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HERITAGE OF NIKOLAI LESKOV AND CULTURAL INFLUENCES IN CONTEXTS OF RUSSIAN-AMERICAN LITERARY PARALLELS

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The author analyses the American-Russian literary parallels in contexts of Nikolai Leskov's heritage. Nikolai Leskov became one of the most translated Russian writers in the United States. Some of his texts are available in several translations simultaneously. The reasons for the popularity of Nikolai Leskov's prose in the United States cannot be determined unequivocally. Nikolai Leskov has a reputation as one of the most Russian writers, which complicates the translation of his texts into English and their integration into American cultural, intellectual and social contexts significantly. The author tries to analyse possible influences of Nikolai Leskov on the American literary discourse and offers some Russian-American cultural and intellectual parallels.

Keywords: American literature, Russian literature, Nikolai Leskov, literary translation, literary parallels

НАСЛЕДИЕ НИКОЛАЯ ЛЕСКОВА И КУЛЬТУРНЫЕ ВЛИЯНИЯ В КОНТЕКСТАХ РУССКО-АМЕРИКАНСКИХ ЛИТЕРАТУРНЫХ ПАРАЛЛЕЛЕЙ

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Автор анализирует американо-российские литературные параллели в контекстах наследия Николая Лескова. Николай Лесков стал одним из самых переводимых в США русских писателей. Некоторые тексты русского автора доступны одновременно в нескольких переводах. Причины популярности прозы Николая Лескова в США не могут быть определены однозначно. Николай Лесков имеет репутацию одного из самых русских писателей, что существенно осложняет переводы его текстов на английский и их интеграцию в американские культурные, интеллектуальные и социальные контексты. Автор пытается проанализировать возможные влияния Николая Лескова на американский литературный дискурс и предлагает некоторые российско-американские культурные и интеллектуальные параллели.

Ключевые слова: американская литература, русская литература, Николай Лесков, литературный перевод, литературные параллели

Formulation of problem. Russian intellectuals in the 19th and 20th centuries actively and persistently tried to map Russia, Russian culture and Russian identity as imagined categories and invented traditions on the cultural, intellectual, spiritual and social maps of the world spaces. Actually, these intellectual and cultural practices became political ones because attempts of Russian authors to find the place of culture, they belonged to, in the world degenerated and mutated into the politically inspired promotion of Russian ideologically motivated myth. Russian intellectuals who were

active in these cultural practices, on the one hand, assisted to the emergence and dynamic progress of several new invented traditions that served different forms, versions and levels of Russian cultural and political identity. On the other hand, these ideas, proposed by Russian intellectuals for other Russian intellectuals, became mythological and turned into common places of Russian intellectual history and the history of ideas of the 20th century gradually.

Russian intellectuals actively and aggressively tried to integrate several representatives of Russian literature into world cultural contexts. Therefore, the intellectual efforts of the Russian intelligentsia led to the modernization of Russian archaic and undeveloped identity, its modernization and the invention of the imagined pantheon of the symbolic founding fathers of the nation because their cultural and intellectual experiences legitimated the existence of Russians as a political and state nation. Russian intellectuals imagined several invented traditions, including "the most Russian Russian writer", "the most European Russian writer", "the most Jewish Russian writer", and "the most American Russian writer". These imagined categories actualized the political and psychological complexes of Russian intellectuals because the real status of Russian identity did not satisfy them and they tried to compare and correlate Russian cultural experiences with European universals in particular and Western values in general.

The posthumous destinies of Russian classics in the hands and minds of their ideological and intellectual heirs were very diverse. Aleksandr Pushkin was imagined as "nashe vsio" or "our everything" and invented as "solntse russkoi poezii" or "the sun of Russian poetry". Fiodor Dostoevskii in the inflamed imagination of patriots and nationalists became the most Russian and Orthodox Russian writer. Ivan Turgenev was imagined as the most European Russian writer. Il'ia Ehrenburg was imagined as the most Jewish Russian writer. Some figures of Russian literary history proved to be extremely difficult for imaginations and inventions of this type. Their legacies caused, inspired and stimulated debates among Russian intellectuals about how and where to localise their literary texts. Formally, Nikolai Leskov and Vladimir Nabokov were very different writers, their experiences actualized mutually exclusive dimensions of Russian identity.

These authors were victims of several successive idealisations, mythologies and politicizations of their literary heritage and cultural impacts to the development of Russian identity. Formally, Nikolai Leskov and Vladimir Nabokov actualize the diametrically opposite poles of Russian identity – the first one was imagined as "the most Russian writer" when the second one became "the most American Russian writer". Vladimir Nabokov's personal biography and trajectories of cultural and intellectual evolution, who started as a Russian poet, but later began writing in English, assisted with the formation and development of the myth about him as the most American in particular and the Western in general Russian writer. Successful integration of Vladimir Nabokov into American cultural and intellectual contexts inspired his posthumous mythologization and transformation of formally Russian writer "Владимир Набоков" into the American classic "Vladimir Nabokov".

From a formal viewpoint Nikolai Leskov was a complete cultural and political opposition to Vladimir Nabokov, but the author presumes that the legacy of Nikolai Leskov in the 20th century was relevant in the American cultural contexts and it is logical to presume that "Nikolai Leskov as the most American Russian writer" is undetected and not actualized invented tradition and mythologem in Russian national imagination and intellectual discourse of the 20th century.

The goal of the article. The analysis of the trajectories of Nikolai Leskov's perception and imagination in American intellectual and cultural discourses is the main goal of this article. The article has several tasks, including analysis of the tactics and

strategies of the imagination of Nikolai Leskov and his legacy in American discourse, mapping Russian-American cultural parallels in the contexts of transformations of Nikolai Leskov's image in the American intellectual community, the localization of cultural influences and impacts of Nikolai Leskov to the American classical and mass culture.

Nikolai Leskov in English translations. Nikolai Leskov is within the most frequently translated and republished Russian writers in the United States. The author of this article mentions and cites 32 editions of translations of his texts into English in the footnotes. This list does not claim to be complete and correct absolutely because some reprints are missed in it. The first Nikolai Leskov's American translation was published in 1913. The latest edition of Nikolai Leskov's prose in English was published in 2013. Analysing Nikolai Leskov's translations and publications in the United States predominantly, the author presumes that it is logical to fix the following dynamics of translation and publication activity as outbursts of interest in Nikolai Leskov's prose among American readers. Nikolai Leskov's texts were translated into English less often than the prose of Lev Tolstoi and Fiodor Dostoevskii, but more often than the works of other Russian authors, despite the fact that Nikolai Leskov's language was more difficult to understand and translate. Lyuba Azbel presumes that "Leskov's writing shifts the centre of gravity of work from the plot to the verbal construction itself. Language isn't just for conveying the substance of the story; it is the substance of the story. He is a master of spoken, living, and non-standard language. The moment his characters open their mouths, we are able to pinpoint their places in society"77. Two translated publications were published in the 1910s⁷⁸, three – in the 1920s⁷⁹, five – in the $1940s^{80}$, five – in the $1960s^{81}$, six – in the $1970s^{82}$, three – in the $1980s^{83}$, two – in

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⁷⁷ Azbel, Lyuba. (2008), *Warrior Woman by Nikolai Leskov: An Annotated Translation*. A thesis submitted to the faculty of Wesleyan University in partial fulfillment of the requirements for the Degree of Bachelor of Arts with Departmental Honors in Russian and Eastern European Studies. Middletown: Wesleyan University, p. V.

⁷⁸ Leskov, Nikolai. (1913), The Sealed Angel, in Tollemache, Beatrix L. (1913), trans. Russian Sketches, Chiefly of Peasant Life. Smith Elder Press; Leskov, Nikolai. (1916), The Steel Flea (translated by Isabel F. Hapgood). Merrymount Press

⁷⁹ Leskov, Nikolai. (1923), The Sentry and Other Stories (translated by A. E. Chamot). Knopf; Leskov, Nikolai. (1924), The Enchanted Wanderer (translated by A. G. Paschkoff). Robert M. McBride & Company Press; Leskov, Nikolai. (1924), The Cathedral Folk (translated by Isabel F. Hapgood). John Lane Press

⁸⁰ Leskov, Nikolai. (1943), The Steel Flea (translated by Babette Deutsch and Avrahm Yarmolinsky). Harper & Row; Leskov, Nikolai. (1943), Lady Macbeth of Mtsensk (translated by Bernard Guilbert Guerney), in Bernard Guilbert Guerney, (1943), ed., A Treasury of Russian Literature. New York: Vanguard; Leskov, Nikolai. (1944), The Musk-Ox and Other Tales (translated by R. Norman). Routledge; Leskov, Nikolai. (1946), The Enchanted Pilgrim and Other Stories (translated by David Magarshack). Hutchinson; Leskov, Nikolai. (1949), The Amazon and Other Stories (translated by David Magarshack) George Allen & Unwin

⁸¹ Leskov, Nikolai. (1961), Selected Tales (translated by David Magarshack). Noonday Press; Leskov, Nikolai. (1961), The Clothes-Mender (translated by Gleb Struve and Mary Struve), in Russian Stories. Russkie rasskazy. A Dual-Language Book. New York: Bantam; Leskov, Nikolai. (1964), Lefty (translated by Bernard Guilbert Guerney), in Friedberg, Maurice. (1964), ed., Bilingual Collection of Russian Short Stories. New York: Random House; Leskov, Nikolai. (1968), The Wild Beast (translated by Guy Daniels). Funk & Wagnalls; Leskov, Nikolai. (1969), Satirical Stories (translated by William B. Edgerton and Hugh McLean). Pegasus

⁸² Leskov, Nikolai. (1976), The Amazon, and Other Stories (translated by David Magarshack). Hyperion Press; Leskov, Nikolai. (1971), The Cathedral Folk (translated by Isabel F. Hapgood). Westport: Greenwood; Leskov, Nikolai. (1977), The Cathedral Folk (translated by Isabel F. Hapgood). Hyperion Press; Leskov, Nikolai. (1977), The Musk-Ox and Other Tales (translated by R. Norman). Hyperion Press; Leskov, Nikolai. (1977), Sinners and Saints: Three Stories (translated by David Magarshack). Westport: Hyperion; Leskov, Nikolai. (1977), The Sentry, and Other Stories (translated by A. E. Chamot). Hyperion Press

⁸³ Leskov, Nikolai. (1984), The Sealed Angel and Other Stories (translated by K. A. Lantz). University of Tennessee Press; Leskov, Nikolai. (1984), Five Tales (translated by Michael Shotton). London: Angel; Leskov, Nikolai. (1988), Lady Macbeth of Mtsensk and Other Stories (translated by David McDuff). Penguin Classics

the 1990s⁸⁴, three – in the 2000s⁸⁵, and three – in the 2010s⁸⁶. The author excluded the translations of Nikolai Leskov's texts published in the Soviet period in the USSR because it is difficult to assess and analyse their influence and impact on American readers of Russian literature. "Zapechatlennyi angel" translated as "The Sealed Angel"⁸⁷ became the first American edition of Nikolai Leskov, "Ocharovannyi strannik" translated as "The Enchanted Wanderer"⁸⁸ became the latest American edition published in 2013. "Ocharovannyi strannik", "Soboriane" and "Ledi Makbet Mtsemskogo uezda" became the most translated and published Nikolai Leskov's texts in the US. "Ocharovannyi strannik" translated as "Enchanted Wanderer" was published six times in five translations from 1924 to 2013⁸⁹. The novel "Soboriane" was published for times in two translations as "The Cathedral Folk" and "The Cathedral Clergy". "Ledi Makbet Mtsenskogo uezda" was published three times

Possible hypothetical parallels. Nikolai Leskov's heritage was relatively actively studied and analysed by European and American historians of Russian literature, but they preferred to perceive the writer's texts mainly and predominantly in Russian context⁹² and national system of cultural and intellectual coordinates. Boris Paramonov assumes that "Dostoevskii and Tolstoi are literature of ideas, enormous existential and historical experience, but Leskov is something absolutely other: Leskov is a language, a unique and untranslatable Russian tale, a stylised folk speech. It is impossible to convey Leskov's aesthetics in a foreign language" Historians of literature prefer to map and localise his prose in the history of Russian literature in particular and to find genetic

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⁸⁴ Leskov, Nikolai. (1991), Vale of Tears and On Quakeresses (translated by James Muckle). Nottingham: Bramcote; Leskov, Nikolai. (1993), On the Edge of the World (translated by Michael Prokurat). St. Vladimir's Seminary Press

⁸⁵ Leskov, Nikolai. (2001), The Enchanted Wanderer and Other Stories (translated by George H. Hanna). University Press of the Pacific; Leskov, Nikolai. (2003), The Enchanted Wanderer: Selected Tales (translated by David Magarshack). Modern Library Classics; Leskov, Nikolai. (2003), Lady Macbeth of Mtsensk (translated by Robert Chandler). Hesperus Classics

⁸⁶ Leskov, Nikolai. (2010), The Cathedral Clergy: A Chronicle (translated by Margaret Winchell). Slavica Publishers; Leskov, Nikolai. (2012), The Enchanted Wanderer (translated by Ian Dreiblatt). Melville House Publishers; Leskov, Nikolai. (2013), The Enchanted Wanderer and Other Stories (translated by Richard Pevear and Larissa Volokhonsky). Alfred A. Knopf

⁸⁷ Leskov, Nikolai. (1913), The Sealed Angel, in Tollemache, Beatrix L. (1913), trans. Russian Sketches, Chiefly of Peasant Life. Smith Elder Press

⁸⁸ Leskov, Nikolai. (2013), The Enchanted Wanderer and Other Stories (translated by Richard Pevear and Larissa Volokhonsky). Alfred A. Knopf

⁸⁹ Leskov, Nikolai. (1924), The Enchanted Wanderer (translated by A. G. Paschkoff). Robert M. McBride & Company Press; Leskov, Nikolai. (1946), The Enchanted Pilgrim and Other Stories (translated by David Magarshack). Hutchinson; Leskov, Nikolai. (2001), The Enchanted Wanderer and Other Stories (translated by George H. Hanna). University Press of the Pacific

Leskov, Nikolai. (2003), The Enchanted Wanderer: Selected Tales (translated by David Magarshack). Modern Library Classics; Leskov, Nikolai. (2012), The Enchanted Wanderer (translated by Ian Dreiblatt). Melville House Publishers; Leskov, Nikolai. (2013), The Enchanted Wanderer and Other Stories (translated by Richard Pevear and Larissa Volokhonsky). Alfred A. Knopf

⁹⁰ Leskov, Nikolai. (1924), The Cathedral Folk (translated by Isabel F. Hapgood). John Lane Press; Leskov, Nikolai. (1971), The Cathedral Folk (translated by Isabel F. Hapgood). Westport: Greenwood; Leskov, Nikolai. (1977), The Cathedral Folk (translated by Isabel F. Hapgood). Hyperion Press; Leskov, Nikolai. (2010), The Cathedral Clergy: A Chronicle (translated by Margaret Winchell). Slavica Publishers

⁹¹ Leskov, Nikolai. (1943), Lady Macbeth of Mtsensk (translated by Bernard Guilbert Guerney), in Bernard Guilbert Guerney, (1943), ed., A Treasury of Russian Literature. New York: Vanguard; Leskov, Nikolai. (1988), Lady Macbeth of Mtsensk and Other Stories (translated by David McDuff). Penguin Classics; Leskov, Nikolai. (2003), Lady Macbeth of Mtsensk (translated by Robert Chandler). Hesperus Classics

⁹² Aizlewood, Robin. (2007), Leskov's Ledi Makbet Mtsenskogo uezda: Composition and Symbolic. Framework, in The Slavonic and East European Review, Volume 85, No 3, pp. 401 – 440; Grimstad, Knut Andreas. (2000), Styling Russia: Structuring Mechanisms in the Prose Fiction of Nikolai Leskov. Trondheim, 2000; Sperrle, Irmhild Christina. (2002), The Organic Worldview of Nikolai Leskov. Evanston

⁹³ Paramonov, Boris. (2013), Leskov na eksport, in *Radio Svoboda*, 1 iiulia [On-line resource]. – URL: https://www.svoboda.org/a/25030578.html

parallels and comparisons with the prose of other Russian writers in general. Virtually none of the Western and Russian historians of Russian literature analysed Nikolai Leskov's texts in contexts of their inter-cultural ties and intersections with American intellectual and cultural spaces because the mythologized and stereotyped image of Nikolai Leskov as the most Russian writer was so persistent and influential that it did not allow historians of Russian literature to go beyond the collective views and ideas which dominated in literary criticism. Attempts to compare and map intellectual and mental parallels between prose of Nikolai Leskov and American cultural traditions are very rare in historiography, but a few historians⁹⁴ tried to actualize common features between the perception of faith and religion in prose of Nikolai Leskov and the history of Protestantism in the United States.

Despite the fact that "Ledi Makbet Mtsenskogo uezda" was published three times only in English as "Lady Macbeth of Mtsensk", this Nikolai Leskov's text significantly influenced the intellectual trajectories of development of American culture in general and British contemporary mass culture in particular. The author presumes that "Lady Macbeth of the Mtsensk" had, on the one hand, heterogeneous cultural influences and impacts, including stimuli for the development of the detective genre and feminization of American literature. On the other hand, the cultural influence of this text has a deferred and delayed character because of Nikolai Leskov's plot, which was an attempt to integrate the classic literary plot into Russian contexts of the 19th century, inspired British director William Oldroyd to transfer it in English contexts of the same era⁹⁵.

It is known that Nikolai Leskov's texts including "The Enchanted Wanderer" and "Cathedral Folk" were published six times in five translations and four times in two translations from 1924 to 2013. These texts were in demand by American readers because Nikolai Leskov actualized religious motives and problems that became traditional for American identity, including culture and literature. Despite formal differences between Russian and American religious traditions and preferences, Nikolai Leskov's religious prose was understandable in American intellectual communities and found its readers because Russian writer did not actualize official state Orthodoxy, but preferred to imagine the problems of informal religiosity as central ones. The American reader more adequately perceived the problems of the Russian Old Believers because it had much in common with different denominations and trends of American Protestantism. If "Cathedral Folk" actualized mainly religious motives and therefore the novel was read, understood and relatively adequately deciphered by American readers, "The Enchanted Wanderer" was more readable because it actualized the motives of adventure and religious prose simultaneously. The protagonist of "The Enchanted Wanderer" actualized the ideal qualities of the hero of American mass culture, including unique personal experience and religious aspirations. "The Enchanted Wanderer" became a form of acquaintance with non-European cultures and non-Western spaces, and Nikolai Leskov's prose in this context played its role in the genesis of American Orientalism. "The Enchanted Wanderer" can be localised and mapped among external factors that stimulated the rising interests of American readers in non-European exotics and also assisted to the genesis of Orientalism. The geographic and military features of

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⁹⁴ Edgerton, W.B. (1951). Leskov on Quakers in Russia, in The Bulletin of Friends Historical Association, Vol. 40, No 1, pp. 3 – 15; Girfanova, Ksenia; Cheremisina Harrer, Inna; Bobrova, Galina. (2015), Reception of N.S. Leskov's Religious and Philosophical Worldview in English-speaking Critic, in Procedia: Social and Behavioral Sciences, Vol. 206, pp. 410 – 415; Heier, E. (1970). Religious Schism in the Russian Aristocracy 1860-1900. Radstockism and Pashkovism. The Hague: Martinus Nijhoff; Lantz, K.A. (1981). Leskov's "At the Edge of the World": the Search for an Image of Christ, in Slavic and East European Journal, Vol. 25, No 1, pp. 34 – 43; McLean, H. (1977). Nikolai Leskov. The man and his art. Cambridge: Harvard University Press; Malcolm, J. (1972). Dostoevsky, Tolstoy, Leskov and Radstockism, in Journal of Russian Studies, Vol. 23, no 1, pp. 3 – 20; Muckle, J. Y. (1978). Nikolai Leskov and the 'spirit of Protestantism'. Birmingham: University of Birmingham

⁹⁵ Florence Pugh, Cosmo Jarvis cast in 'Lady Macbeth', in Screen Daily, 2015, September 22

"The Enchanted Wanderer" became universal cultural codes that attracted American readers.

The possible influence of Nikolai Leskov on American literature was varied and the author presumes that it included several cultural impacts. Nikolai Leskov's prose was short and radically differed from earlier Russian and American prose traditions simultaneously. Translations of Nikolai Leskov's novels and short stories into English allowed the American readers to compare long novels with lengthy descriptions and short dynamic prose which was filled with actions in difference to the archaized the first one. Cultural impacts of Nikolai Leskov assisted in the liberation of prose from autobiography, which was replaced by a plot and fiction. These changes, on the one hand, actualized the entertainment functions of literature and assisted in the fragmentation of American literature. The ideological novel with its dialogues penetrated into American literature from translated novels of Nikolai Leskov. The American feminist novel in its classical forms did not rise from the experiments of the first American female writers because of translations of Nikolai Leskov's prose, where women were able to defend the status of the main characters who were able to believe in God and kill, assisted to the liberation of gender. The prose of Nikolai Leskov could hypothetically influence developments of the American western because "The Enchanted Wanderer" contained elements that became central and systemic for the classic American western, including a dashing and brave hero, dangerous and inevitable enemies as classical Others, and rare good and right Others. It is extremely difficult to trace whether the authors of American westerns of the 1920s - 1960s read Nikolai Leskov's texts, but they were clearly familiar with the basic canons and the laws of the genre proposed in "The Enchanted Wanderer". On the other hand, the cultural influences of Nikolai Leskov led to the fact that American literature became more heterogeneous and problematic. Prose ceased to be unambiguous and American writers abandoned the symbolic role of prophets because their texts ceased to contain ready recipes and solutions. Nikolai Leskov's texts were translated and they were able to find their American readers because they were relevant for American intellectuals thematically and meaningfully who could find in Leskov's prose problems that were consonant with American ones, including religious contradictions or spatial expansion that actualized the concepts of the American identity in the contexts of Other's cultural threats. American readers could perceive and understand the texts of Nikolai Leskov because his prose was about them, for example, the religious experience of a single hero.

It is extremely difficult to find concrete examples of the cultural and intellectual contributions, impacts and influences of Nikolai Leskov to American culture and literature, but the author of this article will try to offer several examples that can illustrate some parallels between the Nikolai Leskov's heritage and American literature of the 20th century. The author presumes that American writer Winston Francis Groom, who is known as the author of "Forrest Gump"⁹⁶, wrote this novel under the clear cultural influence if Nikolai Leskov. "Forrest Gump" and "The Enchanted Wanderer" have a lot in common in their compositions and structural features. "Forrest Gump" of Winston Francis Groom and "The Enchanted Wanderer" of Nikolai Leskov have a lot in common, including attempts to invent a universal image of the right and true hero, the righteous wanderer who travels in various social and cultural spaces really and symbolically in his attempts to find the sense of life and resolve moral conflicts, dilemmas and contradictions.

Preliminary conclusions. Nikolai Leskov, like other Russian writers in the 20th century, became an invented cultural and political tradition and one of the symbolic

⁹⁶ Groom, Winston. (1986), Forrest Gump. Doubleday Publisher

foundations that strengthened and stimulated Russian identity in its intellectual forms and dimensions. Mandatory study of Nikolai Leskov's texts in secondary school and universities promoted their ideologization. The predominance of stereotypical collective representations of him as one of the most Russian writers stimulated mythologization and nationalist speculations about his heritage. This intellectual climate assisted to the unilateral analysis of Nikolai Leskov's heritage in exclusively Russian ethnic and cultural contexts. Therefore, intellectuals ignored and preferred not to notice and avoid parallels with foreign cultures and literatures, including American ones. It was impossible to distinguish Nikolai Leskov from Russian cultural contexts and to analyse his texts in the discourse of their influence and perception in American culture. The author of this article tried to do that and imagine a new alternative and even revisionist image of Nikolai Leskov and invent a new tradition of his perception and invention as the most "American Russian writer". Summarising the main ideas and assumptions, expressed and proposed in this article, the author presumes that the translations of Nikolai Leskov's texts into English influenced American culture significantly in general and its mass versions in particular. Nikolai Leskov can be imagined and invented as "the most American Russian writer" because he anticipated and foresaw the triumph of various forms of mass culture, which actualized the entertainment functions of literature and combined them with elements of orientalist and religious discourse simultaneously. Nikolai Leskov successfully integrated elements of the detective, historical and adventure genre into literature although later American writers could imitate and simulate elements of serious literature in these predominantly light and entertaining genres. This deep integration of Nikolai Leskov's legacy into American cultural contexts became possible because his prose actualized Russian archaic images of Slavic identity in its American sense. These Slavic specificities were imitated by Nikolai Leskov so simply and successfully that it became possible to integrate them into American cultural contexts.

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