their position in the three parallel columns. Sensibly, whoever exercised a certain office (*čín*) was to be entitled to the corresponding rank (*rang*).¹⁴

Unfortunately, this meritocratic determination of rank by performance could not surmount the traditional mystique of *čín*. The very fact that the offices were listed in parallel columns equated the military *čín* with the civil administrative one and *čín* itself with rank. The Table as originally formulated had left certain blanks in the parallel structure. To fill them, honorific but otherwise meaningless titles were invented; and Peter's successors began to confer these and other "*číny*" as rewards for distinction to non-officeholders.¹⁵

A further perversion of the system resulted from the modification of promotion requirements. In Peter's plan, promotion had depended upon both personal merit and the availability of a post commensurate with the rank to which an official was to be promoted. Soon, however, special provisions were introduced for those who were of noble birth or in possession of special educational qualifications. Under Catherine II, the requirement that there be an available office was abolished. More serious still, her tenuous reign established the concession of seniority promotion, whereby an official who had served for a stipulated number of years without reproach automatically advanced to the next rank and could demand a post commensurate with it. Accordingly, neither the acquisition of personal experience before entering the service, nor exceptional or unique activity within the service was decisive: what counted was an early start, patience, and quiet obedience, in a word, *Sitzfleisch*. Within eighty years of its founding, the Petrine service had, in the words of H.-J. Torke, turned into "*ein starres System inhaltsloser Titel, das neben sich kein unabhängiges Leben duldet*" (a rigid system of titles

¹⁴ Torke, op. cit., 26-28, 48ff.

¹⁵ Pipes, op. cit., 135-137.

without content that did not tolerate any independent life alongside it).¹⁶ It was as if the atavistic mystique of the *mestnichestvo* had invaded the rational spirit of reform and subverted its will, directing it toward involuntary and alien ends.

The *Tabel' o rangach* together with its subsequent addenda and modifications established a central pattern of social life in post-Petrine Russia, a pattern based on attraction and conformity. Since even the fourteenth rank conferred a certain social standing accompanied by the official right to own serfs, the attainment of *čin* was universally attractive. Merchants aspired to place a son in the service; education became instrumental for attaining *čin*; and the sons of *činnovniki* tended to remain in the service. Within the hierarchy, all aspects of social conduct, the *činnovnik*'s attire, his manner of addressing his superiors and even his attendance of church and other ceremonial occasions, were regulated by statute, often in minute detail.¹⁷ The lower *činnovniki* frequently suffered from terrible poverty (some were compelled to sleep in their offices), but material hardships were compensated by the honor of *čin*, by the promise of promotion, and by an enormous array of medals, conferred more

¹⁶ Torke (55) reproduces the civil-military Table of Ranks as it existed circa 1800:

Zivirang (Civilian Rank)	Militärrang zum Vergleich (Comparable Military Rank)
1. Wirklicher Geheimrat 1. Klasse	General-Feldmarschall
2. Wirklicher Geheimrat 2. Klasse	General
3. Geheimrat (privy counselor)	Generalleutnant
4. Wirklicher Staatsrat	Generalmajor
5. Staatsrat (state counselor)	--
6. Kollegienrat (collegiate counselor)	Oberst (colonel)
7. Hofrat	Oberstleutnant
8. Kollegienassessor (collegiate assessor)	Major
9. Titularrat (titular counselor)	Hauptmann (captain)
10. Kollegiensekretär	Stabshauptmann
11. --	--
12. Gouvernementssekretär	Leutnant
13. (Provinzialsekretär)	Unterleutnant
14. Kollegienregistrator	Fähnrich

¹⁷ Pipes, op. cit., 125; Torke, op. cit., 56ff.

lavishly than in any European country with the possible exception of Spain.¹⁸ *Čin* and its emblems therefore exercised an appeal which indeed transcended material conditions.

This reification of *čin*, with its concomitant hypostatization of authority and its undermining of all initiative, corresponded to a heightened formalism in office routine itself. The goal of administration was identified not with the solution of a problem, but rather with the formally correct execution of all paperwork surrounding the problem. Subordinates did not send summaries of documents to their superiors, they sent full copies; and the resultant paperwork strained the official apparatus to the point of near collapse.¹⁹

Čin, which had already divided Russia into a dual nation of official “haves” and “have-nots,” produced by dint of the partial bureaucratic paralysis two types of *činnovnik*: drudges and idlers, those like Oblomov’s visitor Volkov, who is only required to have dinner with his department head twice a week, and those like the subsequent visitor Sud’binskij, who works morning, afternoon and night checking lists and going over documents. Both Volkov and Sud’binskij are conformists, products of a system which valued the formalities of social and professional intercourse more than the efficient or innovative result. Oblomov’s other visitors merely complete the picture of the bureaucratic society: the venomous writer whose dreary subject-matter consists of *činnovniki* (his latest work, a poem titled *The Love of the Corrupt Official for the Fallen Woman*, is apparently the classic formula, now rendered true to life); the faceless, will-less bureaucrat Alekseev, whose features have been obliterated by conformist mediocrity; and finally the poisonous official Taranteev, who, though talented, is incapable of putting any of his verbal theories into practice, and for whom bribe-taking has become second nature.²⁰

¹⁸ Torke, op.cit., 199ff.

¹⁹ Torke, op.cit., 210ff.

²⁰ Ivan Gončarov, *Oblomov* (New York 1978), trans. David Magarshack, 24ff.

Within the social reality of *čín*, within its historical development and the system founded upon it, there are then observable contradictions: contradictions between conception and execution, theory and practice, contradictions which, in view of the rational structure of the system, may be properly called antinomies. The Petrine *čín* was conceived as a designation for and incentive to productive activity, but it quickly degenerated into a fetish of rank and stimulated inefficiency and sloth. The rational, centralizing impulse of the *čín* system led to the absurdity that both the director of an office and a pharmacist are titled “*statskij sovetnik*.”²¹ While the *čín* system at its inception should have controlled and marshaled the aspirations of a people, in practice it appears to have led to meaningless aspirations and, judging by literature alone, to cases of absurd megalomania. That a character like Gogol’s “collegiate assessor” could plausibly title himself “Major” Kovalev was a direct consequence of the structure of Peter’s Table; just as Kovalev’s tenable claim to a post corresponding to his ill-deserved rank is a result of the Table’s subsequent emendations. The *čín* system, which should have united Russia by means of a single chain of authority, in fact split her along several lines into mutually unworkable divisions: bearers and non-bearers of *čín*, idle *čínovníki* and equally unproductive official toilers; denizens of the administrative capital, where abstract order and symmetry reign supreme (echoed in the geometric obsessions of Belyj’s government minister in Petersburg) and the inhabitants of the outlying provinces, where in Herzen’s account the corrupt and despotic power of the administrator increases in direct proportion to the distance from the capital. After witnessing the absurd irregularities of administrative procedure in Siberia, Herzen offered the general observation that “it is this kind of irregularity alone which makes life possible in Russia.”²² This antinomial relation of order and life provides a salient point of reference for analyzing the theme of the *čínovník* in nineteenth-century Russian literature.

²¹ Torke, op. cit., 21.

²² Alexander Herzen, *Childhood, Youth and Exile* (Oxford 1980), 241.

Puškin's "Bronze Horseman" (*Mednyj vsadnik*, 1831-32) is a work of great symbolic import: its significance is not exhausted in the depiction of a single social type or historical occurrence. All of Russia, her history, the symbolic character of Peter's capital, the lasting presence of his influence, and the thralldom or rebellion of the subject of autocratic rule are encompassed within Puškin's theme. Nonetheless, this great thematic scope is brought into focus through the point of view of a poor *činovnik*. It is worth inquiring what sort of role is exercised in the thematic development by the motivational significance of *čin*. Henri Troyat describes the sweeping panorama of *Mednyj vsadnik* as follows: "The poem begins with a description of St. Petersburg, the city of granite and iron: new and rectilinear, severe and cold, like a surveyor's mind. From this vast bureaucratic anthill Puškin singles out one ant: a poor, hardworking, colorless young man."²³ After an initial paean to fulfilled power, the poem thereupon yields to a quite different point of view. Evgenij, the poor *činovnik*, dreams of a life situation which will permit him to marry his beloved. While he sleeps, the flood waters rise and destroy her. Awakening, he discovers the deluge and loss. Lapsing into insanity, he defies and is pursued by the bronze equestrian figure of Peter the Great. In the end, his drowned corpse is discovered in the Neva by another *činovnik*.

As a *činovnik*, Evgenij is a characteristic denizen of the administrative capital. But could Puškin's great theme of imperial power versus the common man have been shaped as well with a hero representing any other subject class? This is probably the case if one views Evgenij primarily as an innocent victim who suffers the aftermath of Peter's perilous fiats; for peasants, tradesmen and soldiers suffered as well. But the *činovnik*'s calling appears less arbitrary, his role in the world more problematical, when one views the thematic development not as a passage proceeding from innocent suffering to insane anger, but rather as a necessary awakening, though tragic and futile, to reality.

²³ Henri Troyat, *Pushkin* (New York 1975), 462.

There are some indirect indications suggesting that Puškin regarded the *činovnik* and *čin* as specifically problematical and worthy of attention. Shortly before *Mednyj vsadnik*, in his fragment *Ežerskij*, the author treated the theme of the aristocratic scion turned *činovnik* and defended his own serious rendering of a *kolležskij registrator*. Some of the material prepared for *Ežerskij* was incorporated into or modified for the characterization of Evgenij.²⁴ Beyond this, an indication of Puškin's historical and social understanding of *činovništvo* is provided by his lucid pronouncements in a memorandum written under official auspices, "On the Education of the People" (*O narodnom vospitanii*, 1826). There Puškin had blamed Russia's social ills on a lack of adequate education, a deficiency caused by the universal passion for *čin*, the direct legacy of Peter the Great²⁵ ("*Činy sdelalis' strast'ju russkogo naroda. Togo chotel Petr Velikij, togo trebovalo togdašnee sostojanie Rossii*"). Whereas in other countries young people complete their education around age twenty-five, argues Puškin, in Russia one enters government service as quickly as possible in order to attain the rank of colonel or *kolležskij sovetnik* by age thirty. The result is a lack of will and direction, a susceptibility to each novel stimulus and a tendency to become the blind adherent of any strong personality. Evgenij's desires are of course simple and honest ones, but he, too, appears to have entered the world of affairs "*bezo vsjakich osnovatel'nych poznanij, bezo vsjakich osnovatel'nych pravil*." Puškin mentions the desirability of abolishing *čin* altogether, a goal proposed by reformers including Speranskij throughout the first half of the nineteenth century,²⁶ but concedes that the step would be too drastic. He concludes that the attainment of *čin* should be linked even more firmly to educational qualifications.

Čin became the passion of the Russian people, wrote Puškin; this had been the wish of Peter I, and his wish accorded with the needs of Russia of his time. But now, in Evgenij's age, *činoljubie*, love

²⁴ A. S. Puškin, *Polnoe sobranie sočinenij*, T. 2 (Moskva 1949), 498-504. See also editor's notes, 613-618.

²⁵ Puškin, op.cit. T. 5, 423-427.

²⁶ Torke, op. cit., 58ff.

of *čín*, has become a drain on all great aspirations and actions. This sheds a somewhat different light on the relationship of Evgenij and Peter. One can discern a thematic progression which bridges the two halves of *Mednyj vsadnik* and mediates their otherwise jarringly distinct points of view. First, the poem reveals the commanding energy and creative force of Peter, then his imposing material creation, characterized by symmetry and uniformity, and finally in the second part of the poem the human agency created by his rule for the further administration and transformation of Russia, a *čínovnik* of the service he founded.

But the *čínovnik*, as both an unconscious product of history and a bearer of historical responsibilities, is passive and indifferent. We learn that Evgenij is descended from noble forebears mentioned by Karamzin. They must have performed great deeds, perhaps they resisted the czar. But Evgenij, passive by-product of the Petrine reform, can dream only of a higher *čín* which in his view brings independence and honor (*“nezavisimost’ i čest’”*), and bemoan the fact that he is separated by long years of obedient waiting from his goal. The low ascent of his aspirations is coupled by rhyme and by inverse progression to his fretful under estimation of storm and danger:

Что служит всего два года;

Он также думал что погода не унималась . . .

(That two years’ service he had finished;

That weather’s blast was undiminished)²⁷

In a certain sense, then, one can no more view Evgeni as a purely innocent victim than one can attribute direct guilt to Peter, who after all did not cause the storm or prevent subsequent city

²⁷ Puškin, op. cit. T. 2, 529. Translation by Rupert Moreton (<https://linguafennica.wordpress.com/2015/11/01/>).

administrations from establishing better defenses against flooding. If Evgenij is ennobled by his outrage, his former state may be seen accordingly as spiritually unworthy.

If this interpretation is correct, Evgenij's existence as a *činovnik* acquires central importance. *Čin* appears as an integral part of a thematic constellation bearing very general implications. *Čin* is the nexus linking the supra-individual administrative world, wrought in stone and too pervasive to be confronted or recognized in full, with the *činovnik* whose *čin*-dominated perspective renders him incapable of acting or obtaining to an overview of reality. The *činovnik*'s passivity is shattered by the intrusion of an irrational force, here a natural catastrophe, which exposes the problematic relation of order and life. The thematic development therefore rests on an inversion: by disrupting the normal order of life, by exposing it to an intrusion of the incalculable or irrational, a hidden conflict of order and life is revealed. Madness is the agent of truth. To a remarkable extent this same pattern characterizes the theme of the *činovnik* in Gogol' and the early Dostoevskij.

Gogol' is the key figure in the thematic history of the *činovnik* to the extent that his treatment has attracted the greatest wealth of discussion and imitation.²⁸ The implications and derivations of Gogol's tales are manifold and often contradictory. Here it must suffice to indicate how and to what degree his fantastic projections in three *činovnik*-centered tales can be viewed as refractions of a reified and chimerical *čin*.

Formalism, fetishism, and conformity have been mentioned as the social and psychological effects wrought by the power of *bin* in office routine and in the character of the officials. Formalism, fetishism and conformity are evinced alike by the reduction of *čin* as officium to *čin* as abstract rank, by the replacement of achievement and initiative with *Sitzfleisch* and seniority, and by the administrative

²⁸ For a discussion of Gogol's influence on the Natural School, see: V. I. Mel'nik, "Natural'naja škola—Realizm 40-ch godov," *Russkaja literatura* 4 (1978).

obsession with the formally correct processing of documents, which resulted according to historical accounts in astonishing amounts of paper work and copying.²⁹ On a fantastic plane, Gogol's three *činovniki* of the Petersburg tales Bašmačkin (*Šinel'*, The Overcoat), Kovalev (*Nos*, The Nose), and Popriščin (*Zapiski sumasšedšego*, Diary of a Madman), reflect these related impulses of the bureaucracy.

The formalism of office routine is represented by Akakij Akakievič Bašmačkin, "*večnyj tituljarnyj sovetnik*," the eternal titular counselor, and the embodiment of a totally vacuous *čin*-officium. However, this understates the case. Akakij's occupation appears virtually as the absurd avatar of an ancient iconographic *čin*. His consummate love of copying lends his life a quality of pure and monk-like devotion. Indifferent to his surroundings, to his material condition, even to food, he copies in the office and copies at home for pleasure, fashioning his favorite letters with his pen; they can almost be read in his face. In form, then, his life is ascetically religious, though his "religion" reduces the Logos to a calligraph and replaces *imitatio Christi* with "*imitatio litterae*." Even when he looks at some physical object, he sees his own perfect handwriting superimposed upon it. Is his solipsism entirely pure? We learn that at home he takes particular pleasure in copying documents distinguished not by their style but by the fact that they are addressed to "some new or important person."³⁰ The subsequent tale is well-known: The external world of nature and society wreaks its vengeance upon poor Akakij; and he, like Puškin's Evgenij, advances from victim to accuser.

In Kovalev, Gogol represents the embodiment of *čin* as rank, *čin* divorced from individual occupational activity, divorced, ultimately, from the human bearer of rank in the figure of Kovalev's upstart, rank-pulling nose. Here, too, the fantastic is a refraction of the real. The *kolležskij asessor* Kovalev can call himself "major" because of the equivalency of civilian and military *činy* in the *Tabel' o rangach*. Like many real *činovniki*, he has acquired his rank in the Caucasus, an area in which promotion

²⁹ Torke, op.cit., 214ff.

³⁰ N. V. Gogol, "*Šinel'*," *Sočinenija v dvuch tomach*, I (Moskva 1973), 536-565.

was not tied to educational requirements.³¹ Now he has come to Petersburg to find the post commensurate with his rank which is assured him by government decree.³²

Kovalev's megalomaniac obsession with himself, like Akakij's passive solipsism, seems to invite a psychological interpretation; yet neither figure is neurotic in a personal sense. Both function with sufficient normalcy for their given situations. Neither protagonist comes to us with the hint of any maladjustment beyond that induced by the system itself. And neither Akakij nor Kovalev could have been shaken out of perfect complacency without the intervention of an unforeseen disaster.

Gogol's final tale of the *činovnik*, *Zapiski sumasšedšego*,³³ in a sense surpasses the other two by projecting from a quotidian realm into a fantastic one through the step-by-step progression of a quasi-psychological development, without requiring the intervention of an external disaster. The character of Popriščin combines the formality of routine with the megalomania of rank. The hero is a lowly official who stands in awe of his higher superiors (they are "different from our kind") and despises those beneath him or outside the ranks of the service. Furthermore, Popriščin is an absurd and extreme embodiment of the uneducated *činovnik* described by Puškin. He is credulous of any rumor or fabrication concerning the world beyond his own hermetic sphere.

For all of this, Popriščin is not an unsympathetic figure. He is a tragic clown who rebels against his world by accepting its false premises and carrying them *ad absurdum* to a paranoid insurrection in which he destroys only himself. His main premise is that rank is the world's most fundamental reality, over-shadowing all other category distinctions. The fact that Medži, lap dog of the Director's daughter, can speak with other dogs is far less surprising to him than the fact that they can exchange canine

³¹ Torke (60) tells of an "Emigration" of the Titular Counselors to Siberia and the Transcaucasus after 1809, when advancement to the next rank of Collegiate Assessor was made contingent upon strict educational qualifications.

³² Gogol', *Sočinenija*, 460-483.

³³ Gogol', op. cit., 578-597.

epistles since writing is the province of the *činovnik*. (Only a *dvorjanin*, i.e. bearer of an appropriate *čin*, can write correctly, observes Popriščin; shopkeepers scribble away without “commas, periods, or style” [*“zapjatyč, ni toček, ni sloga”*]). His own slide toward insanity is foreshadowed and accompanied by his errors in copying documents and dating his diary entries. His derangement is catalyzed by a human impulse which cuts across the categories of rank, his love for the Director's daughter. The final plunge is precipitated by a reference to himself in a letter authored by Medži, in which he reads that he is a “freak,” a figure resembling a “turtle caught in a sack” (*“... kakoj èto urod. Soveršennaja čerepacha v meške . . .”*).³⁴

This dread moment of self-recognition causes Popriščin to ask critical questions; and for a man of his mentality this proves fatal. The successful suitor of the Director's daughter is a guard officer (*kamerjunker*)—but what does that mean, asks Popriščin. It is only an honor or position (*dostoinstvo*), therefore intangible. He goes on to question the meaning of all such distinctions. He has often wondered why it happens that he should be a *“tituljarnyj sovetnik”* rather than a count or general. Perhaps he really is a count or general without knowing it. It seems that for Popriščin, position, individual identity, and finally phenomenal reality itself disappear before the supersensible reality of rank, the hidden essence of Being itself.

He reads that the Spanish throne has become vacant, disturbing news to a man of his beliefs. (*“Mne kažetsja èto črezvyčajno strannym. Kak že možet byt' prestol upraždnen? Govorjat, kakaja-to donna dolžna vzejti na prestol. Ne možet vzejti donna na prestol. Nikak ne možet.”*)³⁵ The solution to the Spanish Question is that Popriščin himself, unbeknownst to all, is the missing king. Now finally, all is explained. Even the boorishness displayed by his colleagues when he appears in the office in his imperial mantle and signs his name “Ferdinand VII,” is attributable to a conspiracy launched by the Sultan of Turkey. Soon

³⁴ Gogol', op. cit., 589.

³⁵ Gogol', op. cit., 590

the Spanish Delegation arrives and carries him off in half an hour to his rightful domain. But unfortunately, the King's Chancellor turns out to be none other than the Grand Inquisitor himself. Beaten, with shaven head, and tortured by ablutions of water, Popriščin fantasizes a soaring flight home from his captivity. This final flight possesses great lyric beauty; it encompasses both East and West in its vision; and it closes like a longing for the negation of a negation in sight of a Mother Russia of peasant huts. There is no place for me in this world, cries Popriščin—and escapes back into the diversions of madness.³⁶

It is widely known that the early Dostoevskij drew upon the themes of Gogol's Petersburg tales. Cejtin has been cited to the effect that the thematic triad of *činovnik*, girl, and obstructing “*značitel'noe lico*,” made famous by Gogol' and disseminated through the Natural School, is found in several of Dostoevskij's early stories, including *Poor Folk* and *The Double*. Donald Fanger observed that Devuškin, protagonist of *Poor Folk*, is a “humanized,” more realistic version of Akakij Akakievič; while *The Double* draws upon *Zapiski sumasšedšego* for the character of Goljadkin and upon *The Nose* for the double, Goljadkin junior.³⁷ It is surely also the case that Dostoevskij gave the *činovnik* a psychological complexity which the more original and perhaps more artistically compelling Gogolian prototypes lacked.

What is of interest here is the continuity of the theme centered on the *činovnik*, centered in the conceptual dynamics of *čin* itself. In Gogol the extended logic of the *čin*, manifested in formalism, fetishism, and conformity, gave rise to quasi-psychological typologies, to character developments which had the appearance of case studies of a neurotic or psychotic type, but were presented unaccompanied by any details of psychic background pointing to a uniquely personal malady. The

³⁶ Gogol', op. cit., 597.

³⁷ Donald Fanger, *Dostoevsky and Romantic Realism: A Study of Dostoevskij in Relation to Balzac, Dickens and Gogol* (Chicago 1967), 160.

characters of Bašmačkin, Kovalev, and Popriščin were depicted at close quarters and “from within”—far more so than was the case with Puškin’s Evgenij, about whom we knew little beyond the fact that his modest yearnings were frustrated first by the rank system and then by the results of a natural, external disaster. But like Evgenij, Gogol’s *činnovníki* experienced system-induced conflicts of the most elemental sort: conflicts between the demands of life, represented by the desire for physical warmth, corporeal wholeness, love, and self-respect, and the conditions imposed or suggested by the bureaucratic hierarchy, represented by the cruel indifference of Bašmačkin’s colleagues, the absurd autonomization of rank embodied in Kovalev’s nose, or the aspirations engendered and frustrated in Popriščin by the latter’s total identification with rank and authority. Dostoevskij is more genuinely interested in the psychology of the unique individual; but even some of his most eccentric figures circle about an abstract and chimerical notion of rank which lends their conflicts and development a quasi-psychological but artistically effective motivation.

This is the case with Mr. Goljadkin, unfortunate hero of the early novel, *Dvojnik* (*The Double*, 1846).³⁸ By Gogolian standards, Mr. Goljadkin is a relatively complex and “rounded” figure. We observe him interacting with a wider range of subordinate figures, with shopkeepers, coachmen, his man Petruška, his doctor Rutenšpic, as well as with colleagues, superiors, and his double. His impulses, reactions, and views are more varied; and they are often depicted in truly clinical detail. Finally, his predicament is more open to interpretation—confusingly so in fact. Whereas the true situation of Popriščin is ever discernible, Goljadkin’s situation is as ambiguous for the reader as for the protagonist himself. There is much to suggest that Goljadkin junior is a projection of the protagonist’s suppressed alter ego, yet the double is seen and registered by the other characters, and the closing episodes suggest that the whole world of officialdom is under the sway of a Satanic power.

³⁸ Dostoevskij, “*Dvojnik*,” *Polnoe sobranie sočinenij v tridcati tomach*, T. 1 (Leningrad 1972), 109-229.

Nonetheless, all the tangential impulses and ambiguities in *Dvojnik* are linked by a red thread: Goljadkin's split personality and the ambiguity of his double correspond throughout to an ambivalent relationship to rank and authority. His pathological state is closely connected to his humanly normal, but false, conception of himself as an individual existing outside the rank system. He makes repeated and progressively more disastrous attempts to assert his independent individual identity; but all of his impulses and interactions with others are circumscribed by the invisible world of rank in which individuals are interchangeable. This interchangeability then confronts him in corporeal form; it hounds him, until finally the magic circle closes—quite literally in the nightmarish festivities at the Director's—and he is thrust into a damnation or madness which he had long suspected in “premonitions.” Goljadkin cannot break the magic circle of *čim* because to the very end he uncritically accepts authority and believes in its benevolence toward him. The rank of this *tituljarnyj sovetnik* is both the basis of his self-esteem and identity, and its nemesis.

As with Gogol's *činovniki*, virtually nothing is known or revealed about the character of Goljadkin outside of a bureaucratic context. Goljadkin thus goes shopping in a carriage, fancying himself a man of means; but the expedition is brought up short when he is confronted by his superior. Overwhelmed by shame at his pretensions, he imagines that it is not he, Goljadkin, but someone else who has just been observed committing what amounts to a breach of decorum for a man of his modest rank. Goljadkin goes to the office of Dr. Rutenšpic, a remarkable precursor of the modern psychiatrist-counselor, in order to unburden himself and assert his claims of self-hood. But his remarks are filled with the paranoia of his office existence. He makes obscure allusions to “enemies” and to some perceived jealousy concerning the promotion of an associate to the rank of assessor. He breaks off the encounter and slinks off, intimidated by the authority of his physician, who wears “a high decoration on his chest.”

Screwing up all his courage, he intrudes upon a celebration for the Director's daughter. As with Popriščin, love defies the boundaries of rank and therefore leads to destruction. But Goljadkin is capable neither of defiance nor conformity. Those within the charmed circle move easily and naturally. Their *čin* is set forth in an official program for the celebration. Since they have no impulse to an existence separate from rank, they can even appear to rise above it. There are "decorous breaches of decorum"; and the successful suitor, though only a *kolležskij sovetnik*, already makes the impression of a *statskij sovetnik*.

Crushed by shame and defeat, Goljadkin encounters his double in the gloomy streets of Petersburg. The double insinuates himself in the office and in Goljadkin's personal life. Goljadkin attempts to counter this threat to his personal existence. He employs condescending acceptance. He appeals to his indifferent colleagues and superiors. He accepts his opponent in a spirit of conciliation and brotherhood. But Goljadkin junior is a perfect master of appearances, a medium the hero cannot penetrate or transcend. The last appeal of the doomed *činnik* is the query addressed to a dreamlike, festive assembly of official society: "*Ja nadejus', čto zdes' net ničego . . . ničego predosuditel'nogo . . . ili moguščego vozbudit' strogość . . . i vnimanie vsech, kasatel'no oficial'nych otnošenij moich?*" ("I trust there is nothing reprehensible. . . concerning my official relationships. . . that could provoke any severe measure. . . and excite public attention.") They shake their heads in denial and then consign him in a carriage to the devil, who, it seems, is none other than the erstwhile Dr. Ruteršpic.³⁹

Dostoevskij's *Dvojniki* could hardly qualify as a realistic treatment of the Russian bureaucracy; it in fact contains less detail related to the occupational life of officialdom than Gogol's tales which are full of gossip details about departments and the distinct types who inhabit them. In one regard,

³⁹ English translation from *Great Short Works of F. Dostoyevsky* (New York 1968), trans. George Bird, 143.

however, Goljadkin's rank-induced pathology is quite characteristic for its time. The first few decades of the nineteenth century had seen repeated efforts on the part of enlightened ministers and intellectuals including Speranskij and Puškin toward the reform or even outright abolition of the *činy*. Now, in the years leading up to 1848, the opposite sentiment was making itself felt from the higher reaches of power. *Čin* was retrenching itself. Aristocratic privileges in the granting of promotion were being reintroduced. The conservative minister Uvarov painted in dire hues the chaos which would result if the *činy* were abolished or restricted. Officials would serve not out of loyalty to the czar but for money; a bourgeoisie would arise and with it the threat of revolution.⁴⁰ Mr. Goljadkin, whose views reveal him as entirely the loyal, patriotic servant of the state, appears to register a similar sort of paranoid anxiety concerning any breach in the code of official propriety. Dostoevskij's treatment of rank therefore serves as a barometer of the Zeitgeist.

This holds very largely true for *Crime and Punishment*, despite the fact that the novel published two decades later does not have a *činovnik* as its hero, does not take place in an office of the civil administration, and displays no trace of the thematic triad of *činovnik*, girl, and obstructing official. The absence of the theme per se is itself characteristic for the Zeitgeist of the Sixties. Torke notes that there was a disappearance of official and public interest in matters of rank and reform of the rank system.⁴¹ This eclipse was no doubt largely due to the emancipation of the serfs, to the concurrent reforms of the legal system, and to other topical questions of the Sixties such as drunkenness, prostitution, crime, economic depression, the increasing importance of money and economic enterprise, and the revolutionary stirrings of the intelligentsia, all of which are registered in the content of *Crime and Punishment*.⁴² Nonetheless, Dostoevskij's novel is more than a compendium of topical

⁴⁰ Torke, op. cit., 86.

⁴¹ Torke, op. cit., 87.

⁴² Fanger, op. cit., 184-188.

themes from 1860s Russia. All of its complex elements merge in one central, unique thematic development; and in creating and motivating this development Dostoevskij connected back with the tradition of Gogol' and the Natural School, to which he himself had belonged.

The “new men” portrayed positively by Černyševskij and critically by Dostoevskij, the members of the intelligentsia of which Raskol'nikov is himself a representative, burst into the pages of literature as a distinct breed; but they revealed strains which linked them *mutatis mutandis* to their fictional predecessors. The Popriščins and Goljadjkins had been incapable of challenging authority, but the superiors before whom they trembled were members of a service aristocracy or of a landed aristocracy which enjoyed special privileges of advancement in accordance with the service charter. By the 1860s the seat of official authority had shifted. Beginning in 1856 advancement was governed strictly by educational qualifications; the attainment of hereditary nobility through rank acquisition had been restricted.⁴³ Students were assigned a rank upon entering the university (12th rank), as candidates (10th), upon earning a master's degree (9th) or a doctorate (8th). Study was therefore a form of advancement in the service hierarchy.⁴⁴

The center of authority had shifted to the universities, and the latter were producing not only a more educated class of bureaucrats but also a class of liberal or revolutionary intellectuals. Furthermore, the shift of authority to the universities and to the liberal intelligentsia reverberated back into the service itself; in *Crime and Punishment* Lebezjatnikov, Lužin and even the “Explosive Lieutenant” all profess a sympathy for liberal or revolutionary ideas, or claim an interest in intellectual questions.

⁴³ Torke, op. cit., 87.

⁴⁴ Torke, op. cit., 89.

This new diffusion and intellectualization of official authority presents a figure like Raskol'nikov with a special conflict. For a man of his brilliance and originality, conformity is out of the question; but rebellion is almost equally problematic. He can of course rebel as a student and intellectual against official authority and its representatives. Indeed, this happens. His and Razumichin's dislike for the person and ideas of the *statskij sovetnik* Lužin is virtually instinctive, and no doubt typical; for one learns during the scene at the police station of a scandalous provocation by students against another *statskij sovetnik* and his family. But as a university student, bearer of rank 12, entitled "*nastojščij student*," his long-range prospects are advancement into the ranks of the despised opponents. Worse yet, his mother and sister would like to see him as Lužin's partner in the latter's newly opened law offices. Again, he can rebel by joining the proponents of Socialism. But this, too, would be pointless, particularly when the cause of Socialism can be represented by the likes of the new breed *činovnik* Lebezjatnikov. Finally, he can, and does, rebel as an individualist, by attempting to assert, like the weaker Goljadkin, his unique individual identity, doing so, in this case, in a manner which definitively breaks with the entire legal-administrative-judicial system which surrounds him, which occupied him as a student and which circumscribed his future from the beginning. But his rebellion against the world of order and legality, curiously, occurs under the banner of a universalized concept of "rank order" (*razrjad*).

Raskol'nikov's "new word" is his conception of a rank order encompassing all of humankind and rooted in a heretofore undiscovered "law of nature." This new hierarchy consists of infinite subdivisions ("*Podrazdelenija tut, razumeetsja, beskonečnye . . .*"), but at its extremes it is anchored by two distinct classes ("*dva razrjada*") the class of obedient, law abiding ("*činnye*"), conservative citizens; and the class of those capable of uttering a new word, of establishing a legal order. The latter have an inner, natural right to commit outrageous breaches of public morality ("*besčinstva*"); for the law is not

written for them.⁴⁵ In fact, successful and unrepentant commission of such an outrage may prove that the exceptional man belongs to the superior class. The theme of *Crime and Punishment* therefore transcends the motive of *čin*-rank of *Dvojnik* or *Zapiski sumasšedšego*; but its transcendence is thematically reflexive, consisting in the thought or attempt of transcendence, the thrust toward a definitive break with a civil-legal order which was the context of *čin*, embodied now in figures like the *statskij sovetnik* Lužin.

All of this helps to explain the peculiar elective affinity of Marmeladov and Raskol'nikov, who appears to detect in the disgraced *činovnik* a sort of spiritual father. Raskol'nikov notices Marmeladov's attitude of superiority to the other tavern-dwellers and remembers, long afterward, his first impression of Marmeladov as a kind of "presentiment." It in fact betokens a first glimmering of the larger coherence of his striving and of its limitations. Marmeladov in turn suspects that Raskol'nikov is a former student and declares that he, too, respects education.

It would be unlike Dostoevskij to portray a pathological trait such as Marmeladov's drunkenness without connecting it back in many ways to the larger thematic structure of the work. Marmeladov's plunge is not only a crime; it is an irrational break with a system which provides him with his sense of dignity in life. This system embodied in *činovniki*, high and low, is nearly as pervasive in the novel's atmosphere and thematic structure as Petersburg itself; the two are historically related and contribute together to the psychological oppressiveness of Raskol'nikov's world. In effect, the novel begins with Marmeladov's assertion of his rank and ends with the Explosive Lieutenant's assertion of his *čin*: ". . . imeju značnie, čin, zanimaju mesto!"⁴⁶ From this minor note rises an important

⁴⁵ Dostoevskij, *Prestuplenie i nakazanie*, 268-270.

⁴⁶ Ibid., 554.

motivation of Raskol'nikov's attempted transcendence. *Čin*—both specific and theoretical—is a powerful chord in what Bakhtin called the “polyphonic” structure of *Crime and Punishment*.

This significance of *čin* is most readily apparent when *Crime and Punishment* is considered together with the works previously discussed and in the wider context of Russia's bureaucratic culture. From Puškin's *činovnik* Evgenij to Dostoevskij's Goljadkin and Raskol'nikov, the motives and aspirations associated with rank become more complex and general. Evgenij desires only a higher *čin* in order to begin living in happiness, independence, and honor. Each of Gogol's *činovniki* makes a kind of substitution in which individual existence is replaced by the derivative manifestations of *čin*: the officious copying of Bašmačkin or the abstracted, reified rank of Kovalev and of Dostoevskij's Goljadkin in turn attempts to assert an individual self which, being *ab origine* compromised by a subordinate's identification with rank, appears in the form of a demonically obsequious and destructive double.

In *Crime and Punishment*, *čin* reappears in very generalized form on two parallel planes: in the mediocrity of a Lužin, Lebezjatnikov, or Explosive Lieutenant, whose humanity has been replaced by rank and position; and in the assertion of a transcendent rank by means of which Raskol'nikov rebels against mediocrity—and thereby turns away from life and the “living humanity” of Razumichin. In all of these very distinct examples, from *The Bronze Horseman* to *Crime and Punishment*, *čin* and *činoljubie* motivate and delineate character thereby creating thematic conflicts and problems of a wider scope and significance. At the outset of our discussion, *čin* as a source of motivation was compared to money and property ownership as motives in Western literature during the nineteenth century. The latter were often associated with hypocrisy and with a contradiction between outer appearances and moral value. By contrast, the problematic associations of *čin*, rank and office, point toward an even more

elemental conflict between the claims of hierarchic order and the claims of common humanity, a conflict which is perhaps most fully developed in *Crime and Punishment*.