

REBECCA STANTON

**IDENTITY CRISIS:
THE LITERARY CULT AND CULTURE OF ODESSA IN
THE EARLY TWENTIETH CENTURY**

HEBRAISTS, YIDDISHISTS, AND SLAVISTS alike are sensible of the important role played in their respective fields by the literati of prerevolutionary Odessa, who included not only a bumper crop of first-generation Soviet writers (several of them Jewish), but also founding members of the modern Hebrew and Yiddish literary canons, including S. Y. Abramovitsh (aka Mendele Moykher-Sforim, 1836–1917), Sholem Aleichem (1859–1916), and Haim Nahman Bialik (1873–1934). The Odessa that produced these famous writers in three traditions seems to have been a cultural center comparable to *fin de siècle* Vienna or Prague: a politically restive, artistically volatile nexus of diverse national, linguistic, and ethnic groups who interacted only selectively, sometimes clashing violently, sometimes finding intellectual and artistic communion within the shared discursive space of the imperial language (Russian, in the case of Odessa). It was a city where grand traditions were confronted by political and artistic radicalism, and one that—again like Vienna and Prague—boasted a large, relatively empowered Jewish community, many of whose members were educated alongside non-Jews and participated with them in the cultural and intellectual life of the city.

The diversity of Odessa's population, attributable on the one hand to its location in the Pale of Settlement (making it the largest city in the Russian Empire to which Jews more or less had free access), and on the other to its status as an international port, played an important role in shaping its contribution to Russian literature. However, as I shall argue, this contribution was reciprocal; Odessa was, in the early twentieth century, instrumental in creating a certain kind of literature and was in turn partly created by that literature. In the 1920s, Odessian writers capitalized on a preexisting "Odessa text"¹ in Russian literature to stage a "reverse invasion" of the Russian canon, reappropriating a set of signifiers originally generated by the exoticizing gaze of great Russian authors, including Pushkin, Kuprin, and Gorkii, and using these as their entrée into Russian literature. As a result, the image of Odessa that lives on in the Russian cultural consciousness is for the most part one that was designed and promoted by the so-called "Odessa School" of writers, and in particular by Isaak Babel'.

First designated as a group by the Russian formalist critic Viktor Shklovskii in his 1933 article "South-West" ["Iugo-Zapad"],² this "Odessa" or "South-

west" school consists at its core of half a dozen well-known writers: Isaak Babel', Iurii Olesha, Valentin Kataev, Il'ia Il'f, and Evgenii Petrov, and the poet Eduard Bagritskii. Although diverse in background (Babel', Il'f, and Bagritskii were Jewish; Kataev and Petrov, Russian; and Olesha of Polish Catholic stock), these writers converged on a single professional path in the 1920s, working in agitprop journalism during the civil war and subsequently moving to Moscow to staff the railway workers' periodical *The Whistle* [*Gudok*]. A seventh writer, Konstantin Paustovskii (1892–1968), although Moscow-born and not named by Shklovskii, is often included in the group on the strength of his fervent embrace of Odessa and the Odessa School writers, who worked under his editorship at the Odessa newspaper *The Seaman* [*Moriak*] in 1921.

Shklovskii makes explicit in "South-West" that the writers he enumerates form in his eyes a "school," not simply a coincidence: "The Southwest school will have a very great influence on the subsequent plot-oriented [*siuzhetnyi*] period of Russian literature. This is a literature, and not just material for memoirs" (475). Shklovskii's reference to "memoirs" here is, however, telling, for two reasons. First, Shklovskii's own perception of the "Southwest school" was likely influenced by social, rather than literary, considerations: his wife, Serafima Gustavovna Suok, had previously been married to Vladimir Narbut, an Odessan; and her two sisters, Lidiia and Ol'ga, were married to Eduard Bagritskii and Iurii Olesha respectively. In fact, after Olesha's death, his widow, Ol'ga Suok, would work with her brother-in-law Shklovskii to produce the edition of *No Day Without a Line* [*Ni dnia bez strochki*] that appeared in 1965. So Shklovskii's own interest in the "Southwest school" was at least as deeply rooted in "material for memoirs" as it was in "literature."

Second, the Odessans themselves devoted a striking proportion of their literary output to "memoiristic" or confessional modes of narration, including both first-person narratives where the narrator seems to share the sensibilities of the implied author and more overtly autobiographical prose. Moreover, the narrators of such works frequently identify themselves with Odessa (particularly in Babel'), and with other Odessan writers (particularly in Kataev and Paustovskii), which has had a dramatic impact on the reception of the "Odessan school" as a whole. In certain cases, the fictionalized "selves" created by Odessa writers in such generically ambiguous works as Babel's "autobiographical" childhood tales ("The Story of My Dovecote" ["*Istoriia moi golubiatni*"], "First Love," ["*Pervaia liubov*"], etc.), or Kataev's mauvist memoir à clef, *My Diamond Crown* [*Almaznyi moi venets*], actually carried greater weight with the reading public than the historical writers themselves; this led to such critical anomalies as Lionel Trilling's claim (Bloom 31) that "Babel' had seen his father on his knees before a Cossack captain on a horse, who said, 'At your service,' and touched his fur cap with his yellow-gloved hand and politely paid no heed to the mob looting the Babel' store" (an event from a Babel' story, not from his life), or the equally misguided accusations of "lying from start to finish" levelled

against Kataev by Tamara Ivanova, widow of the Russian prose writer, dramatist, and Serapion Brother Vsevolod Ivanov (Borden 112).³

This tendency of the Odessa writers to favor narrative modes that their audience took to be autobiographical in the strict sense lent their several narratives a peculiar collective force that is reflected in the image of Odessa that endures to this day in the mind of the Russian reading public. They all trained their literary powers on Odessa at some point; interestingly, never from within Odessa, but always from outside, as nostalgists reconstituting—and, to some degree, simply constituting—a point of origin, the wellspring of literary identity.

Odessa as Cultural Milieu

The international, multi-ethnic, and cosmopolitan quality of Odessa culture in this epoch (accompanied, of course, by powerful political tensions) was not simply a product of the Russian literary imagination; it had real-life roots in the city's history and geography. Originally a Tatar outpost located on the site of an old Greek colony and captured by Russia from the Turks in 1789, Odessa was formally incorporated into the Russian Empire and given its Greek-inspired name by Catherine the Great in 1794 (Feld 7; Weinberg 7). Politically, then, the city was firmly Russian (although its first two governors were French nationals), and it was from Russia that the city received the impetus and direction for its vigorous economic and municipal development throughout the nineteenth century. Geographically, however, Odessa lay within Ukraine (although only a scant 10 percent of respondents in the 1897 census reported their nationality as Ukrainian); and demographically it was dominated first by Western European nationals (who comprised nearly three-quarters of the city's population in 1819, down to about 5 percent in 1897), then by Jews (Weinberg 7–13). As a result, the city—by 1900, the fourth largest city in the Russian Empire, after Moscow, St. Petersburg, and Warsaw—was characterized from the outset by a cosmopolitan atmosphere, although the source, flavor, and political significance of this cosmopolitanism changed dramatically over the course of the nineteenth and early-twentieth centuries.

Meanwhile, Odessa's relationship to the empire of which it was an outpost (or "portal," according to a visitor in 1912) was complicated by its climate and its geography. On the one hand, Odessa boasted relatively balmy temperatures, plentiful sunshine, and a waterfront that suited the needs of vacationers as well as merchant seamen. On the other, it was located at a convenient remove from the imperial capitals. Thus, in addition to its fundamental economic identity as an international port, Odessa served metropolitan Russia as a holiday resort and as a site of exile. It was in the latter capacity that Pushkin famously formed his acquaintance with the city, where he lived for a year in 1823–24 (Vickery 136); and in the former that subsequent writers—most notably Kuprin, Balmont, and Bunin—came to spend time in the city and contribute

to its literary culture. To these writers, Odessa represented a place whose very identity was bound up in “otherness,” a place defined by its nonnormative and nonmetropolitan status. To the exiles and holidaymakers, as to the Jews, Odessa could be only a borrowed, not a permanent, home.

The turmoil of the civil war increased the sense of schizophrenia that seems to have stalked Odessa from its earliest days. In the years 1917 to 1920, Odessa changed hands nine times, controlled in turn by Bolshevik, Austro-German, French, and West Ukrainian nationalist forces—and by the anarchic forces that thrive on such military and political confusion (Feld 18). The city’s printing presses in those same years churned out hundreds of periodicals, of which most were in the imperial language, Russian. Ukrainian-language publications came in third behind Yiddish ones; ethnic French, Germans, and Poles also enjoyed substantial offerings in their native tongues (Feld 22–23). The reading population was, therefore, as fragmented as the city’s political status was changeable. Moreover, the very Russian spoken by the majority—the language on which the Odessian writers would draw for their works—bore traces of its multicultural environment, including Gallicisms (adults were addressed as “Madame” and “Monsieur”; a practical joke was a “roulette”); Yiddishisms (*gesheft*, *shabes-goi*, *Bud’te mne zdorovy* [Yidd. *Zayt mir gezunt*]); and Ukrainianisms, such as *la skuchaiu za toboi* for *la skuchaiu po tebe* (Paustovsky, *Years* 122; Rothstein 72–75).

The “Odessa Text”

The ethnic and cultural fragmentation of Odessa’s population meant that the city, in its capacity as sign rather than as a geographic entity, resisted classification under any fixed category of national identity, instead fluctuating according to the nature of the gaze trained on it. And many a literary gaze was trained on Odessa, beginning with the most consummately canonizing gaze in all of Russian literature, that of Aleksandr Sergeevich Pushkin. Pushkin established what would become the founding image of Odessa in the fragments of *Onegin’s Journey*, originally intended as the eighth chapter of *Eugene Onegin*:

I lived then in dusty Odessa [. . .]
 There for a long time skies are clear.
 There, hustling, an abundant trade
 sets up its sails.
 There all exhales, diffuses Europe,
 All glistens with the South, and is motleyed
 with live variety.
 The tongue of golden Italy⁴
 Resounds along the gay street
 where walks the proud Slav,
 the Frenchman, Spaniard, Armenian,

and Greek, and the heavy Moldavian,
and the son of Egyptian soil,
the retired Corsair, Morál'. (Pushkin 330)

The details of the Odessa blazon remained substantially unchanged by the time Paustovskii, who adopted Odessa as a kind of spiritual hometown after living there in the turbulent early years of the postrevolutionary period, offered the following lyrical description:

Odessa—it is the Black Sea, warm wind from the Bosphorus, descendants of Greek smugglers from Piraeus, Italian Garibaldians, captains and dock workers. The riches of all countries, the influence of France, the ghetto of the Moldovanka, gangsters, who valued most of all a smart joke, grey-moustached workers from Peresyp', Italian opera, the memoirs about Pushkin, acacias, yellow stone, flowers, love for an anecdote, and enormous curiosity about little things. All this is Odessa. (Paustovskii, *Izbrannoe* 107)

Here, Pushkin himself has been neatly written into the anthologized canon of Odessa, further expanding the “five variety” on which he himself had commented. But the key addition in this second passage, written a century after the first, is the presence of the Jews.

In 1897, when Ilf, Kataev, and Bagritsky were born, Jews already composed nearly 35 percent of the population, up from 14 percent in 1858, and were the city's second largest national group after ethnic Russians at 46 percent (Weinberg 11–13). The Jewish population boasted, moreover, internal diversity: in addition to the Jewish gangsters of the Moldavanka to whom Paustovskii here refers, Odessa was home to yeshiva Jews, secular bourgeois Jews, prodigious violin-playing Jews, and illustrious exponents of the *Haskalah*. The end of the first decade of the twentieth century saw the emergence of several Jewish educational societies and scientific research organizations; in November 1909, soon after the founding of the Jewish Literary Society in the Russian capital, St. Petersburg, a branch was opened in Odessa, headed first by the poet Shimon Frug and later by H. N. Bialik.

At the time of the Revolution, when the Odessan writers were coming of age, Jews made up 50 percent of the city's population, displacing Russians as the largest national group (Hallett 7). Considered in the abstract, the implications of these statistics are fascinating; they mean that in 1916, when the twenty-one-year-old Isaak Babel' “began to take [his] literary works around the editorial offices” of St. Petersburg (in his own, not very reliable, words; Babel' 31), Odessa's motley ethnic profile was intensified by a demographic paradox; the numerically dominant group consisted of a politically disenfranchised “minority.” Odessa was, in demographic terms, nationless.

Appropriately for a group whose presence in this canonical site of the Russian literary Empire, however substantial, was irretrievably marginal, Odessa Jews are identified primarily with a wisecracking sense of humor: for Paustovskii, they are epitomized by the “ghetto of the Moldavanka,” with its “gangsters, who valued most of all a smart joke” (*Izbrannoe* 107). Readers of Babel’ will not miss the *hommage* to the *Odessa Tales* embedded in Paustovskii’s inventory: the Moldavanka, an unlikely site of nostalgia for Paustovskii in real life, represents the world of Benya Krik—and the “gangsters” to whom he refers are almost certainly fictional—from Babel’’s fiction. The characterization of the Moldavanka as a “ghetto,” which it technically was not, is Babel’’s too, although it could equally reflect an honest mistake on Paustovskii’s part. The references to Italian opera (the subject of Babel’’s “Di Grasso”) and to “the influence of France” also read as Babel’ signifiers, making the implicit Babel’ a shadowy counterpart to the explicit Pushkin in Paustovskii’s Odessa canon.

Indeed, Paustovskii here echoes in part a 1916 sketch by Babel’ himself, “Odessa” (Babel’ 62–65). In this oft-cited piece, Babel’ describes the features of Odessa that according to the author make it a likely breeding-ground for the “Literary Messiah, so long and fruitlessly awaited” by a Russian readership stifling for the lack of “a clear description of the sun.” He jokingly condemns Odessites’ butchery of the Russian language, but extols their city’s “atmosphere of lightness and clarity,” which he explicitly attributes to its large Jewish population. This atmosphere is also imparted to a certain area of Petrograd by the “brunette” immigrants from Odessa who “bring with them a little bit of sun and lightness” and have a “tendency to settle on the Kamennostrovsy Prospekt,” a collection of generalizations that, the narrator admits, “smells of a joke” [pakhnet anekdotom]. The choice of words here, “smells of a joke,” may be an encoded jab at the existing stereotypes (which I shall discuss later) about both Jews and Odessites, which surely could be no less comic-smelling. In context, it also hints at the atmosphere of the colonized Kamennostrovsy Prospekt itself; given Babel’’s characterization, one might well expect to catch the scent of a joke in the Odessified air.

The association of Jews with humor, a note struck by both Babel’ and Paustovskii, represents a departure from the depictions of Jews that were common in Russian literature at that time, which tended to follow the depressing outlines of Chekhov’s 1894 classic, “Rothschild’s Fiddle” [“Skripka Rotshil’da”]. Even a determinedly philo-Semitic 1916 anthology, *The Shield* [*Shchit*], compiled by Gorkii to benefit Jewish causes, repeatedly portrayed Jews as “small, bent, weak, and pathetic,” according to Gabriella Safran. (The Jewish nationalist movement itself—led by “Westernized” intellectuals—may have contributed to this stereotype by striving to instill strength of body and militarism in its presumed feeble and malformed Jewish followers.)⁵ In a nuanced reading of Babel’’s “Odessa” alongside one of his early stories, Safran argues

that the “clear description of the sun” for which Babel’ calls can be read on one level as a metaphor for a more uplifting depiction of the Jews—a depiction that Gorkii seems to have been striving for, but failed to attain (Safran 254–58).⁶ This reading is supported by the way in which Babel’ blurs the concept of Jewish humor into that of climatic blessings and then into literary Messianism, a move that transforms “Odessa” from a nostalgic reminiscence into a manifesto.

Commentators have often skipped straight from Babel’'s prophecy of an Odessan “literary Messiah” to the rather dull observation that Babel’ himself turned out to be that “Messiah.” Indeed, it is hardly to be supposed that Babel’ had anyone else in mind for the job. What is interesting about this little manifesto is not the extent of its prescience, but the terms in which its prophecy is couched. As Barry Scherr observes (340–41), Babel’ does not seem intent here either on recapturing the milieu of his childhood (which was spent not in the “ghetto” but rather in “some of the better parts of town”), or on introducing the setting and mood of the *Odessa Tales* (which differ rather sharply from the Odessa portrayed here). Rather, he argues emphatically for Odessa’s Russian-ness, for its importance as a “significant and enchanting city of the Russian Empire”—the only Russian city capable of holding its own against the “mysterious, heavy fog of Petersburg,” which is portrayed as a creeping infection that eventually overtakes even Gogol’:

Do you remember the life-giving, bright sun in Gogol’, a man who came from Ukraine? Though such descriptions are there, they are an episode. And what’s not an episode is “The Nose,” “The Overcoat,” “The Portrait,” and “Diary of a Madman.” Petersburg vanquished Poltava, Akaky Akakievich shyly but with horrifying authority rubbed out Gritsko, and Father Matvey finished the business that Taras started. (64)

Babel’ here preempts the inevitable comparisons (which Shklovskii would make in “South-West”) between himself and Gogol’, an earlier invader of the Russian literary canon from Ukraine (they even have structurally similar names), by dismissing the latter as an assimilator, a man who had a vision of “lightness and clarity” but lost it; a prophet, perhaps, but no Messiah. The latter role remains (in 1916) uncast.

To make his case for Odessa as a source of literary salvation, Babel’ takes the features of the existing “Odessa text”—the sun, the sea, the dust; the “live variety” of languages and nationalities, composed of sailors, traders, holiday-makers, Italian singers, Jewish fiddlers, and Russian poets, with a seamy admixture of smugglers, gangsters, and exiled Russian malcontents—and turns them into a literary program, taking care to leave us in no doubt that it is a program for Russian literature. His birthplace—“Russian Odessa” in “the Russian south”—is named as “perhaps (*qui sait?*) the only city in Russia where our national Maupassant, of whom we stand in such need, may be born” (63). The

unnecessary little French tag that accompanies this invocation (one of several that litter this text: *pur sang, quand même et malgré tout, parole d'honneur!*) leaves us in little doubt about who this “national Maupassant” is supposed to be.⁷ Odessa, a city by now identified above all with its Jews (as Babel’ readily acknowledges), is here decisively recast as a new epicentre of Russian “national” culture—which Babel’ paradoxically hopes to join by posing as a Frenchman. The ethnic schizophrenia of this position seems quintessentially Odessan.

The Odessa Mystique

This “schizophrenia,” created by the unification of the seemingly irreconcilable, is the defining quality of the Odessa mystique exploited by the Odessa School writers in their “invasion” of Russian literature. If Moscow and Petersburg represented, respectively, a Russian gaze directed inward toward its own traditions and a Russian gaze directed outward toward Western Europe and modernity, Odessa represented a layering of many gazes, a kind of cubist mélange of perspectives in which the terms *self* and *other* had no fixed referents but occupied a constantly shifting semiotic space. Even the language of Odessa, as rendered by Babel’ (62), seemed rooted in paradox: Odessites, he explains, did not speak of “the big difference” [bol’shaia raznitsa] between two things, but rather, ungrammatically, of “two big differences” [dve bol’shie raznitsy], as if they saw difference as a two-edged sword (which, of course, it is).

The “double vision” of a culture that sees “two big differences,” where Russian grammar recognizes only one (*raznitsa*, in standard Russian, is never pluralized), is realized in a discourse that evokes opposite sides of, or opposite sensations elicited by, the same object—and conversely that unites disparate objects under the same emotion: Shklovskii writes that “Babel”’s principal device is to speak in the same tone of voice of the stars above and of gonorrhoea” (Bloom 12). The intersecting axes—especially ethnic axes—of the Odessa experience are apparent in the seeming paradoxes on which Babel”’s art is founded (Jewish gangsters, Jewish Cossacks, Russian Maupassants, feminine men, beautiful violence), and that have come to be identified in the Russian readerly imagination with Odessa. Thus, the multivocality of Odessan experience is translated into the distinctive discourse with which the Odessans made their mark on Russian literature.

Although Shklovskii was forced to recant his article on the “Southwest school” for political reasons, the perception of the writers as a fraternal group distinguished by a shared heritage and common influences endures, as does the image they projected of Odessa: a carnivalesque site of trade, of holiday, of un-Russian weather and un-Russian languages and yet a canonical site as distinctive as Petersburg or Moscow in the literary geography of imperial Russia. Perhaps fittingly, the historical Odessa on which this image was founded disappeared from the world precisely as the Odessan writers rose to fame. The

"Odessa mystique" thus passed from the physical realm to the metaphysical, in the process leaving an indelible mark on early Soviet literature.

Barnard College, Columbia University

1. The notion of the city-text is derived from the work of the Moscow-Tartu school of semi-oticians and is modeled on their description of the "Petersburg text" in Russian literature. See, for example, Iu. M. Lotman, "Simvolika Peterburga i problemy semiotiki goroda"; V. N. Toporov, "Peterburg i peterburgskii tekst russkoi literatury"; and Z. G. Mints et al., "'Peterburgskii tekst' i russkii simvolizm," *Semiotika goroda i gorodskoi kul'tury. Peterburg* (Tartu: Uchenye zapiski tartuskogo gorodskogo universiteta, 1984).

2. Shklovskii was forced to recant the article a scant four months later, having been excoriated by critics for his division of Soviet literature into geographic "schools" and his suggestion of a debt to Western influences, which was declared "wrong and harmful" [porochno i vredno].

3. I want to make it clear that I am not ridiculing Ivanova's remark in referring to it as "mis-guided." She, along with others whose memories of beloved and justly celebrated writers, Kataev's contemporaries, were outraged by his fictionalizing and solipsistic roman à clef, had ample personal reasons to feel betrayed by Kataev's deliberate misrepresentation of events that they remembered quite differently. However, the example does point to the extreme power of the combination of first-person narrative with dimly historical events, which is almost always read as a sincere autobiographical gesture, even if it is not so intended.

4. Weinberg (13) notes that in the 1820s, street signs in Odessa appeared in both Italian and Russian.

5. I am indebted to Keith Weiser for this and other general information about Jewish physical fitness in the Pale of Settlement.

6. Gorkii, indeed, is cited by Babel' in "Odessa" as one who has passionately striven to describe the sun, but whose efforts, by their very passion, come off as "not quite genuine" (Babel' 65).

7. The French tags may also be a reference to the French-sprinkled Russian spoken in Odessa (see above).

WORKS CITED

- Babel', I. E. *Sochineniia v dvukh tomakh*. Ed. A. Pirozhkova. Moscow: Khudozhestvennaia literatura, 1990. Vol. 1.
- Bloom, Harold, ed. *Modern Critical Views: Isaac Babel*. New York: Chelsea, 1987.
- Borden, Richard. *The Art of Writing Badly*. Evanston, IL: Northwestern UP, 2000.
- Feld, Rita. "The Southwest School of Writers." Diss. Georgetown Univ., 1987.
- Hallett, Richard. *Isaac Babel*. New York: Bradda Letchworth, 1972.
- Paustovskii, K. G. *The Golden Rose* [Zolotaia Roza]. Trans. Susanna Rosenberg. Ed. Dennis Ogden. Moscow: Foreign Languages Pub. House, 1957.
- . *Izbrannoe*. Moscow: Khudozhestvennaia literatura, 1965.
- . [Konstantin Paustovsky, pseud.]. *Years of Hope*. Trans. Many Harari and Andrew Thomson. New York: Pantheon, 1968.
- Pushkin, A. S. *Eugene Onegin*. Trans. Vladimir Nabokov. Princeton UP, 1965. Vol. 1.
- Rothstein, Robert A. "How It Was Sung in Odessa: At the Intersection of Russian and Yiddish Folk Culture." *Slavic Review* 60.4 (2001): 781–802.
- Safran, Gabriella. "Isaac Babel's El'ia Isaakovich as a New Jewish Type." *Slavic Review* 61.2 (2002): 253–72.
- Scherr, Barry. "Synagogues, Synchrony, and the Sea: Babel's Odessa." *And Meaning for a Life Entire: Festschrift for Charles A. Moser on the Occasion of his Sixtieth Birthday*. Ed. Peter Rollberg. Columbus: Slavica, 1997. 337–50.
- Shklovskii, V. B. "Isaac Babel: A Critical Romance." Bloom 9–14.
- . "Iugo-Zapad [South-West]." *Gamburgskii schet: Stat'i—vospominaniia—esse (1914–1933)*. Ed. A. Iu. Galushkin and A. P. Chudakov. Moscow: Sovetskii pisatel', 1990. 470–75.

Trilling, Lionel. "The Forbidden Dialectic: Introduction to the *Collected Stories*." Bloom 23-40.
Vickery, Walter. "Odessa—Watershed Year: Patterns in Puškin's Love Lyrics." *Puškin Today*. Ed.
David M. Bethea. Bloomington: Indiana UP, 1993.

Weinberg, Robert. *The Revolution of 1905 in Odessa: Blood on the Steps*. Bloomington: Indiana
UP, 1993.

1. Publication Title		2. Publication Title	3. Frequency	4. Issue Date	5. Number of Issues Published Annually	6. Annual Subscription Price	7. Publication Code	8. Issue Frequency	9. Issue Date	10. Issue Frequency	11. Issue Date	12. Issue Date	13. Issue Date	14. Issue Date	15. Issue Date	16. Issue Date	17. Issue Date	18. Issue Date	19. Issue Date	20. Issue Date	21. Issue Date	22. Issue Date	23. Issue Date	24. Issue Date	25. Issue Date	26. Issue Date	27. Issue Date	28. Issue Date	29. Issue Date	30. Issue Date	31. Issue Date	32. Issue Date	33. Issue Date	34. Issue Date	35. Issue Date	36. Issue Date	37. Issue Date	38. Issue Date	39. Issue Date	40. Issue Date	41. Issue Date	42. Issue Date	43. Issue Date	44. Issue Date	45. Issue Date	46. Issue Date	47. Issue Date	48. Issue Date	49. Issue Date	50. Issue Date	51. Issue Date	52. Issue Date	53. Issue Date	54. Issue Date	55. Issue Date	56. Issue Date	57. Issue Date	58. Issue Date	59. Issue Date	60. Issue Date	61. Issue Date	62. Issue Date	63. Issue Date	64. Issue Date	65. Issue Date	66. Issue Date	67. Issue Date	68. Issue Date	69. Issue Date	70. Issue Date	71. Issue Date	72. Issue Date	73. Issue Date	74. Issue Date	75. Issue Date	76. Issue Date	77. Issue Date	78. Issue Date	79. Issue Date	80. Issue Date	81. Issue Date	82. Issue Date	83. Issue Date	84. Issue Date	85. Issue Date	86. Issue Date	87. Issue Date	88. Issue Date	89. Issue Date	90. Issue Date	91. Issue Date	92. Issue Date	93. Issue Date	94. Issue Date	95. Issue Date	96. Issue Date	97. Issue Date	98. Issue Date	99. Issue Date	100. Issue Date																																																																																																			
1. Publication Title		2. Publication Title		3. Frequency		4. Issue Date		5. Number of Issues Published Annually		6. Annual Subscription Price		7. Publication Code		8. Issue Frequency		9. Issue Date		10. Issue Frequency		11. Issue Date		12. Issue Date		13. Issue Date		14. Issue Date		15. Issue Date		16. Issue Date		17. Issue Date		18. Issue Date		19. Issue Date		20. Issue Date		21. Issue Date		22. Issue Date		23. Issue Date		24. Issue Date		25. Issue Date		26. Issue Date		27. Issue Date		28. Issue Date		29. Issue Date		30. Issue Date		31. Issue Date		32. Issue Date		33. Issue Date		34. Issue Date		35. Issue Date		36. Issue Date		37. Issue Date		38. Issue Date		39. Issue Date		40. Issue Date		41. Issue Date		42. Issue Date		43. Issue Date		44. Issue Date		45. Issue Date		46. Issue Date		47. Issue Date		48. Issue Date		49. Issue Date		50. Issue Date		51. Issue Date		52. Issue Date		53. Issue Date		54. Issue Date		55. Issue Date		56. Issue Date		57. Issue Date		58. Issue Date		59. Issue Date		60. Issue Date		61. Issue Date		62. Issue Date		63. Issue Date		64. Issue Date		65. Issue Date		66. Issue Date		67. Issue Date		68. Issue Date		69. Issue Date		70. Issue Date		71. Issue Date		72. Issue Date		73. Issue Date		74. Issue Date		75. Issue Date		76. Issue Date		77. Issue Date		78. Issue Date		79. Issue Date		80. Issue Date		81. Issue Date		82. Issue Date		83. Issue Date		84. Issue Date		85. Issue Date		86. Issue Date		87. Issue Date		88. Issue Date		89. Issue Date		90. Issue Date		91. Issue Date		92. Issue Date		93. Issue Date		94. Issue Date		95. Issue Date		96. Issue Date		97. Issue Date		98. Issue Date		99. Issue Date		100. Issue Date	
1. Publication Title		2. Publication Title		3. Frequency		4. Issue Date		5. Number of Issues Published Annually		6. Annual Subscription Price		7. Publication Code		8. Issue Frequency		9. Issue Date		10. Issue Frequency		11. Issue Date		12. Issue Date		13. Issue Date		14. Issue Date		15. Issue Date		16. Issue Date		17. Issue Date		18. Issue Date		19. Issue Date		20. Issue Date		21. Issue Date		22. Issue Date		23. Issue Date		24. Issue Date		25. Issue Date		26. Issue Date		27. Issue Date		28. Issue Date		29. Issue Date		30. Issue Date		31. Issue Date		32. Issue Date		33. Issue Date		34. Issue Date		35. Issue Date		36. Issue Date		37. Issue Date		38. Issue Date		39. Issue Date		40. Issue Date		41. Issue Date		42. Issue Date		43. Issue Date		44. Issue Date		45. Issue Date		46. Issue Date		47. Issue Date		48. Issue Date		49. Issue Date		50. Issue Date		51. Issue Date		52. Issue Date		53. Issue Date		54. Issue Date		55. Issue Date		56. Issue Date		57. Issue Date		58. Issue Date		59. Issue Date		60. Issue Date		61. Issue Date		62. Issue Date		63. Issue Date		64. Issue Date		65. Issue Date		66. Issue Date		67. Issue Date		68. Issue Date		69. Issue Date		70. Issue Date		71. Issue Date		72. Issue Date		73. Issue Date		74. Issue Date		75. Issue Date		76. Issue Date		77. Issue Date		78. Issue Date		79. Issue Date		80. Issue Date		81. Issue Date		82. Issue Date		83. Issue Date		84. Issue Date		85. Issue Date		86. Issue Date		87. Issue Date		88. Issue Date		89. Issue Date		90. Issue Date		91. Issue Date		92. Issue Date		93. Issue Date		94. Issue Date		95. Issue Date		96. Issue Date		97. Issue Date		98. Issue Date		99. Issue Date		100. Issue Date	