

EXPLANATORY NOTES

Topics sufficiently explained in a standard desk dictionary receive no notice. Place-names and other topographical matters identified by the map of Geneva at the end of this volume are disregarded except when contextual or historical information might be useful. Whenever practical, the sources cited here are those that Conrad and his first readers could have known. The notes are indebted to Hervouet as regards allusions to French literature and to the annotations in reading texts of the novel edited by Paul Kirschner (1996), Jean Deurbergue (1997), Peter Lancelot Mallios (2001), Stephen Donovan (2007) and, in particular, to Jeremy Hawthorn (1983 and 2003).

EPIGRAPH

1.2–3 **“I would ... bread.”** This is a slight misquotation of Natalia Haldin’s ‘I would take liberty from any hand as a hungry man would snatch at a piece of bread’ (108.38–39). The phrasing possibly recalls the title of an anarchist monthly, *Pain et Liberté* (‘Bread and Freedom’), published in Geneva 1903–06 and in 1909. Prince Peter (né Pyotr Alexeyevich) Kropotkin (1841–1921), one of its contributors, had earlier written *The Conquest of Bread* (1892). (On Kropotkin, a possible influence on the portrayal of the novel’s Peter Ivanovitch, see ‘Introduction’, p. xl.) The association of bread with liberty has origins at least as old as the French Revolution, one of the complaints against the *Ancien Régime* being the high price of wheat, and hence of bread, the daily staple, which, in turn, became a symbol of freedom from autocratic tyranny.

DEDICATION

3.2–6 **AGNES TOBIN ... WEST** Born in California of an Irish father and Chilean mother, Tobin (1864–1930) wrote poetry and plays and translated Petrarch. She knew André Gide and W. B. Yeats, and in February 1911 she met Conrad through his Kentish neighbour, the poet Arthur Symons. In the summer of that year, she put John Quinn, a wealthy New York lawyer who collected manuscripts and modern art, in touch with Conrad. This dedication is a gesture of gratitude for that service, which assisted Conrad financially.

AUTHOR’S NOTE

5.2–4 **circumstances ... historical novel** An allusion to the 1917 Revolution in Russia, entailing periods of anarchy, the abolition of the monarchy, the execution of the Tsar and his family, and the rise of another autocratic state.

5.17 **began to write** Conrad commenced the novel on 3 December 1907 as a short story, which then grew into a full-length work, as had happened with *Lord Jim* (1900) and *Nostromo* (1904). For a detailed history of composition, see 'The Texts', pp. 296–315.

6.5 **appearance in England ... failure** The novel was published by Methuen & Company on 5 October 1911. On its contemporary reception, see 'Introduction'.

6.8–9 **recognition in Russia ... editions** Conrad's inscription in a copy of the novel reads as follows: 'The novel had no sale here, but was a success in Russia. *European Messenger* (*Wiestnik [sic] Europy*) serialized it and many cheap editions were published before 1914 in Moscow and Petersburg' (*Notes by Joseph Conrad Written in a Set of his First Editions in the Possession of Richard Curle* (1925), p. 28). A survey of the Russian publication history of Conrad's works claims, however, that only one translation of the novel, that by E. Pimenova, appeared during his lifetime, in Moscow, in 1912, in a run of 1,200 copies (Eugene Steele, 'Conrad in Russian (1912–1959)', *Conradiana*, 14 (1982), 57–62). On this topic, see also Roderick Davis, 'Under Western Eyes and Russian Reviewers', *Conradiana*, 6 (1974), 126–30, and Ludmilla Voitkovska, 'A View from the East: The Russian Reception of *Under Western Eyes*', *Under Western Eyes: Centennial Essays*, ed. Jeremy Hawthorn, Allan H. Simmons and J. H. Stape (2011), pp. 138–53.

6.24 **Geneva** Conrad stayed in Geneva on four occasions: 21 May–14 June 1891; 7 August–6 September 1894; 2–30 May 1895; and 15 May–10 August 1907. Apart from a few days spent at the Hôtel de la Poste in the rue du Mont-Blanc on arriving with his family in 1907, Conrad stayed at the Hôtel-Pension de la Roseraie at Champel-les-Bains, to take the baths at the hydrotherapy establishment just over the road (see Kirschner (1992), p. 223).

6.38 **exhibited as a monster** A reference to the once-popular display of 'freaks of nature' and 'monsters' at fun-fairs and carnivals.

7.2 **Necator** (Latin) 'Murderer'.

7.10–11 **place ... time ... race** A possible allusion to the theory of the French historian and critic Hippolyte Taine (1828–93) as to the three most important factors in people's lives: 'la race, le milieu, le moment'. Conrad may have known of Taine's theory through his reading of Anatole Leroy-Beaulieu, who alludes to it as follows: 'Between these three orders of influences – race, nature, history – now one, now another has been awarded pre-eminence in the study of nations' ('The National Temperament and Character', *The Empire of the Tsars and the Russians*, trans. Z. A. Ragozin (1893), Bk III, 138).

7.11–17 **ferocity ... institutions** Cf. 'Muscovy is synonymous with savagery and the rulers have set their subjects an example, *lupus lupis*. Monsters have bred monsters. The law of retaliation is the only one that exists on the level of this inferior society scarcely emerged from moral barbarism': Amiel's entry of 3 April 1881, *Amiel's Journal: The Journal Intime of Henri-Frédéric Amiel*, trans. Mrs Humphry Ward (1885). Amiel's entry reflects upon Rufin Piotrowski's *Souvenirs d'un Sibérien* (translated as 'My Escape from Siberia'), first published in 1862.

7.20–21 **the tiger ... spots** Cf. 'Can the Ethiopian change his skin, or the leopard his spots? then may ye also do good, that are accustomed to do evil': Jeremiah xiii.23.

UNDER WESTERN EYES

Part First

11.6 **Kirylo Sidorovitch – Razumov** Writing to his agent J. B. Pinker on 23 March 1908, at a time when *Under Western Eyes* was still provisionally entitled 'Razumov', Conrad noted that 'Mrs Atherton wrote a novel entitled *Rezanov* some time ago – very much the same sound. Only my title has a significance whereas her's [*sic*] probably has not' (*Letters*, iv, 62). (The American novelist Gertrude Franklin Atherton published her novel *Rezanov* in 1906.) Exactly what significance Conrad attached to Razumov's name (or names) has proved a matter for scholarly debate. 'Razumov' is the genitive plural of the Russian *razum* ('mind, intellect, reason'), and cognates of the word 'reason' are associated with him by the teacher of languages. Interviewed by Mikulin, Razumov responds bluntly to the charge that his response is 'unreasonable', insisting 'I am reasonable' (75.4).

Kirylo ('Cyril') (826–69), the 'Apostle of the Slavs' and father of Slavonic literature, invented the Cyrillic alphabet for the Moravian Slavs in the ninth century, adapted Slavonic for the celebration of the liturgy and circulated a Slavonic version of the scriptures. Some commentators have associated the patronymic 'Sidorovich' ('son of Isidor') with the sixth-century saint, scholar and writer of etymologies.

'Kirylo Sidorovitch' is most probably without specific meaning; it is conceivable, however, that Conrad, consciously or unconsciously, recalled the name of Count Kirill Grigorievich Razumovsky (1728–1803), who served as the last Hetman of Left- (from 1750) and Right-Bank (from 1754) Ukraine until 1764, and had five sons, of whom the best-known today is Prince Andrei Kirillovich Razumovsky (1752–1836), who, when ambassador in Vienna, commissioned Beethoven in 1806 to write three string quartets (Op. 59, nos. 1–3), now popularly named after him. 'Gregorievitch' is the second (and different) patronym that the novel gives Mikulin in Part Fourth (234.24). In 1907, four Rasoumoffs were resident in Geneva, three in, or near, the quarter known as 'La Petite Russie' (11.33*n*; Kirschner, ed., p. 269).

11.15 **talking animal ... parrot** Cf. 'Some have defined man as a talking animal, notwithstanding the instance of the parrot': William Cullen Bryant, Speech to the Goethe Club, 14 November 1877, cited in John Bigelow, *William Cullen Bryant* (1890), p. 253.

11.33 **La Petite Russie** (French) 'Little Russia'. On this quarter of Geneva and on Conrad's stays near it, see 'Introduction', pp. xviii–xxix, and 253.16*n*.

12.7 **professors** Given that the teacher of languages is not attached to a university, a Gallicism from *professeurs* ('teachers').

12.7–15 **What ... say.** Cf. Henri-Frédéric Amiel, *Fragments d'un journal intime* (1883/4), entry of 6 November 1877:

One of the worst plagues of society is this thoughtless inexhaustible verbosity, this careless use of words, this pretence of knowing a thing because we talk about it, – these counterfeits of belief, thought, love, or earnestness, which all the while are mere babble.... Parrots behave as

though they were thinking beings ... Language is the vehicle of this confusion, the instrument of this unconscious fraud.

(*Amiel's Journal*, I, 392)

For a discussion of this and other borrowings from Amiel, see Knowles.

12.22 **Samuel Pepys** Appointed secretary to the Admiralty in 1672, Pepys (1633–1703) kept a secret diary in cipher from 1660 to the spring of 1669. Close observation of details and a notorious frankness about his personal life are its hallmarks. Decoded, the diary was first published in 1825 in an abridged version.

12.36 **Central Provinces** That is, most probably, the provinces around St Petersburg and Moscow.

13.14 **St Petersburg University** The premier institution of higher learning in Tsarist Russia, the university was founded in 1724 in the wake of the pro-European policies of Peter the Great. Conrad's father, Apollo Korzeniowski (see 'Chronology') spent a year there reading Oriental languages, and five years reading law and literature; his maternal uncle and later guardian, Tadeusz Bobrowski (1829–94), who obtained a law degree as well as a master's degree from the university, notes the presence of dissident circles (of which he was wary) in his memoirs (see *A Memoir of My Life* (1900), ed. and trans. Addison Bross (2008), pp. 223–6).

13.15 **strong nature** Perhaps a Gallicism, from *esprit fort*, used by Mikulin to Razumov later in the novel (227.26*n.*). Cf. also *un esprit supérieur* (44.27*n.*).

13.22–25 **Arch-priest ... origin** In the Russian Orthodox Church, arch-priests held authority over several parishes, not one.

I

14.12–13 **attempt ... Mr de P—** Conrad revealed that his source for this incident was 'the murder' (*Letters*, IV, 9) of Count Vyacheslav Konstantinovich de Plehve (b. 1846), Minister of the Interior, assassinated in St Petersburg on 15 July 1904. For a discussion, see 'Introduction', pp. xxxvi–xxxvii; see also 129.2*n.*

14.13 **Repressive Commission** Not a historical body, but a shorthand fashion of alluding to what the *New York Times* characterized as 'De Plehve's Reign of Terror'. Stoked by anxieties about the Russo-Japanese War, the measures to maintain the status quo involved an elaborate network of informers:

His agents provocateurs are at work in various circles of society, and persons who show a tendency actively to oppose the present régime are in constant danger of arrest and banishment... Political prisoners are now being sent in large numbers to the northern provinces ... as it is considered inadvisable for the present to add to the number of exiles in Siberia.

(*New York Times*, 4 May 1904, p. 2)

14.18 **Order of St Procopius** An invented order, styled in the manner of actual orders bestowed by the Tsar, the highest being that of the Order of Saint Andrew the First Called. The others bearing saints' names include, for example, the Orders of

Saint Anne, Saint George, Saint Stanislaus and Saint Vladimir. They were variously awarded to civilians and to military personnel.

Procopius of Scythopolis, martyred in 303, is widely venerated in both Eastern and Western traditions. The name may be an ironic allusion to the later, sixth-century Byzantine historian Procopius; see Andrzej Busza, 'Rhetoric and Ideology in Conrad's *Under Western Eyes*', *Joseph Conrad: A Commemoration*, ed. Sherry, pp. 112–13. This later Procopius was secretary to Justinian's famous general Belisarius, and 'a member of the political police and a tool of Belisarius' (H. W. Haussig, *A History of Byzantine Civilization*, trans. J. M. Hussey (1971), p. 117).

14.25 **freedom in public institutions** Both de Plehve (14.12–13*n.*) and Konstantin Petrovich Pobedonostsev (1827–1907), the leading instigator of the reactionary policies formulated after the assassination of Tsar Alexander II (129.2*n.*), cracked down on the universities and opposed the activities of the *zemstvos* (provincial assemblies). Pobedonostsev maintained that 'today almost everywhere in Europe we may say the various States have outgrown the *representative form* of government, and that everywhere serious minds are protesting against the tyranny of parliamentary majorities as at once incapable and turbulent': 'Russia and Popular Education', *North American Review*, 173 (1901), 354.

14.31 **famous state paper** Possibly an allusion to the most famous manifesto issued by Pobedonostsev (14.25*n.*), released in the spring of 1881 after the assassination of Tsar Alexander II: 'In the midst of our great affliction the voice of God commands us to discharge courageously the affairs of government, trusting in God's providence, with faith in the strength and justice of the autocratic power, which we have been called to support and preserve for the people's good from all impairment and injury': *The Times*, 12 May 1881, p. 5.

14.32–37 **Thought of liberty ... Universe** These views, along with other reactionary views expressed by Razumov elsewhere, echo those expressed by the French political commentator Joseph de Maistre (1753–1821). For a discussion of Conrad's philosophical views, see Zdzisław Najder, 'Conrad and Rousseau: Concepts of Man and Society', *Joseph Conrad: A Commemoration*, ed. Sherry, p. 85.

15.10 **Mr de P—** It has been suggested that the description of de P— sounds 'like a caricature of [Konstantin] P. Pobedonostsev, the High Procurator of the Holy Synod', and Razumov's later discourse with himself 'reads like a parody of that quintessential exposition of Russian reactionary ideology: Konstantin P. Pobedonostsev's *Reflections of a Russian Statesman*, which appeared in English in 1898'; see Busza, 'Rhetoric and Ideology in Conrad's *Under Western Eyes*', pp. 112–13.

15.30–34 **unhurt ... keep off** Igor Sasonoff, the perpetrator of de Plehve's assassination (14.12–13*n.*), concluded the speech that he was not permitted to make at his trial with 'the expression of deep regret for the death of the coachman of Plehve and for the serious injury done to Captain Tzetzinsky by the explosion of the bomb' ('How Sasonoff Became a Revolutionary', *Free Russia*, 1 February 1904, p. 27).

16.2–3 **twinkling of an eye** Cf. 'We shall all be changed, in a moment, in the twinkling of an eye': 1 Corinthians xv.51–2. The passage forms part of the 'Order for the Burial of the Dead', *The Book of Common Prayer* (1623), which Conrad knew

from burials at sea. Cf. also 'In the twinkling of an eye ... I was sprawling full length on the cargo' ('Youth', *Youth, Heart of Darkness, The End of the Tether*, ed. Owen Knowles (2010), p. 25.25–27), and 'A snorting pony snatched him into *Ewigkeit* in the twinkling of an eye' (*Lord Jim, A Tale*, ed. J. H. Stape and Ernest W. Sullivan II (2012), p. 41.25–26).

16.12 **Cossacks** Light cavalrymen with their own ethnic identity and semi-autonomous standing within the Imperial army. Respected for their loyalty to the Tsar, they were feared for their brutal efficiency in quelling social unrest.

17.7–8 **silver medal** Conrad's uncle Tadeusz Bobrowski (13.14*n.*) won a silver medal for an essay on 'Redeeming Ancestral Property', a topic set by the Faculty of Law. As he observes in his memoirs, this award gave him 'a certain right' to a civil service career in the Consultation Bureau of the Ministry of Justice, although strings needed to be pulled in order to obtain a post, and, in the end, he failed to get one (see *A Memoir of My Life*, pp. 245–9).

17.18–19 **that last ... official advice** Possibly archaisms, but more likely to be Gallicisms, from *ce dernier*, the more appropriate English phrase being 'the latter', and from *avis officiel*, the more idiomatic English being 'official notice'.

17.29 **Prince K**— The title 'prince' in the Russian hierarchy of nobles has a meaning different from that in Western European countries where it generally designates the sons and grandsons of the monarch. In Russia, there were several princely families – nearly 200 princes figured in the *List of Titled Families and Persons of the Imperial Russia* of 1892 (ed. Department of Heraldry, St Petersburg) – in which the title was hereditary.

17.30 **Senator** Established in 1711 by Tsar Peter the Great (1672–1725; reigned 1682–1725), the Governing Senate (its official name) had by the nineteenth century evolved into the supreme judicial authority in Russia for both the promulgation and administration of laws. The Tsar himself was its president, and the Senate, divided into several departments, was comprised of persons appointed by him, including state ministers, governors-general and military governors.

18.40 **Kammerherr** (German, adopted into Russian) 'Chamberlains'.

19.2 **Privy Councillor** The Privy Council is an advisory body to the head of state concerning the exercise of executive authority, and is typically (but not always) established in the context of a monarchic government. In Russia, the Privy Councillor, a high functionary, ranked third in the Table of Ranks (or *tchinn*) established by Peter the Great in 1722.

19.24 **Astrakhan cap** A peaked cap for men made from sheepskin (from the former southern Russian province of Astrakhan) and part of winter or late autumn wearing apparel to keep the head warm. The top is sometimes (but less typically) made of leather, and the hat can feature a visor. In late-nineteenth-century Russia, the hat, featuring a cockade and double eagle, formed a part of parade dress for grenadiers and infantry of the line.

19.26 **advancing two paces** The phrasing is possibly influenced by the French (*avancer de deux pas*). In English, the formulation figures in the language of duelling, which might be relevant in this context.

20.17 **dvornik** (Russian) 'House porter', from *dvor* ('courtyard'). Those who filled this office were legally compelled to provide information to the police about

occupants (Donovan, ed., p. 322, citing William Barnes Steveni, *Petrograd Past and Present* (1915), p. 122).

20.35 **gnashing of teeth** Cf. 'But the children of the kingdom shall be cast out into outer darkness: there shall be weeping and gnashing of teeth': Matthew viii. 12. The phrase, signifying the torments of the damned, recurs five further times in Matthew and also at Luke xiii.28.

20.37 **the tender plant** Cf. 'For he shall grow up before him as a tender plant, and as a root out of a dry ground': Isaiah liii.2.

23.7 **destructor** The *OED* cites only one usage in Conrad's day, dating to 1883, in the sense of 'destroyer', with the only prior citation dating to the late seventeenth century. His usage may be influenced by the French *destructeur*. See also 'His impressed descendant buried the silenced destructor of systems, of hopes, of beliefs' (*Victory*, TS 213 (Berg)). Cf. also 'provocator' and 'organizator' (the latter a Polish word) in 'Autocracy and War' (1905) (*Notes on Life and Letters*, ed. J. H. Stape (2004), pp. 414, 417).

23.23 **Karabelnaia** A 1913 map of St Petersburg features a Korabelnaya Naberzhnaya ('Ship Embankment'), which runs along the south bank of the Greater Neva between the Moyka and Fontanka rivers. The form given here is a transliteration of the street's name 'in its *spoken* rather than written form' (Andrzej Busza, 'Conrad's Tale of Two Cities', *L'Époque Conradienne*, 19 (1993), 107–18 (116)). Conrad himself had no personal acquaintance with the city and must have relied on various source books for his sense of its topography.

25.23–24 **in '28 ... Nicholas** Given Haldin's age and presuming that the novel is set at the end of the nineteenth or beginning of the twentieth century, the date is implausible. There may be a recollection here of the 'Decembrists', groups of army officers who had fought against Napoleon and in 1816, as the Society for Saving the Country, set out a programme for reform, including the abolition of serfdom and the establishment of a constitutional monarchy. (Some, particularly in the Ukraine, advocated its abolition.) In December 1825, they led an abortive insurrection against the new Tsar, Nicholas I (243.16*n.*). Reprisals and executions followed upon their defeat.

25.30–31 **There ... things** A succinct definition – apparently not a quotation, Haldin's reference to 'the Englishman' notwithstanding – of the age-old belief in animism (and later of the pantheism shared by the nineteenth-century English Romantics and the American Transcendentalists).

26.19 **thou** Unlike English, Russia has intimate (ты) and polite forms (вы) of address in the second person. The use of 'thou', an archaic form in standard English although surviving in some English dialects at the time of writing, is an attempt to capture this distinction.

II

27.5 **For the rest** A literal translation of the French *pour le reste* ('as for everything else').

29.19 **little father** A translation of the Russian *batuschka*, an affectionate term of address.

30.24 **Nertchinsk mines** The administrative centre of Transbaikalia, the frigid territory east of Lake Baikal, which in turn was part of Eastern Siberia, whose seat of government was Irkutsk. A region of extremely harsh climatological conditions, the average yearly temperature was below freezing. The mines – variously of silver, zinc, lead, tin and cinnabar – were worked by convict labour, including numerous political prisoners and dissidents from throughout the Russian Empire.

32.19–20 **corpse ... neck** In Samuel Taylor Coleridge's long poem *The Rime of the Ancient Mariner* (1798), the old seaman-narrator, having 'inhospitably' shot 'the pious bird of good omen', is punished by having an albatross hung about his neck (Part the Second).

32.29 **infernal** A common euphemism for 'damned', whose use, like that of other period euphemisms in Conrad, was possibly partly motivated by reviewers' complaints about the use of salty language in *The Nigger of the 'Narcissus'* (1897).

33.13 **blank page** Cf. 'A land empty, white and open – like a page prepared to be written on', 'The Road to Russia', the first of seven poems appended to Part III of Adam Mickiewicz's verse drama *Dziady* ('Forefather's Eve', 1822–32). See also 282.21–22.

33.17 **sacred inertia** Cf. 'Humanity is endowed with another very effective force – inertia. As the ballast of a ship, inertia sustains humanity in the crises of its history ... without it all measured progress would be impossible. ... Contempt or ignorance of this force is the great failing of modern progressives': Pobedonostsev, as cited in A. S. Rappaport, 'Pobiedonostzev, The Apostle of Absolutism and Orthodoxy', *Fortnightly Review*, May 1907, 873.

34.12 **What ... velvet.** Cf. 'Que-est ce qu'un trône? Un trône n'est qu'une planche garnie de velours' ('What is a throne? A bit of wood covered in velvet'): Napoleon I, Statement to the Senate of France (1814). Cf. also 'Un trône, c'est quatre morceaux de bois recouverts de velours? Non! un trône, c'est un homme, et cet homme c'est moi!': Anatole France, *Le Lys Rouge* (1894), on which see Owen Knowles, 'Conrad, Anatole France, and the Early French Romantic Tradition: Some Influences', *Conradiana*, 11 (1979), 41–61 (60). The sentiment was, however, a commonplace, and no specific source need lie behind Conrad's use of it. See also 'I would trust him all the same because his throne had never been more than a few pieces of wood nailed together and covered with velvet': *Suspense*, ed. Gene M. Moore (2010), p. 312.

34.27 **forty million brothers** On the population of the Russian Empire, see 37.20*n*.

35.22 **withered member** Cf. 'If a man abide not in me, he is cast forth as a branch, and is withered; and men gather them, and cast them into the fire, and they are burned': John xv.6.

37.8 **Yacht Club** Founded in 1846, the Imperial Yacht Club, situated off Great Morskoi (present-day Herzen) Street (until 1903 when it was moved to the Embankment), was maintained at public expense to encourage an interest in nautical matters amongst the nobility. It originally provided mooring for several yachts owned by the imperial family, but with time became simply a highly exclusive and fashionable gentleman's club and was little connected with boating.

37.20 **eighty millions** The 1911 edition of the *Encyclopædia Britannica* estimates the population of the Russian Empire in 1859 as 74 million; the census of 1897, excluding Finland, counted the population as 129,200,000.

38.28 **Moujik** (Russian) 'Peasant'.

38.30 **your high Nobility** Strictly, 'Your high Nobleness', a form of address for officials, below 'Your High Ancestry' and used for the sixth to eighth classes in the Table of Ranks. (The ninth class is merely 'Your Nobleness'.)

38.38 **telephoning** The first telephone networks in Russia were established in St Petersburg, Moscow and other major centres in the early 1880s, although access to a telephone was available to only a small and privileged section of the population, with some 155,000 telephones in operation by 1910 for a population of many millions.

39.15 **black displeasure** Apparently a period usage: 'the Lady Ermytrude glared her black displeasure at such plebeian merriment' (Sir Arthur Conan Doyle, *Sir Nigel* (1906), p. 81), and 'The Emperor Aurangzebe bent his brows in black displeasure when he heard of this escapade' (Victor Surridge, *India* (1909), p. 15).

39.25 **ex-guard's officer** The Guards were an elite unit of the Russian army responsible for protecting the Tsar, and thus benefitting from his special favour.

40.11 **General T**—A character possibly based on General Dmitri Fedorovich Trepov (1855–1906), a career officer appointed Governor-General of St Petersburg in the wake of 'Bloody Sunday' (22 January 1905) and given dictatorial powers. He took drastic measures to suppress revolutionary and liberal movements, while at the same time putting forward plans for various liberal reforms, and he helped elaborate the Manifesto of 17 October 1905, proclaiming the introduction of civil liberties. Dismissed from his post in October 1905, he continued to play the role of an *éminence grise* and enjoyed the Tsar's particular trust.

40.15 **gendarmes** Recruited from the elite of the Imperial army, the Special Corps of Gendarmes was called upon to suppress urban disorder and to monitor seditious activity.

40.36 **Spontini's, 'Flight of Youth.'** Gaspar Luigi Pacifico Spontini (1774–1851) was a conductor and operatic composer, not a sculptor. Celebrated in his time, he was quickly forgotten after it. Hartley Coleridge (né David Hartley Coleridge, 1796–1849) and the minor American poet and literary journalist Richard Henry Stoddard (1825–1903) are perhaps the best-known of various poets who have written poems entitled 'The Flight of Youth', but Conrad may simply have invented the names of the sculpture and sculptor.

41.5 **ce misérable** (French) 'This wretch'.

41.10 **Asseyez vous donc** (French) 'Sit down, then.'

41.11–12 **Mais ... L'assassin!** (French) 'But understand, my friend! The murderer!'

42.12–13 **the Secretariat ... Tcherkess coat** The Ministry of the Interior and the General Staff of the police were housed in the Secretariat; a long twill overcoat held at the waist by a belt, as worn by the Circassian peoples of the northern Caucasus.

42.16 **in Russian** Switching from French, the language of aristocratic conversation, to Russian, implies a slight on the General's part as it makes it clear that in class terms he categorizes Prince K— and Razumov very differently.

42.39 **tenez** (colloquial French) 'Look' or 'notice'.

44.7 **à propos des bottes** (French) an idiomatic phrase (correctly, *à propos de bottes*) used humorously or ironically to indicate an abrupt change in the topic of conversation. The French idiom had widespread currency in English at the time Conrad was writing, and he also uses it in *Chance* (1914) and *Victory* (1915). For a discussion of Conrad's use of this phrase, see Jeremy Hawthorn, 'À propos "À propos de(s) bottes"', *L'Époque Conradienne*, 32 (2006), 41–8.

44.27 **Un esprit supérieur** (French) 'A superior mind'.

44.28 **mon cher prince** (French) 'My dear prince'.

45.24 **Ah voilà!** (French) 'There you are, then!'

45.37–39 **Liberty ... committed** Cf. 'Ô liberté! Ô liberté! Que de crimes on commet en ton nom!' ('Oh, liberty! Oh, liberty! What crimes are committed in your name!'): Mme Roland, on the guillotine upon seeing a statue of Liberty. The often-quoted sentence, apparently first reported by Alphonse de Lamartine in his *Histoire des Girondins* ('History of the Girondins', 1847), is a commonplace in writings about her.

46.24 **débauchés** (French) 'Debauchees'.

46.32 **Hélas!** (French) 'Alas!'

47.36 **Adieu** (French) 'Farewell'.

48.29 **the life** A Gallicism, from *la vie*.

49.18 **It's done** These words are used four times in the novel (also 55.38, 213.32 and 239.27) and have been linked to the use of the phrase in Revelation xvi.16–17 (Dwight W. Purdy, "Peace that Passeth Understanding": The Professor's English Bible in *Under Western Eyes*' *Conradiana*, 13 (1981), 87–8). If a literary source is sought for, Christ's last words on the cross are, however, more likely a stronger presence behind all four examples. See, however, 'There was nothing in my aching head but a few words, some such stupid sentence as "It's done," or "It's accomplished" (in Polish it is much shorter)', 'Poland Revisited' (1915), *Notes on Life and Letters*, p. 134.20–23.

50.8–9 **feast of freedom ... byways and hedges** Passover, the holiday celebrating the Jewish people's escape from captivity in Egypt, is known as the 'Feast of Freedom' (see also 95.1*n.*). 'Byways and hedges' may echo Christ's parable of the King's wedding feast, in which the King, when his invited guests make excuses, tells his servant: 'Go out into the highways and hedges, and compel them to come in, that my house may be filled' (Luke xiv.23).

53.6 **Mephistophelian laughter** From Mephistopheles, the name of the devil who buys Faust's soul in Christopher Marlowe's play *The Tragical History of the Life and Death of Dr Faustus* (first published 1604; first performed 1590s) and in Johann Wolfgang von Goethe's drama *Faust* (1806 and 1832). The devil's laugh,

proverbially sardonic and scornful, expresses cynicism about predictable human weakness before temptation. Cf. 273.6–7.

III

59.13 **arrested** Possibly a Gallicism, from *arrêter* ('to stop'), the more idiomatic English word expected in this context being 'stopped', particularly as the reference is to the hands of a watch.

60.34–35 **over ... sword** An allusion to the story of Damocles, recounted by Cicero. Damocles, one of the courtiers of Dionysius of Syracuse (c. 430–367 BC), having extolled the tyrant's good fortune was invited to taste of it and, during a banquet, looked up to find a sword suspended by a single horsehair hanging above his head.

64.30 **Nihilists** The term 'Nihilism', from the Latin *nihil* ('nothing'), originated with Friedrich Heinrich Jacobi (1743–1819), who used it in his critique of the German philosopher Emmanuel Kant's Transcendental Idealism. Jacobi believed that Kant's pursuit of the transcendental foundations of knowledge, implicitly based on the ideal of pure rationality, led to what he termed 'nihilism'. Jacobi subsequently extended the term's purchase to the realm of politics: for him the destructiveness of the French Revolution represented the practical equivalent of the speculative nihilism of the philosophers. From the 1860s on, the term was increasingly associated with political discourse. It was used to describe people like Kirsanov and Bazarov in Turgenev's *Fathers and Sons* (1861–2), who deny the worth of social bonds (such as those of the family), institutions (such as Church and State) and top-down modes of economic organization (such as capitalism). In late-nineteenth-century Russia, the term had an even more focused political meaning for groups of upper-class intellectuals who saw political violence as a means to achieve a more just society.

66.40 **Kostia** The name is the diminutive for Konstantine. This character and his father draw upon Tadeusz Bobrowski's *Memoir of My Life*. Bobrowski roomed at the University of St Petersburg with 'madcap' Kostia Skrebicki, a good-hearted and friendly fellow prone to wildly extravagant and grossly self-indulgent expenditures.

72.12 **Gregory Matvieitch Mikulin** Razumov's interactions with Mikulin reflect and parody the scenes between Porfiry Petrovich and Raskolnikov in Dostoevsky's *Crime and Punishment*. Later, the teacher of languages refers to the character as Gregory Gregorievitch Mikulin (234.24*n.*) – presumably a Conradian slip.

73.2–3 **chief ... Colonel** Councillor of State and Actual Councillor of State were equivalent to colonel and brigadier general.

73.34 **dark print ... Inquisition** A judicial institution of the Roman Catholic Church (1232–1820), the Inquisition was founded to suppress heresy, but its activities were sometimes influenced by political factors. It became a byword for cruel forms of torture for heretics, particularly during its mediæval and Renaissance periods. Although the institution was mainly a formality by the time of its official closure, Gothic novels and anti-clerical histories were often illustrated with sensational engravings of inquisitors at work, making it natural that a 'print' should lie behind Razumov's image of the institution.

74.33–35 **reed ... existence** Cf. ‘Man is but a reed, the most feeble thing in nature; but he is a thinking reed. The entire universe need not arm itself to crush him. A vapour, a drop of water suffices to kill him. . . . All our dignity consists, then, in thought. . . . Let us endeavour, then, to think well; this is the principle of morality’: Blaise Pascal, *Pensées* (1669). For a discussion, see David Leon Higdon, ‘Pascal’s *Pensée* 347 in *Under Western Eyes*’, *Conradiana*, 5 (1973), 81–3.

75.18 **rugged Socratic forehead** A sculptural tradition dating back almost to his lifetime represents Socrates as a stocky man with a massively domed forehead. See Paul Zanker, *The Mask of Socrates: The Image of the Intellectual in Antiquity* (1996).

76.15 **interrogatories** A legal term for written lists of questions put to a suspect or witness and the answers given.

79.2–6 **false ... development** Cf. ‘Toute idée fausse est dangereuse. On croit que les rêveurs ne font point de mal, on se trompe: ils en font beaucoup. Les utopies les plus inoffensives en apparence exercent réellement une action nuisible. Elles tendent à inspirer le dégoût de la réalité’ (‘Every false idea is dangerous. People think that dreamers do no harm. They are mistaken: dreamers do a great deal of harm. Even apparently inoffensive utopian ideas really exercise a noxious influence. They tend to make one disgusted with reality’): France, *Le Lys rouge*, Bk I, ch. 3 (see Hervouet, p. 104).

79.5 **secular** From the French *seculaire*, literally, ‘centuries old’ but, more generally, ‘of great age’. The *OED*’s historical citations indicate that this word still had currency towards the end of the nineteenth century, its last citation dating from 1888, but in this sense it is now rare or even obsolete. Conrad uses the word in this sense in a number of his works: ‘The long reaches that were like one and the same reach ... slipped past the steamer with their multitude of secular trees’ (‘Heart of Darkness’, *Youth* (2010), p. 116.9–11), and ‘It fitted neither with the season of the year, nor with the secular experience of seamen as recorded in books’ (*The Shadow-Line*, p. 87). See also *Lord Jim* (2012), pp. 169.18, 200.19 and 203.31.

82.16 **Where to?** The sentiment, if not the exact phrase, echoes Raskolnikov’s repeated sense of having nowhere to go in Dostoevsky’s *Crime and Punishment*. In Pt I, ch. 4, for example, in the course of an extended inner dialogue with himself, Raskolnikov asks: “‘Do you know, sir, what it is to have nowhere to go to? One must of necessity go somewhere.” And he suddenly called to mind Marmeladoff’s question the night before’ (p. 43.) See also 120.9n.

Part Second

I

84.10 **monachal** Monkish, monastic.

84.14 **Superior School** A literal translation of the French *école supérieure* (‘upper school’). In 1870, some gymnasiums (that is, colleges in English or high schools in American parlance) were established in Russia for girls, together with