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THE REPUBLICAN IDEA OF THE NATION IN DECEMBRISTS POETRY

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The Republican idea of the nation in Decembrist poetry

"I sang with a powerful voice
Of freedom for the Russian people,
I sang and died for freedom!"[1]

In the Age of Democratic Revolutions, the struggle for liberty was pursued in different countries and on different arenas, yet it was inspired by the same ideas of constitutionalism, popular sovereignty and representation. These ideas typically lie at the basis of the civic or liberal concept of the nation, but are also seen as republican ideas. Students of nationalism commonly identify modern republican thought as one of the basic features of the liberal idea of the nation that emerged in the West.[2] This notion, they claim, was first expressed in the American and French revolutions, where republican ideas of liberty and the common good were upheld. The idea of the nation articulated at this time implied rejection of unlimited monarchy and special privileges. Sovereignty was now placed in the nation as a whole, portrayed as a community of rights-bearing individuals equal before the law.[3] Clearly, the original idea of the nation was not so much a liberal as a republican idea. This is why republicanism lies at the very heart of the "liberal" idea of the nation.

However, the link scholars have established between republicanism and liberal nationalism is not valid everywhere. The general view among students of nationalism is that the idea of the nation that appeared in Eastern Europe was a cultural idea that grew out of Romantic thought without any connection to republicanism.[4] Thus, while

republican thought in the West has been linked to liberal nationalism, this connection has not been made in the East. The purpose of this study is to question the view of a separate development of ideas in the East and to show that there was in fact a link between modern republican thought and liberal nationalism in Russia as well.

The study of republicanism has largely been restricted to pre-nineteenth century thought in the West and the Anglo-American world has dominated scholarship. Recently, efforts have been made to broaden the scope of the study of republicanism to incorporate both Germany and Poland.[5] However, Russia is still not included in this extended view of European intellectual history. By looking at the republican ideas expressed by the so-called Decembrist writers in the 1820s, this study will argue that Russia was very much part of the intellectual development that informed the age of democratic revolutions.

Most of these writers were members of the secret societies which conspired to introduce constitutional reforms in Russia. Others were friends or sympathizers. The topics they brought forth, the rhetoric they used and the ideas they expressed could be linked to the outlook of the future Decembrist conspirators.[6] The Decembrist writers used literature to convey a political message. They wished to form political consciousness around central concerns, such as the abolishment of serfdom, the need for freedom, constitutionalism and popular sovereignty. In their writings they informed Russians of their obligations as patriots and citizens. This didactic ambition often eclipsed their literary contribution. Consequently, students of literature in the West have not given them much attention.[7] Soviet scholars, on the other hand, were particularly interested in the political contribution of Decembrist literature.[8] They saw this literature as an expression of the revolutionary tendency among Russia's gentry intellectuals and stressed its link to

the subsequent revolutionary movement in Russia. In their view, the value of this literature lied in its political contribution as a progressive force and an inspiration to further revolutionary activity. The works of the Decembrist writers, Soviet scholars argued, were founded on "revolutionary romanticism," allegedly the most dynamic and progressive current in Russian Romanticism. It was related to the idealisation of the people and the civic hero who sacrifices himself for the people.[9] Hence, scholars have associated Decembrist literature with Romanticism rather than with liberal nationalism. Instead of placing the republican ideas of the Decembrists in the context of the American and French revolutions, they are seen in the framework of a specific Russian revolutionary tradition.

The Soviet focus on the ideological dimension of Decembrist literature rather than its literary qualities created a reaction among literary critics in the West. In response they have downplayed the political content of this literature and emphasised its literary form, i. e. its style, technique and language. William E Brown claims that Soviet scholars categorised these writers as "Decembrist writers" because of the political content of their writings, despite the fact that their literary style, language and technique differed hugely. Instead, they should be seen as individual writers. Moreover, to refer to their work simply as "civic literature" is misleading, because the radical civic ideas were only one part or one period of each writer's work. Against the Soviet view of Decembrism as a specific Russian revolutionary current it is argued that anti-tyrannical literature is not a Russian phenomenon, but something that appeared all over Europe with Schiller, Byron, Shelley, Hugo, and many others.[10] However, it should be noted that this standpoint does not imply a view of Decembrist literature as part of the movement for liberal nationalism in Europe.

Rather, these scholars consider it to be part of a strictly literary trend and a Romantic literary trend at that. The aim of their criticism is to refute the political reading of Decembrist writers rather than to interpret them in a new political context.

The Romantic interpretation is put forth also by Western students of literature who argue that Decembrist writers *did* share certain themes and qualities. These scholars maintain that Decembrist writers advocated a core of social and political ideals, such as liberty, rule of law, peasant emancipation, and constitutional government, that were part of Romanticism. Decembrists literature should therefore be seen as a specific current of Russian Romanticism. This tendency was characterised by an interest in history, political involvement, patriotism, idealisation of the people, and a striving for freedom.[11] The expressions of patriotism in Decembrist writings are presented as the result of a new interest in history and nationalism associated with the Romantic Movement. Hence, the Decembrists are said to have moved "beyond" the Age of Reason to Romantic nationalism.[12] Still, most historians point to the impact of both these intellectual currents. While their politics were inspired by Enlightenment thinkers, Romanticism inspired their views on history and literature.[13]

This article argues that Decembrist patriotism, as well as their concern with history and the people, is best understood if seen in the context of the liberal idea of the nation. Thus, the political dimension of Decembrist literature will be reclaimed. In this sense, the study involves a change of focus from literary form to political content. However, this interpretation does not agree with the notion of a unique Russian intellectual development, characterised by extreme revolutionary, autocratic, or totalitarian ideas. Neither revolutionary romanticism, in this distinctive Russian sense, nor literary

romanticism in its non-political sense is the proper context for understanding the political rhetoric of Decembrist literature. By situating the writings of the Decembrists in a European context the connection between their republicanism and liberal nationalism becomes apparent. In this way, the prevailing dichotomy between a liberal, republican nationalism in the West and a, cultural, romantic nationalism in the East is challenged.

The significance of Decembrist literature was not its Romanticism, nor its revolutionary character. Its importance lay in the formative role it played in bringing the modern republican idea of the nation to Russia. It contributed to a change in political rhetoric from a concern with the role of subjects to that of the rights of citizens. These citizens had obligations to the people rather than the dynasty. As Alexander Obolonsky writes, with the Decembrists, the process of becoming citizens in a civic culture and civil society had begun.[14]

Republican thought was prevalent in Eastern Europe already in the eighteenth century, but Russian intellectuals had not been able to discuss it openly since the French Revolution, because of censorship. Catherine II imposed strict censorship on books from France. She banned the word “republic” from stage plays. She even prohibited a republican fashion of dress. Her son Paul believed that any discussion of the French Revolution was dangerous to the autocracy. He banned the import of foreign books and purged such words as “citizen” and “fatherland” from the Russian language. It was not until the reign of Alexander I that some discussion of the French Revolution was permitted.[15] It was in this period that the liberal idea of the nation was first articulated in Russia. Decembrist literature expressed a new way of thinking about the people and the

nation. In fact, the Decembrists themselves claimed that their revolt was the first attempt to push Russia along the path of Western European liberalism.[16]

Neo-classical republican thinking has only rarely been studied in a nineteenth-century context. The common assumption is that this kind of thinking fell into oblivion after the French Revolution. Quentin Skinner has maintained that the seventeenth- and eighteenth-century neo-classical understanding of civil liberty not only lost its earlier position, but even slipped from sight during the nineteenth century.[17] However, recently there have been some efforts to include the nineteenth century in the study of Republicanism.[18] The emergence of Romanticism in the nineteenth century did not mean that Republicanism disappeared from the intellectual scene; it only assumed a somewhat different shape. Republican ideas did not lose their political significance with the American and the French Revolutions. Instead they continued to be of relevance to constitutional movements in other countries which tried to accomplish similar transformations. Actually, the republican idea of the nation was important well into the nineteenth century and the French and American Revolutions constituted an inspirational model for politically informed individuals all over Europe and Latin America.[19]

The American experience was particularly instructive. It provided a living example of what was possible. In the words of Condorcet, "it is not enough that the rights of man be written in the books of philosophers and inscribed in the hearts of virtuous men; the weak and ignorant must be able to read them in the example of a great people. America has given us this example… No nation has recognized them so clearly and preserved them in such perfect integrity."[20] The American Revolution created a sense that a new era was beginning. It legitimized criticism of existing powers and it was a symbol of freedom and

prosperity, embodying the ideas of liberty and equality. Bernard Bailyn maintains that the interest in American constitutionalism was intense on both sides of the Atlantic in the revolutionary years. In the generations that followed, it remained deeply embedded in the awareness of intellectuals and political leaders. Thus, America was still a "glorious model" when the German Constituent Assembly met in Frankfurt in 1848 to frame a confederate state.[21]

Nikolai Bolkhovitinov has noted that many Decembrists saw the American Constitution as the best model for Russia and America as a kind of "motherland of freedom."[22] To be sure, both Pavel Pestel and Kondratii Ryleev, prominent leaders of the Decembrists, admired the American Revolution and the republic that emerged in its wake. When he was interrogated about possible influences on his actions after the December uprising, Pestel stated that "newspapers and books were so full of praise of the increased happiness of the United States of America, ascribing this to their political system, that I took it as clear proof of the superiority of the republican system of government."[23] Pestel also confessed that he was influenced by the French republican thinker Destutt de Tracy. This Frenchmen was a friend and correspondent of Thomas Jefferson, who agreed with him that the American and French revolutionary idea of the nation would transform the world. They both believed that the modern world would be a world of nations, progressively coming together through the spread of commerce and civilization. At some point, all the nations of Europe would attain representative government. [24]

Obviously, such ideas were of great interest to radical thinkers in conservative post-revolutionary Europe and they used similar republican rhetoric to argue their case for

reform. The European revolutions in Spain, Greece, Italy, Poland and in Russia, were all part of what Alan Spitzer calls "the epilogue to Palmer's *Age of the Democratic Revolutions*".[25] To this can be added the struggles for independence in Latin America which turned the colonial empire of Spain into a string of republics from Mexico to Chile. The participants in these revolts justified their actions in terms of the republican idea of the nation, the very same notion that scholars later came to refer to as the basic idea of liberal nationalism.

The republican idea of the nation

Rejection of arbitrary power

Rejection of unlimited monarchy constituted an important element of Republicanism. This idea is clearly expressed in the American Declaration of Independence, where it is written that "[a] Prince, whose character is… marked by every act which may define a Tyrant, is unfit to be the ruler of a free people."[26] To Republicans the essence of being a citizen was to be free as opposed to being a slave. But to avoid tyranny there had to be checks on power and a constitution served this purpose. Arbitrary power was banished and representation assured. A free state was a state in which the citizens were moved to act solely by their own will, that is, by the citizen body as a whole. The highest good was the good of the community and a republican government was a government concerned with the public affairs of the nation. In a real republic, there should be "no other Majesty than that of the People" and "no other Sovereignty than that of the Laws."[27] As Paine made clear, a "republic is not any particular form of government." Its distinguishing feature was that it made the "*respublica*, the public affairs, or the public good; or literally

translated, the *public thing*" its "whole and sole object."[28] These thoughts recur in the Greek *Rights of Man* from 1797. Here, it is stated that citizens should never allow themselves to be subjected as "slaves of the inhuman tyranny" and that "[f]reedom has as a protector the law, for this determines up to what point we can be free."[29]

The Decembrist writers expressed precisely these ideas in their civic literature. One of the recurrent themes is that to be a citizen, you had to live in freedom. Fyodor Glinka wrote allegorically about the nightingale, who sang beautifully in liberty, but stayed silent when locked in its cage. "Thus, holy nature, your law and the voice of the heart tell us that freedom is second life for us!"[30] The abuse of power is described by Glinka in a play allegedly about the liberation of Holland from the Habsburg monarchy: "Everywhere the people are in torment!... upon the shoulders of slaves bent beneath the yoke, he has erected his iron and blood-drenched throne, and watered our soil with rivers of evil – the tyrant!"[31] In another, biblical, setting, similar thoughts are expressed: "Alas, the harsh days of captivity do not give life to [our] organs; slaves, trailing chains, do not sing lofty songs."[32] Here, the tyrant reigns absolute and consequently treats the people as slaves. The Decembrists believed that arbitrary power had to be checked since all kings were tyrants and despots: "Only give them power! It is for this reason that… people *need* a constitution, a limiting of the prerogatives of individuals who rule."[33] In his ode "Indignation" Prince Piotr Viazemskii stressed the importance of establishing a rule of law in order to avoid tyranny. "Laws are trampled by the violence of caprice… the sanctuary of justice… [I have seen become] the triumph of perfidy, the laws, the sacred weapons of righteousness [I have seen become] a shield for the powerful and a yoke for the weak".[34] Baron A. E. Rozen ridiculed the administration of justice in Russia, "this

variety of court, in which only officers passed sentence and the plaintiffs served as judges," which was "the customary method in Russia when important cases were to be decided."[35] The connection made in republican thought between laws and liberty is evident in the first scene of Glinka's "Velzen." Here, one of the characters, Inslar, exclaims: "Liberty or death! A country deprived of laws and liberty is a mournful tomb: in it, the people are captives."[36]

Although he never joined the Secret Society, Alexander Pushkin wrote a number of poems in the spirit of Republicanism and he was committed to the uprisings in Spain, Portugal and Naples in 1820-21. His early works circulated widely in manuscript form among the Decembrists and many of them referred to him as a source of inspiration after the rising.[37] In "Ode to Liberty" Pushkin made the connection between law and liberty:

Alas, where'er my eye may light,
It falls on ankle chains and scourges,
Perverted law's pernicious blight
And tearful serfdom's fruitless surges.
Where has authority unjust
In hazes thick with superstition
Not settled – slavery's dread emission
And rank vainglory's fateful lust?

Unstained by human freedom choked
A sovereign's brow alone is carried
Where sacred liberty is married
With mighty law and firmly yoked;
Where its stout roof enshelters all,

And where, by watchful burghers wielded,
Law's sword impends, and none are shielded
From its inexorable fall.

Before whose righteous accolade
The minions of transgression cower,
Whose vengeful hand cannot be stayed
By slavering greed or dread of power.
Oh, kings, you owe your crown and writ
To Law, not nature's dispensation;
While you stand high above the nation,
The changeless Law stands higher yet.[38]

Here Pushkin expresses the view that monarchs were subject to the law. He also made it clear in "The Dagger" that Brutus deservedly killed Caesar because he violated his senatorial mandate when he crossed the Rubicon.[39]

Thus, the Decembrist writers and sympathisers articulated the republican concern with arbitrary power and the need for it to be restrained by law for the good of the community. When Peter Borisov, co-founder of the Society of United Slavs, stated the reasons for his involvement in the revolt, he declared that love of freedom and of popular sovereignty had been implanted in him. The moral foundation for his actions, however, was that "[t]he general good is the highest law".[40] All these concepts – liberty, popular sovereignty and the common good – are associated with the republican notion of patriotism.

Patriotism

Patriotism, or love of country, is one of the key elements of Republicanism and the republican use of the nation was often linked with the rhetoric of patriotism. It was prominent both in the revolutionary vocabulary of the late eighteenth century and in the liberal nationalism of the nineteenth century.[41] The Spanish Constitution of 1812, which was held as a model by liberal nationalists in Europe, stated that Love of Country was one of the noblest duties of every Spaniard, together with justice and charity.[42] The Oath of the famous Greek society *Philiki Etairia*, from about the same time, asserted that it consisted of "true Greek patriots" who had as their main objective "the common good of the nation", and "its freedom."[43]

Patriotism was also a prominent feature of Decembrist literature. Already in the beginning of the nineteenth century, members of the Russian "Free Society of Lovers of Literature, the Sciences and the Arts" composed political verse in the spirit of Republicanism, especially I. P. Pnin and A. Kh. Vostokov. Their poetry is full of patriotic and civic themes. But the Decembrist Kondratii Ryleev is the most famous representative of civic poetry in Russia. According to one of his friends, Ryleev wanted to awaken within his compatriots feelings of love for their country and to ignite the desire for freedom.[44] He could not write about love when liberty was at stake. "Love is not to be found in my mind. Alas! My country is suffering; my soul, troubled by gloomy thoughts, now thirsts only for freedom."[45] Ryleev admired the poet Derzhavin for his civic conscience. He lived up to the noble calling of the poet – to be of use to his country. "He placed higher than all blessings the common good and in his fiery verses praised sacred virtue".[46]

Love for one's country, the poet P. A. Pletnev wrote, is "the prime virtue of a citizen."[47] But love for one's country also implies love for its people. It is in the name of the people that freedom for one's country is served. We have already seen how Glinka attended to the plight of the people and presented it as a common problem that concerned every patriot. Ryleev criticised the Russian regime for encroaching on the freedom of the people and for "pushing [them] into poverty with heavy taxes".[48] In his poem "Volynskii," the main character realises "how glorious it is to die for the people." The poem wonderfully expresses the civic duty of the patriot:

> Alive with love for his country
> He endures everything for it …
> May he be a model of honour,
> An iron breastplate for the suffering
> And forever the sworn enemy
> Of shameful injustice.[49]

The patriot was a civic hero, who had an obligation to defend the liberty of the people against tyranny and injustice. The confession of Nalivaiko conveys similar feelings of selfless patriotism:

I am well aware that ruin awaits
Him who rises first
Against the people's oppressors –
Fate has already condemned me.
But where, tell me, and when
Was freedom ever bought without victims?

I shall perish for my native land, –

I feel this, I know it

Yet gladly, Holy Father,

I bless my fate.[50]

As we have seen, this notion of public duty to the common good is central to republican thought and its patriotic rhetoric. Its origin lies in classical thought.

In classical Rome, "patria" meant *res publica*, and referred to the common good and common liberty. In the eighteenth century, "patria" regained its classical meaning as "a self-governing community of individuals living together in justice under the rule of law." Patriotism signified love for the republic and common liberty.[51] It referred to the common freedom of all citizens of the city state. This freedom was preserved only through the public spirit of the citizens. Hence, patriotism defended liberty against tyranny and corruption. Those who cultivated their private and group interests were not patriots. "Twere an abuse of words to call him a patriot who held not sacred as the life of his parents, these rights of his country without which it cannot be free."[52] The highest duty was to serve one's country and the greatest hero was the citizen who was willing to sacrifice everything to the common good and the liberty of the republic.[53]

As we have seen above, patriotism was supposed to defend liberty against despotism and tyranny: "Zeal for mighty deeds/ Love for your native country/ And scorn for the oppressors."[54] It was a virtue to sacrifice one's life to the cause of liberty: "Ah, who would not prefer a glorious death to the fate of slaves?"[55] This theme, typical of neo-classical Republicanism, is also found in Vilgelm Kiukhelbeker's tragedy *The Argives*, where the hero sacrifices himself for the restoration of freedom to his enslaved

fatherland.[56] Similar rhetoric is found in the Greek *Rights of Man*, according to which the colour of the Greek flag signified their "death for Motherland and Freedom."[57] The link between patriotism and liberty is also reflected in Alexander Pushkin's poem "To Chaadaev," where the nation is contrasted to autocracy and private fame to common pursuits. It deserves to be quoted at length:

> Love, hope, our private fame we banished
> As fond illusions soon dismissed,
> And Youth's serene pursuits have vanished
> Like dreamy wisps of morning mist;
> Yet 'neath the fateful yoke that bows us
> One burning wish will not abate:
> With mutinous soul we still await
> Our Fatherland to call and rouse us,
> In transports of impatient anguish
> For sacred Liberty we thrill,
> No less than a young lover will
> Yearn for the promised tryst and languish.
> While yet with Freedom's spark we burn
> And Honour's generous devotion,
> On our dear country let us turn
> Our fervent spirit's fine emotion!
> Believe, my friend: Russia will rise,
> A joyous, dazzling constellation,
> Will dash the slumber from her eyes;
> On Tyranny's stark wreck the nation
> Will our names immortalize![58]

It was considered shameful to disregard such exhortations to do one's patriotic duty. In the poem "The Citizen" Ryleev warned those that "cast a cold glance upon the woes of their own native land" that they would be shamed. As a patriot one could not "at the fateful hour bring shame upon the citizen's dignity." The "citizen" exclaims:

> No, I am not capable in the embraces of voluptuousness
> Of dragging out my young years in shameful idleness,
> Or of languishing with turbulent soul
> Beneath despotism's heavy yoke.[59]

The classics and national tradition

In the political thought of the Enlightenment, "patriotism" was often associated with the republican spirit of classical political thought and in the radical language of the time, the politics of the ancient republics was contrasted to modern autocracy.[60] Like American and French patriots, the Decembrists were greatly inspired by ancient thinkers. They studied Greek and Roman history. Plutarch, Titus, Livy, Cicero, Tacitus, and others were essential reading to all of them. According to I. D. Iakushkin they loved the ancients passionately. In his testimony to the Commission of Inquiry, P. G. Kakhovskii stated that he was "inflamed by ancient heroes."[61] Like the founding fathers of the American Revolution, the Decembrists were especially inspired by Brutus. He was the republican tyrant-slayer, the civic hero, who sacrificed himself to save the republic.[62] This is how Pushkin portrays him in his poem "The Dagger:" As the patriot who "restored freedom-loving".[63]

Decembrist writers used classical references both in poetry and in prose. Kiukhelbeker's historical tragedy *The Argives,* mentioned above, is an adaptation of Plutarch's account of the conflict between the Corinthian tyrant Timophanes and his republican brother Timoleon. After much hesitation, Timoleon kills his brother out of patriotic duty to free Corinth from tyranny. The play expresses civic virtue and devotion to liberty and fatherland. Another tragedy, *Andromache*, written by the Decembrist officer Pavel A. Katenin has a similar message. The play is based on Virgil's *Aeneid* and Euripides' *Trojan Women*. It evokes the civic spirit esteemed by both the ancients and the Decembrists.[64] Decembrists writers also translated works that articulated classical republican themes such as patriotism and hostility to tyranny. Glinka made a free translation of some of the passages in Lucan's poem *Pharsalia,* which contains severe criticism of the "tyrant" Julius Caesar. Katenin translated a scene from Pierre Corneille's neo-classical work *Cinna* in which the murder of the "tyrant" Augustus is justified.[65]

Historical legitimation is vital to those who try to make changes to a traditional order. Republicans who could not lay claim to the classical inheritance of Antiquity looked elsewhere in history. The American Revolutionaries used English history to justify their claims to liberty.[66] The Decembrists used Russian history, or more specifically, the medieval Russian city republics to demonstrate that a kind of "democracy" had existed in Russia before autocracy. In medieval Russia, they argued, the republican spirit reigned and the people were free.[67] It was time to bring to life again "the sacred times when our Veche thundered, and from afar broke the shoulders of arrogant kings."[68] The existence of an ancient Russian liberty not only made it possible for the Decembrists to criticize the contemporary lack of freedom in Russia, while describing historical events. It also

established an important historical link between the modern ideas they propagated and the fundamental notions of the ancient Russian city republics, which justified their claims. They were in fact restoring liberty and, what is important; the whole nation was to benefit from these liberties and not just the nobility.[69] In this they did not differ from the patriots of the American Revolution who argued that they strove to restore ancient English liberties.[70]

Glinka wrote about the need to bring the ancient Russian liberty back to life.

> Freedom! Country! Sacred words!
> Will you forever be empty sounds?
> No, we'll bring you to life! Not tears and groaning…
> But sword and valour to freedom shall lead:
> We'll die or recover the golden rights,
> That our forefathers bought us with their blood!
> Death is a hundred times better than life in humiliation![71]

The same theme is found in Ryleev's *Meditations*. Vadim, a medieval hero and a patriot, sacrifices himself for the people of Novgorod, defending them against the arbitrary rule of the prince. In the final section, Vadim expresses his desire to contribute to the restoration of his people's freedom:

> Oh! If I could restore
> To the enslaved people
> The pledge of general bliss
> The former freedom of our ancestors.[72]

Odoevsky raised the topic of the historical struggle between the old republics of Novgorod and Pskov and autocratic Muscovy in "The Unknown Exile." Here, the patriots from Novgorod on their way to exile are accompanied by an "unknown woman," who turns out to be the Godess of Liberty. There is no home for her in Russia anymore, hence she departs and ascends to heaven, exiled like her fellow travellers.[73]

The historical link between modern and ancient Republicanism was indicated in other ways as well. To give but a few examples, in the constitution drawn up for the Northern Society by Nikita Muraviev the representative assembly was to be called the *narodnoe veche*, recalling assemblies of this name which had met in the medieval city-republics of Novgorod and Pskov. Moreover the "Holy Artel," a reformist group of officers on the General Staff founded by the Muraviev brothers, gathered at the sound of a bell which was supposed to evoke the old bell of the republic of Novgorod which was used to gather the city's popular assembly.[74] The title given to the constitution proposed by the Southern Society, drafted by Pavel Pestel, was *Russkaia pravda*, which consciously recalled the first Russian law code promulgated by Iaroslav the Wise of Kievan Rus' in the 11th century. Kiev was used as a "liberal" contrast to the autocratic Moscovite state. Here, the Decembrists asserted, decisions on important affairs of the state were taken by popular assemblies and the power of the prince was circumscribed.[75]

In focusing on liberty and the existence of a republican tradition in Russian history, the Decembrists presented a different, modern, view of the past compared to the official government historian, Niolai Karamzin, who praised autocracy as the decisive formative influence in Russian history.[76] But, the Decembrists were not only inspired by ancient history. There were models closer at hand which were more relevant.

Liberty's war against tyranny

America was every patriot's utopia, since this was the nation where republican ideals were fulfilled. "Here independent power shall hold sway," wrote the American Republicans Philip Freneau and Hugh Henry Brackenridge, "and public virtue warm the patriotic breast. No traces shall remain of tyranny."[77] In the American Revolution, a patriot was a supporter of the revolution and an opponent of the English king. Patriotism implied a free republic, love of liberty and public spirit.[78] Liberty was "the object of patriotic zeal."[79] It is noteworthy that British radicals of the 1820s continued to fight liberty's war against oppression:

> Then, then, my brave Britons, we ne'er shall be slaves,
> Nor shall tyrants rule over this isle:
> See the goddess of freedom her banner high waves,
> And inspires her loved sons with her smile.[80]

The struggle between freedom and tyranny was a central theme in Decembrist poetry. Liberty was summoned to fight against oppression. In his famous "Ode on Liberty," Pushkin calls:

> Where, where art thou, terror of tsars,
> Proud poetess of liberty.
> Come, tear the wreath from me;
> Dash down the effeminate lyre,
> I wish to sing to the world of liberty

And strike crime on the throne![81]

Liberty had already finished her work in the West, in the American and French revolutions. It was now time for her to travel east. The Decembrists had adopted the view, articulated by American and French patriots, that the revolution and the idea of the nation would spread around the world. Odoevskii's "The Maiden of 1610" illustrates this point. Here, the "Maiden," who is Liberty, calls to the Russian listeners:

Why do you tarry? From the western world,
Where I breathe, where I reign alone,
And where long since the bloody purple
Has been torn from the gods of injustice,

Where there is no slavery, but brothers, and citizens
Adore my godhead,
And the thousands, like the waves in the ocean,
Are mingled together into a single family

From my lands, both free and happy,
I have flown to you, to your call.[82]

Learning about the liberal revolts all over Europe the Decembrists became convinced that time was ripe for change in Russia. To them it seemed as the days of autocrats were numbered.

The ages are marching toward a glorious goal;

I see them! They are moving!

The codes of authority have grown old;

People heretofore asleep have awakened,

Are looking around and rising up.

O joy! The hour has come, the happy hour of Freedom![83]

This ardent belief that history was on their side did not vanish even after the rising. Pushkin wrote a poem to the Decembrists in prison, which ended with the words:

The heavy chains will fall,

The prison crash – and freedom

Will greet you joyously at the door,

And your brothers will give you a sword.[84]

Odoevsky responded with the following lines: “The flaming sounds of the inspired strings have come to our ears; our hands reached for swords – and found only chains” But, he comforts the reader,

[O]ur painful labour shall not be lost;

From the sparks shall flare a flame,

And our enlightened people

Will gather beneath the sacred banner.

We shall forge swords from chains,

And kindle anew the fire of freedom!

She [Freedom] will advance against kings,

And the peoples give a sigh of joy.[85]

The Decembrist revolt lit the spark that eventually would lead to the transformation of Russia, but this spark would never have caught fire if time was not ripe for the liberal idea of the nation. Odoevsky's poem expresses the notion of the liberation of peoples all over the world through democratic revolutions. This idea was not only articulated by people such as Thomas Jefferson and Destutt de Tracy. One of the leaders of the contemporary liberation movement in Greece, Alexandros Ypsilantis, used the same rhetoric as the Decembrist writers in order to call his people to action:

> The Motherland is calling us!... Let all the mountains of Greece resound, therefore, with the echo of our battle trumpet, and the valleys with the fearful clash of our arms. Europe will admire our valour. Our tyrants, trembling and pale, will flee before us…. [L]et patriotic legions appear and you will see those old giants of despotism fall by themselves, before our triumphant banners… It is time to overthrow this insufferable yoke, to liberate the Motherland. [86]

A principal topic of the civic poetry of the time was that of the momentous hour. The Decembrist writers were confident that the hour of change had struck, a happy hour for Liberty, but not so for the tyrannical ruler. "Tyrants of the world! Tremble!" Pushkin warned, "And you fallen slaves, be men and hearken, rise up!"[87] "Near is the hour, near is the struggle, the struggle between liberty and despotism!"[88] When the "fateful hour" struck, tyrants could expect nothing less than "dreadful dungeons."[89] Then the enslaved peoples would have their revenge and become free citizens.

> Terrible is the despotic prince
> But night's darkness will fall

And the decisive hour will come

A fateful hour for the citizenry.[90]

Every citizen had a duty not to shrink from active participation in this struggle, but educated people had a special obligation to act as leaders of the revolt.

They will repent when the people, having arisen,

Finds them in idle languor's embrace,

And, seeking liberty's rights in the stormy revolt,

Finds among them neither a Brutus nor a Riego.[91]

In Kiukhelbeker's "Prophecy", a poem using biblical themes, God accuses the main character of "dragging out his days in mortal slumber." He asks if it was "for this that I gave you the fire and the power to awaken peoples? – Rise up, singer, prophet of Freedom! Spring up, proclaim what I have decreed."[92]

The struggle between liberty and tyranny also found expression in *The Argives*. Its political implication is that autocratic tyrants were to be disposed of by violent means, if necessary.[93] The same message is conveyed in "Experiments in Two Tragic Scenes," where Glinka tells a story about one of the loyal sons of a fatherland subjected to a tyrant, who exhorts his fellow-citizens to take up arms against arbitrary power.[94] This theme reappears in *Velzen*. We hear of "[c]rowds of slaves, shedding tears and blood," an enslaved people who suffer. But, they will rise. "[A]lready is heard a murmur!... They are cursing the tyrant [*tsar*]."[95] No mercy is given: "There is no salvation for the tyrant: His only friend is the dagger!"[96] Through Nalivaiko Ryleev speaks plainly:

There is no reconciliation, there are no conditions

Between the tyrant and the slave;

It is not ink which is needed, but blood,

We must act with the sword.[97]

Once again, it is fruitful to compare Decembrist rhetoric with that of the Greek patriots. Ypsilantis wrote about how Greek ships "will show terror and death, by fire and the sword, in all the harbours of the tyrants."[98]

The Decembrist poet Vladimir Raevsky put his faith in Providence in order for liberty to prevail. "The universal law of change will bring about the tyrants downfall" and then "[t]he gates of freedom and repose shall be thrown open."[99] Pushkin presents a similar view in "The Dagger." He uses references to both classical and contemporary tyrannicides in order to illustrate the inevitable fate of the tyrant. I have already mentioned the idolisation of Brutus who sacrificed himself in order to rescue the Republic. Pushkin also makes a hero out of Karl Ludwig Sand, who killed the reactionary German playwright and tsarist agent August Friedrich von Kotzebue in 1819. His murder resulted in Metternich's repressive Karlsbad Decrees and in Sand's execution.

By Lemnos god, avenging knife,

For deathless Nemesis wert fashioned,

The secret sentinel of Freedom's threatened life,

The final arbiter of rape and shame impassioned.…

Forbidden, Rubicon has suffered Ceasar's tread,

Majestic Rome succumbed, the law inclined its head;

But Brutus righted Freedom's damage:
You struck down Caesar – and he staggered, dead,
Against great Pompey's haughty image.…

Henchman of death, to wearied Hades he
With thumb-signs victims indicated,
But a supreme tribunal fated
For him the Eumenids and thee.

Oh, righteous youth, the Fates' appointed choice,
Oh, Sand you perished on the scaffold;
But from your martyred dust the voice
Of holy virtue speaks unmuffled.

In your own Germany a shadow you became
That grants to lawless force no haven –
And on your solemn tomb ungraven
There glows a dagger for a name.[100]

The revolutionary connotations of the republican idea of the nation are evident here. Of course scholars have recognised this as an expression of the "revolutionary character" of Decembrist literature and of the Decembrist writers' link to the future Revolutionary movement in Russia. However, as this article has argued, placed in the context of nationalism, references to liberty's revolt against tyranny are clear expressions of what Eric Hobsbawm refers to as the revolutionary-democratic, or the democratic-republican foundation of the liberal idea of the nation. The Decembrists talked about the nation in the sense of the sovereign citizen-people. This notion of the nation held radical

implications both in the American and the French revolutionary rhetoric, the very language which shaped the liberal idea of the nation in the first place.

In 1787, for example, Jefferson wrote that "the tree of liberty must be refreshed from time to time with the blood of patriots and tyrants."[101] As we have seen above, the contemporary Greek liberation movement used similar rhetoric. Furthermore, there is a link between their ideas and the older generation of Greek patriots, who saw revolution as justified on the same basis as their French and American friends. "When the Government harasses, breaches, disdains the rights of the people and does not heed its complaints, then for the people or each part of the people to make a revolution, take up arms and punish his tyrants is the most sacred of all his rights."[102]

Notes

[1] V. Kyukhelbeker, "Ten Ryleeva," translated by Patrick O'Meara, *K. F. Ryleev: A Political Biography of the Decembrist Poet*, (Princeton, 1984), p. 314.

[2] See H. Kohn, *The Idea of Nationalism* (New York, 1945); E. Hobsbawm, *Nations and nationalism since 1780* (Cambridge, 1992); L. Greenfeld, *Nationalism. Five Roads to Modernity* (Cambridge, Ma., 1993); R. Brubaker, *Citizenship and Nationhood in France and Germany* (Cambridge, Ma, 1992); M. Viroli, *For Love of Country. An Essay on Patriotism and Nationalism* (Oxford, 1995).

[3] Kohn, *Idea of Nationalism*, chapter 5 and 6; Brubaker, *Citizenship and Nationhood*, pp. 12, 6; M. Ignatieff, *Blood and Belonging: Journeys into the New Nationalism* (London & NewYork, 1994), p. 6; Hobsbawm, *Nations and nationalism*, p. 87; A. Kemiläinen, *Nationalism. Problems Concerning the Word, the Concept and Classification* (Jyväskylä, 1964), pp. 55-6, 30, 16.

[4] Kohn, *Idea of Nationalism*; J. Plamenatz, "Two Types of Nationalism" in E. Kamenka (ed), *Nationalism*, (Canberra, 1973); P. Sugar (ed.), *Eastern European Nationalism in the Twentieth Century* (Washington, DC, 1995); Hobsbawm, *Nations and nationalism*; Greenfeld, *Nationalism*.

[5] J. G. A. Pocock, *The Machiavellian Moment: Florentine Political Thought and the Atlantic Republican Tradition* (Princeton, 1975); M. van Gelderen and Q. Skinner (eds), *Republicanism: a shared European heritage* (Cambridge, 2002); J. Heideking and J. A. Henretta (eds), *Republicanism and Liberalism in America and the German States 1750-1850* (Cambridge, 2002); A. Walicki, *The Enlightenment and the Birth of Modern Nationhood* (Notre Dame, 1989).

[6] The only general study of the Decembrists in English is A. G. Mazour, *The First Russian Revolution, 1825. The Decembrist Movement. Its Origins, Development, and Significance*, (Stanford: Stanford U. P., 1961). Marc Raeff has also written a useful introduction to a collection of Decembrist material. M. Raeff, *The Decembrist Movement*, (Englewood Cliffs, N. J: Prentice-Hall, 1966). See also O'Meara, *Ryleev* and *The Decembrist Pavel Pestel. Russia's First Republican*, (Basingstoke and New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2003); G. Barratt, *The Rebel on the Bridge. A Life of Baron Andrey Rozen 1800-84* (London, 1975); idem, *Voices in exile: the Decembrist memoirs* (Montreal and London, 1974). In Russian the literature on the Decembrists is huge. For primary sources, see A. A. Pokrovskii et al. (eds), *Vosstanie dekabristov. Materialy i dokumenty* (Moscow, 1925-2001), 19 vols; I. Ya. Shchipanova and S. Ya. Shtraikh (eds), *Izbrannye sotsial'no-politicheskie i filosofskie proizvedeniia dekabristov* (Moscow, 1951), 3 vols; For secondary sources, see M. V. Nechkina, *Dvizhenie dekabristov*, 2 vols. (Moscow, 1955); B. E. Syroechkovskii, *Iz istorii dvizheniia dekabristov* (Moscow, 1969); N. M. Druzhinin, *Izbrannye trudy. Revoliutsionnoe dvizhenie v Rossii v XIX v* (Moscow, 1985); S. V. Mironenko, *Dekabristy. Biograficheskii spravochnik* (Moscow, 1988); S. A. Ekshtut, *V poiske istoricheskoi alternativy. Aleksandr I. Ego spodvizhniki. Dekabristy* (Moscow, 1994); V. M. Bokova (ed), *170 let spustia. Dekabristskie chteniia 1995 goda* (Moscow, 1999); N. Eidelman, *Udivitelnoe pokolenie. Dekabristy: litsa i sudby* (St Petersburg, 2001).

[7] Historians have mainly been interested in the political writings of Decembrism, rather than its literary expression. (See Mazour, *The First Russian Revolution* and Raeff, *The Decembrist Movement*. See also more general histories of Russia: G. A. Hosking, *Russia: people and empire, 1552-1917* (Cambridge, Ma., 1997), pp. 177-82; R. Pipes, *Russia under the Old Regime*, (London, 1995), pp. 184-88, 259; A. Walicki, *A*

History of Russian Thought from the Enlightenment to Marxism, (Stanford, 1979), pp. 57-70; M. Malia, *Russia Under Western Eyes. From the Bronze Horseman to the Lenin Mausoleum* (Cambridge, Ma., 1999), pp. 259-264; N. V. Riasanovsky, *A Parting of Ways. Government and the Educated Public in Russia 1801-1855* (Oxford, 1976), pp. 82-100; H. Seton-Watson, *The Russian Empire 1801-1917* (Oxford, 1988), pp. 183-98; J. Hartley, *Alexander I* (London, 1994), pp. 203-19.

[8] For pre-revolutionary writings see A. Herzen, *Polnoe sobranie sochinenii* (Moscow, 1954-59), vol. VI, pp. 245-47; vol. VII, p. 200; vol. VIII, p. 117; vol. X, p. 153; vol. XII, p. 55; vol. XIII, pp. 145, 273. For a standard Soviet treatment, see Nechkina, *Dvizhenie dekabristov* and *A. S. Griboedev i dekabristy* (Moscow, 1951); V. G. Bazanov, *Ocherki dekabristskoi literatury. Poeziia* (Moscow, 1961).

[9] Cf *Bolshaia Sovetskaia Entsiklopedia*, 1952, vol. 13, p. 587.

[10] W. E. Brown, *A History of Russian Literature of the Romantic Period* (Ann Arbor, 1986), vol. 1, pp. 162, 286, 289; vol 2, pp. 13, 99; vol. 3, pp. 354-56. See also S. Karlinsky, *Russian Drama from Its Beginning to the Age of Pushkin* (Berkeley, 1985), pp. 219-20. O'Meara's biography on Ryleev is an exception in its focus on the poet's political attitudes and aspirations (O'Meara, *Ryleev*).

[11] L. G. Leighton, *Russian Romanticism: Two Essays* (The Hague, 1975), p. 69; N. B. Landsman in R. Reid, (ed.), *Problems of Russian Romanticism* (Hants, 1986), p. 65; Prousis, *Russian society*, pp. 106-107. See also L. Bagby, *Alexander Bestuzhev-Marlinsky and Russian Byronism* (University Park, 1995); L. G. Leighton, *The Esoteric Tradition in Russian Romantic Literature. Decembrism and Freemasonry* (University Park, 1994); For the Russian view. See *Istoriia romantizma v russkoi literature*, 2 vols. (Moscow, 1979); L. G. Frizman, *Dekabristy i russkaia literatura* (Moscow, 1988).

[12] Hartley, *Alexander I*, p. 209; S. S. Volk, *Istoricheskie vzgliady dekabristov* (Moscow-Leningrad, 1958), p. 303; H. Lemberg, *Die nationale Gedankenwelt der Dekabristen* (Cologne-Graz, 1963). See Riasanovsky for a contrary view, *A Parting of Ways*, p. 97

[13] Raeff, *Decembrist movement*, pp. 17-24; Mazour, *First Russian Revolution*, p. 57; Walicki, *History of Russian Thought*, p. 71.

[14] A. Obolonsky, *The Drama of Russian Political History* (College Station, 2003), pp. 69-70.

[15] D. Dakin, "The Historical Background" in P. G. Trueblood, (ed.), *Byron's Political and Cultural Influence in Nineteenth –Century Europe. A Symposium* (London and Basingstoke, 1981), pp. 13-14; D.

Shlapentokh, *The French Revolution in Russian Intellectual and Political Life, 1789-1922* (Chicago, 1988), vol I, pp. 17-20.

[16] Baron A. Y. Rozen and N. I. Lorer, in G. R. V. Barratt, *Voices in Exile. The Decembrist Memoirs* (Montreal and London, 1974), pp. 126, 68.

[17] Q. Skinner, *Liberty Before Liberalism* (Cambridge, 1998), pp. ix-x.

[18] Heideking and Henretta (eds), *Republicanism and Liberalism*.

[19] Walicki writes about Polish republicans who admired Franklin and Washington and used America and France as useful examples of how to throw off the yoke of slavery (*The Enlightenment and the Birth of Modern Nationhood*... Notre Dame, 1989, pp. 16-18) As late as 1834 the opinion was expressed that Sweden should follow the example of the French revolution and the American republic (J. Kurunmäki, *Representation, Nation and Time. The Political Rhetoric of the 1866 Parliamentary Reform in Sweden* (Jyväskylä, 2000, p. 151).

[20] Condorcet, "The Influence of the American Revolution on Europe," *William and Mary Quarterly*, 3d ser. vol. 25, no. 1 (1968), pp. 85-108, p. 91.

[21] B. Bailyn, *To Begin the World Anew. The Genius and Ambiguities of the American Founders* (New York, 2003), pp. 131-149.

[22] N. N. Bolkhovitinov, "The Declaration of Independence: A View from Russia," *The Journal of American History*, vol. 85, no. 4 (March 1999), pp. 1392-93.

[23] Barratt, *Voices in Exile*, pp. 112, 148.

[24] N. Onuf and P. Onuf, *Nations, Markets and War: An Essay in Modern History*, Forthcoming, pp. 322, 332, 320.

[25] Alan B. Spitzer, *Old Hatreds and Young Hopes. The French Carbonari against the Bourbon Restoration* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard U. P., 1971), pp. 294-95. Simon Karlinsky states that much of the rhetoric of so-called Decembrist literature came from the ideas of the French and American revolutions (Karlinsky, *Russian Drama*, pp. 218-219).

[26] "The Declaration of Independence 1776" in M. Jensen (ed), *Constitutional Documents and Records, 1776-1787* (Wisconsin, 1976), vol. I, p. 73.

[27] *Republicanism, A Shared European Heritage*, ed by M van Gelderen and Q Skinner, Cambridge UP, 2002, vol I, pp. 1-6; T. Paine, *A Letter to the Earl of Shelburne*, pp. 33, 35.

[28] Paine, 1989, pp. 167-8.

[29] Rigas Velestinlis, *The Rights of Man* in R. Clogg (ed), *The Movement for Greek Independence 1770-1821. A collection of documents* (London, 1976), pp. 150-51. Even though the Decembrists in general wanted to abolish serfdom, it is important to note that in republican rhetoric there was no inconsistency in in fighting for freedom while large parts of the population consisted of slaves. The characterization of America as "a country of freemen" and Britain as "a kingdom of slaves" was employed even in areas where the majority of the population consisted of slaves. See E. Foner, The Story of American Freedom (New York: Norton, 1999), p. 31.

[30] F. N. Glinka, "To a Nightingale in a Cage" 1819 in *Stikhotvoreniia* (Leningrad, 1951), pp. 105-106.

[31] F. N. Glinka, "Velzen," *Izbrannye prozvedeniia* (Leningrad, 1957), p. 58; translated in W. E. Brown, *A History of Russian Literature of the Romantic Period* (Ann Arbor, 1986), vol. 1, p. 286.

[32] Glinka, "Lament of the Captive Hebrews," *Stikhotvoreniia*, p. 89; transl. Brown, *Russian Literature*, vol. 1, p. 290.

[33] N. I. Lorer, cited in Barratt, *Voices in Exile*, p. 165. The same idea was expressed in the United States. See B. Bailyn, *Ideological Origins of the American Revolution* (Cambridge, Ma., 1967).

[34] P. A. Viazemskii, *Stikhotvoreniia*, Leningrad, 1958, p. 137; transl. Brown, *Russian Literature*, vol. 2, p. 63.

[35] A. Y. Rozen cited in Barratt, *Voices in exile*, p. 173.

[36] F. N. Glinka, *Izbrannye proizvedeniia* (Leningrad, 1957), p. 60.

[37] T. C. Prousis, *Russian Society and the Greek Revolution* (Dekalb, 1994), pp. 136-38.

[38] A. S. Pushkin, *Polnoe sobranie sochinenii*, (Moscow, 1949), vol. 1, pp. 258-260; translated in *The Complete Works of Alexander Pushkin* (Norfolk, 2001), vol. 1, pp. 268-271.

[39] Pushkin, *Sochinenii*, vol. 1, pp. 338-339.

[40] Lorer and Borisov cited in Barratt, *Voices in exile*, pp 126, 149.

[41] Viroli, *For Love of Country*; M. G. Dietz, "Patriotism" in T. Ball et al (eds), *Political innovation and conceptual change* (Cambridge, 1989), pp. 177-193.

[42] *Politisk Constitution för Spanska Monarkien af Cortes antagen den 19 Mars 1812* (Stockholm, 1821), 2 section. p. 5.

[43] "Initiation Rituals and the Great Oath of the Philiki Etairia", 1815 in Clogg, (ed.), *Movement for Greek Independence*, pp. 177, 180.

[44] N. A. Bestuzhev, "Vospominanie o Ryleeve" in M. K. Azadovskii, (ed), *Vospominaniia Bestukhevykh* (Moscow-Leningrad, 1951), p. 25.

[45] K. F. Ryleev, *Polnoe sobranie sochinenii* (Moscow-Leningrad, 1934), p. 239.

[46] K. F. Ryleev *Dumy*, L. G. Frizman ed. (Moscow, 1975), p. 92; translated by P. O'Meara, *Ryleev*, p. 182.

[47] P. A. Pletnev cited in Leighton, *Russian Romanticism*, p. 70.

[48] Ryleev, *Sochinenii*, p. 90.

[49] Ryleev, *Dumy*, p. 87; transl O'Meara, *Ryleev*, p.175.

[50] Ryleev, *sochinenii*, p. 250; transl. O'Meara, *Ryleev*, p. 192.

[51] Viroli, *For Love of Country*, pp. 19, 63.

[52] John Cartwright, *Give us our rights! Or, A Letter to the present electors of Middlesex and the Metropolis*, (London, n. d. [1782]), p. 9.

[53] Viroli, *For Love of Country*, pp. 30-38.

[54] Ryleev, *Dumy*, p. 25; transl. O'Meara, *Ryleev*, 180.

[55] From Glinka's *Velzen* translated by Karlinsky, *Russian Drama*, p. 219.

[56] V. K. Kiukhelbeker, *Izbrannye proizvedeniia v dvukh tomakh* (Moscow-Leningrad, 1967), vol. II, pp. 175-274; 677-729. See Brown, *Russian Literature*, vol. 2 pp. 24-29 for a discussion of this drama.

[57] Velestinlis, *The Rights of Man* in Clogg, (ed.), *Movement for Greek Independence*, p. 163.

[58] Pushkin, *Sochinenii*, vol. I, p. 267. Translated in Pushkin, *Complete Works*, vol 1, p. 272.

[59] Ryleev, *Sochinenii*, pp. 265-66; transl. O'Meara, *Ryleev*, p. 194.

[60] Viroli, *For Love of Country*, pp. 63-75.

[61] S. Ia. Shtraikh, ed., *Zapiski, stati i pisma dekabrista I. D. Iakushkina* (Moscow, 1951), p. 20; Kakhovskii, *Vosstanie Dekabristov*, I, p. 343.

[62] C. J. Richard, *The Founders and the Classics. Greece, Rome, and the American Enlightenment* (Cambridge, Mass., 1994), pp. 57, 65-66; Barratt, *Voices in exile*, note 18, p. 356.

[63] Pushkin, *Sochinenii*, vol. I, p. 338.

[64] P. A. Katenin, *Izbrannye proizvedeniia* (Moscow-Leningrad, 1965), pp. 361-422. See also Brown, *Russian Literature*, vol. 1, pp. 43, 53-57; vol. 2, pp. 24-29; S. Karlinsky, *Russian*, pp. 220-222.

[65] Brown, *Russian Literature*, vol. 1, pp. 289, 307.

[66] H. T. Colbourn, *Lamp of Experience: Whig History and the Intellectual Origins of the American Revolution* (Chapel Hill, 1965).

[67] The Polish historian Joachim Lelewel argued that a republican tradition existed in Russia as seen in the city-republics and in Slavic communalism in general. See A. Walicki, *Russia, Poland and Universal Regeneration. Studies on Russian and Polish Thought of the Romantic Epoch* (Notre Dame, 1991), p. 12.

[68] V. F. Raevsky, *Polnoe sobranie stikhotvorenii* (Moscow-Leningrad, 1967), pp. 151-155; transl. Brown, *Russian Literature*, vol. 2, p. 107.

[69] Walicki, *History of Russian Thought*, pp. 67, 59.

[70] See for ex. P. Maier, *From Resistance to Revolution: colonial radicals and the development of American opposition to Britain, 1765-1776* (New York, 1972); Bailyn, *Ideological Origins*.

[71] F. N. Glinka, *Stikhotvoreniia* (Leningrad, 1951), p. 77.

[72] K. F. Ryleev, *Polnoe sobranie stikhotvorenii* (Leningrad, 1971), p. 330; transl. O'Meara, *Ryleev*, pp. 178.

[73] A. I. Odoevskii, *Polnoe sobranie stikhotvorenii* (Leningrad, 1958), pp. 127-28. See Brown, *Russian Literature*, vol. 2, p. 112.

[74] D. Saunders, *Russia in the Age of Reaction and Reform 1801-1881* (New York, 1992), p. 98.

[75] G. A. Hosking, *Russia: people and empire*, p. 177; Hartley, *Alexander I*, p. 209; Walicki, *History of Russian Thought*, p. 67.

[76] Volk, *Istoricheskie vzgliady*; Lemberg, *Nationale Gedankenwelt*; Walicki, *History of Russian Thought*, pp. 53, 67, 59. Pushkin specifically addresses Russian despotic rule in "Notes on Eighteenth-Century Russian History." See Prousis, *Russian Society*, pp. 137-38.

[77] P. Freneau and H. H. Brackenridge, "The Rising Glory of America" in H. Kohn, *Idea of nationalism*, p. 292.

[78] Dietz, *Patriotism*, pp. 186-87.

[79] Richard Price, *Discourse on the Love of our Country* (London, 1789), pp. 2-20.

[80] Cited in L. Colley, *Britons. Forging the Nation 1707-1837* (London, 1994), p. 336-7.

[81] Pushkin, *Sochinenii*, vol. 1, p. 258. Translated in *Suppressed Poems of A. S. Poushkin* (Berlin, 1870).

[82] Odoevskii, *Stikhotvorenii*, pp. 66; transl. Brown, *Russian Literature*, vol. 2, p. 113.

[83] Kiukhelbeker, *Izbrannye*, vol. I, p. 144; transl. Brown, *Russian Literature*, vol. 2, p. 16.

[84] Pushkin, *Sochinenii*, vol. II, p. 29; transl. Brown, *Russian literature*, vol. 2, p. 116.

[85] Odoevskii, *Stikhotvorenii*, p. 73; transl. Brown, *Russian literature*, vol. 2, p. 116.

[86] "Fight for Faith and Motherland": Alexandros Ypsilantis' Proclamation of Revolt in the Danubian Principalities, 24 February 1821 in Clogg, (ed.) *Movement for Greek Independence*, pp. 201-202.

[87] Pushkin cited in Brown, *Russian literature*, p. 148.

[88] Ryleev, *Sochinenii*, p. 214; transl. O'Meara, *Ryleev*, pp. 188-89.

[89] Ryleev, *Stikhotvorenii*, pp. 165, 330.

[90] Ibid., p. 330; transl. O'Meara, *Ryleev*, p. 178.

[91] Ryleev, *Sochinenii*, p. 266; transl. O'Meara, *Ryleev*, pp. 194-95. Rafael del Riego was a Spanish patriot, who was killed in 1823.

[92] Kiukhelbeker, *Izbrannye*, vol. I, pp. 158-161; transl. Brown, *Russian literature*, vol, 2, p. 17.

[93] Ibid., vol. II, pp. 175-274; 677-729. See note 54 and 62.

[94] Glinka, *Stikhotvoreniia*, pp. 76-79.

[95] Glinka, *Izbrannye*, p. 58; transl. Brown, *Russian literature*, vol. I, p. 286.

[96] Ryleev, *Stikhotvorenii*, p. 150.

[97] Ryleev cited in O'Meara, *Ryleev*, p. 191.

[98] A. Ypsilantis, "Fight for Faith and Motherland" in Clogg, (ed), *Movement for Greek Independence*, p. 202.

[99] Raevsky, *Stikhotvorenii*, pp. 134-35; transl. Brown, *Russian Literature*, vol. 2, pp. 104-105.

[100] Pushkin, *Sochinenii*, vol. 1, pp. 338-39. Transl. in *Complete Works*, vol. 2, pp. 47-48.

[101] Thomas Jefferson to William Smith, Nov. 13, 1787, in J. Boyd et al., (eds.), *The Papers of Thomas Jefferson* (Princeton, N. J., 1950-), vol. 12, p. 356.

[102] Velestinlis, *The Rights of Man* in Clogg, (ed.) *Movement for Greek Independence*, p. 157.