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## Sin and Salvation in Andrei Bely's The Silver Dove

PETER CHRISTENSEN

Although considerable critical attention has been devoted to Andrei Bely's first "novel" The Silver Dove [Serebrianyi golub] (1909), scholars, while returning again and again to such issues as sin and salvation, have failed to reach a consensus about the novel's meaning.<sup>1</sup> There have been only a few critical approaches to The Silver Dove. These have foregrounded the history of Russian symbolism, the events in Bely's life, or the characteristics of the turn-of-the-century Russian religious revival. Looking at the contrasts between such structuralist opposites as East and West, free will and determinism, masculine and feminine, and God and the Devil, critics have expressed different opinions as to whether the hero Dariatskii points the way to redemption through his death, falls into an impotence which renders him incapable of resisting sinister social forces, or proceeds inexorably to a death dictated by occult or supernatural powers.

In order both to understand the novel's ending and to gain a new perspective on The Silver Dove, we need to step back and recognize that its ambiguity lies not only in Bely's artistry. The confusion that the novel has caused is also in part a reflection of the ambivalent legacy that Christianity has grafted on to the idea of sacrifice inherited from the pagan Mediterranean world. If we set Dariatskii as a sacrificial figure against either Dionysus, on the one hand, or Christ, on the other, we may conclude too hastily that Dariatskii's death (or at least presumed death) is meant to expiate the sins of the Russian people. Yet the humorous elements of the narrative make it next to impossible to figure out when sacrifice is being parodied, reaffirmed, or reinterpreted.

After discussing the nature of Bely's use of symbolism and then analyzing the ending of the novel, I shall use the theories of René Girard on sacrificial violence to show that Bely unknowingly subscribes to the unhealthy view that sacrificial violence is regenerative, and that he is unable to see a way out of the impasse of the 1905-1909 period in which the hopes of Russian intellectuals to find a way of uniting with the narod were dashed both by their own powerlessness and by their romanticization of the peasants. Even though there are events in the novel which may perhaps be read as exposing the dangers of sacrificial violence, the lack of any disapproving statement on the narrator's part when Dariatskii accepts his symbolic crucifixion leads me to conclude that the transcendence that Bely attributes to Dariatskii's acceptance of the violence against him is what should be called the "false transcendence" that comes with mistakenly thinking that he has committed a sin that requires death in order to bring salvation to the community to which he belongs.

Belyi apparently hoped that out of symbolism he could construct an ethical system by uniting sets of troubling opposites: reason and emotion, the conscious and the unconscious, and the visible and the invisible, but it served him much better as an artistic system. In "Symbolism As a World View" ["Simvolizm kak miroponimanie"] (1904) published five years before The Silver Dove, Belyi writes that recently everything has lost its value:

It was then that a yawning chasm opened up between feeling and reason. A tragic terror of discord rose up from the depths of the unconscious to the very surface of consciousness. An unprincipled skepticism appeared as the consequence of man's inability either to retain the eternal values or to do without them. . . . Being became spectral, illusory. Only a black gloom peered through it. Feverish tension then gave way to a spirit of contemplative inactivity. The waters in life's channel parted, and with a thunderous roar the chariot of phallic insipidness came galloping across. (Belyi 1985: 72)

The yawning chasm here reminds us of the darkening gloom in the sky that Belyi experienced in 1906 one depressing day when he was with Aleksander Blok. In Mezhdn dvudh revolutsii Belyi claims that the writing of The Silver Dove was a catharsis in which he cured himself of

"the sick sensation of 'persecution', the feeling of entanglement and the expectation of destruction" (Belyi 1934: 354 quoted in Cioran 113).

Belyi's "yawning chasm" has its parallel in the contemporary political upheavals. In "Apokalypsis v russkoi poezii" first published in the April 1905 issue of *Vesy*, after Bloody Sunday but before the Russian defeat at Tsushima, Belyi predicted that disastrous events were about to occur, ones which were reflections of the universal struggle between cosmos and chaos (Rosenthal 191).<sup>2</sup> Although The Silver Dove was written in the course of the year 1909 and set in 1905, Belyi conceived it in the summer of 1906 when he was with Sergei Solov'ev in the countryside at Dedovo (Pyman 257) recovering from the personal crises that came to a head at his collapse at V. Ivanov's lecture in January 1909.

Refining his concept of symbolism was a means of resolving the crisis of the disturbing years after the abortive 1905 revolution. According to Thomas R. Beyer, the philosophical basis for the word experiments in The Silver Dove is contained in the article, "The Magic of Words" ("Magia slov") of 1909. Here, "Belyi claims that the word is a necessary condition for the existence of man and the very essence of mankind." Although there is "a distinct separation between the external world of objects or phenomena and the internal world of experience or perception, yet the one can not exist without the other" (Beyer 1978: 465).

In addition, symbolism has an extra-artistic dimension. Steven Cassedy remarks that Belyi's essays on symbolism express the belief that symbolism unites a "great number of philosophical traditions, both pagan and religious." In trying to make the eternal the concrete, Belyi "has managed to preserve the distinction between the world of appearances and the world of essences, while holding in reserve a possible means of access between the two" (Cassedy 13).

Vladimir E. Alexandrov maintains that in The Silver Dove "Kudeliarov's theurgic program itself is thus broadly analogous to an act of symbolic perception: the goal of both is to link the worlds of spirit and matter." Kudeliarov requires the mediator to come in the flesh rather than make itself accessible to the perceiver's consciousness (73). When Dariatskii fails as this mediator because he can not insinuate Matera to conceive the new savior, he is subjected to murder. However, I would modify Alexandrov's view and claim that the error is not in confusing spirit and matter but rather in trying to found an ethical system grounded in a system of correspondences between two realms rather than in a deontological sense of right and wrong which would condemn murder.

Belyi's system of symbolism has an artistic richness which comes from uniting the pagan and the Christian, but this same blending of views makes interpretation of the moral system of The Silver Dove so difficult. For example, on the one hand David M. Betha feels that Belyi tries to give his "anarchistic impulses" some "historical legitimacy" by turning not only to Melnikov-Pecherskii but to Nikolai Khlevy, whose mother had been a khlystovka, or flagellant (117). In contrast, Veronica Shapovalov moves away from the view that the reader's knowledge of the khlysty extends to the Doves a type of sympathy fostered on the traits that they share with the marginalized sects. She claims that the "idea of the Khlystis and Carstrates representing the ultimate evil comes both from [Pavel Ivanovich] Melnikov-Pecherskii's [1819-1883] historical works on sectarianism and from his novels" (598). Analysis of Belyi's views on the morality of Doves is further problematized by his sympathy for the *Yekhi* (Simeonovs) contributor, M. O. Gerstenson, who believed that man is spiritually linked to the cosmos (Levin 177), and for such major figures in the history of hermetic thought as Paracelsus and Kircher (Höing 54).

Before we can understand Dariatskii's emotional journey from enthusiasm for the Doves, passing through his rejection of them and on to his final acceptance of their murderous designs on him, we need to ask two textual questions. Is Dariatskii actually killed at the end? And, can the narrator be relied on to tell us what is happening and how to think about it? James L. Rice reads the novel as a "Symbolist detective story" in which it is unclear whether Dariatskii has been murdered or not. The violence at the end is overheard and witnessed by unknown persons at night in the midst of dense shrubbery. In the 1922 edition as compared to those of 1909 and 1910, there is not even any mention of the hero's corpse (311). Perhaps he was able

to escape by fleeing or undergoing a resurrection of sorts. I would say that even if we were to accept Rice's interesting minority view of the conclusion, it does not change the fact that Dariafskii mistakenly thinks that his acceptance of murder will constitute a moral victory over the powers of darkness rather than a defeat exacted by the agents of sacrificial violence.

Furthermore, it does not matter if the narrator "understands" the events of the story because this question as traditionally posed asks only whether or not the narrator knows that there is another world of spirit behind the world of matter. Developing ideas raised earlier by V. F. Botanovskii in his review of the novel in 1911, Roger Keys writes, "The angle of vision [of *The Silver Dove*] is that of a skaz narrator "whose limited comprehension of character and event becomes more obvious with every word he utters" (Keys 1989: 102; cf. Keys 1992: 155). Nevertheless, the main issue, I feel, is not whether or not the narrator has pierced the veil to a higher realm unseen by the characters. The key question is whether or not the narrator understands the moral system of the violent sacrifice. To this question the answer is clearly no, since the final chapter, in which Dariafskii is murdered, is called "Liberation" ("Osvobodzhdenie") not "Defeat."

The elusiveness of the narrative voice contributes to the three different schools of interpretation of Dariafskii's sufferings at the end of the novel. The first set of critics finds a sense of hope, whether it be rooted in theosophy, existential thought, or lyricism. I feel that this group is closest to understanding Belyi's own perception of theme of his novel.

Maria Carlson describes *The Silver Dove* in theosophic terms: "The plot literally realizes the mystery drama of the Pilgrim-Soul who descends from his spiritual home into the 'labyrinth' of matter, becomes entangled there, but hears the 'Call' and awakens from the 'dream' of this life to return to the 'real' realm of spirit" (1993: 199). Dariafskii undergoes death, because the violent end of the god releases vital, creative forces" (Carlson 1987: 89).

Edith W. Clowes (1988), stressing the Nietzschean existential influence on Belyi's thought, believes that Dariafskii does "attain an independent moral consciousness, and one that goes beyond the conventional populist wisdom" (163). He comes to understand the *narod* in its "terrible stult and ignorance," and he realizes that he is doomed. For Stanevich, the "narrator perceives him as a Christ figure who nobly accepts and blesses his coming crucifixion." For Clowes, Dariafskii is a tragic figure because he is too weak to act on his knowledge (163). This lyricism is close to the optimism of the philosophical and existential readings.

Much earlier, in 1914, Vera Stanevich had read *The Silver Dove* as a novel in which there is some lyrical optimism, for Dariafskii's death constitutes "a return to a homeland of the soul, as it were, which was illusorily realized in the 'doves'" (Eisworth 1983: 82). The "irritations of redemptive sacrifice are not clear enough to be built into a consistent interpretation; they seem to express a hope, but no more" (1983: 82).

Opposing those critics who find at least some elements of redemption in the novel's final catastrophe are those who find Dariafskii doomed by his own lack of willpower, whether it be to resist paganism with Christianity, fulfill his function for the Doves, or explore the knowledge of the mystics. The theologian Nikolai Berdiaev's challenging review of the novel finds both Belyi and his stand-in Dariafskii overwhelmed by paganism masquerading as Christianity. He believes that Dariafskii is "unable to master the mystical element of Russia through the masculine principle of Logos; he is in the power of the feminine popular element, he is enticed by it and submits to it" (191). For Berdiaev, "Kudeliarov and Maieria are not mystical Christianity, they are mystical paganism, the element that comes before Christ, before Logos, before personality" (189). Berdiaev thinks of Dariafskii as being swallowed up by the feminine: "The element of mystical sectarianism is reactionary in relation to culture as well, since culture is bound up with universal Logos, with the victory of the light-bearing man over the feminine element" (189).

Samuel D. Cioran finds that Dariafskii also fails to live up to his potential, but for Berdiaev it would mean being even more swallowed up by the sinister Doves. For Cioran, Dariafskii

"undergoes an apocalypse of destruction and creation which is necessary not only for the resurrection of the spirit . . . but also for the entire regeneration of Western culture" (131). However, the hero is "too impotent to effect this pastoral apocalypse, for he could not give Maieria the long-awaited child" (132).

Closer to Berdiaev's view than to Cioran's is that of Thomas R. Beyer, who believes that Dariafskii's "failure to find proper inspiration is largely his own fault" (1976: 84). He did not undertake the investigation of the mystical literature suggested to him by Schmidt. So he is unable to flee from the dangers before him.

The third group of critics would censure Dariafskii less than the second group for his weakness, since they consider him to be overwhelmed by either a deterministic universe or the occult forces of evil. Vladimir E. Alexandrov suspects that for the Belyi of the *The Silver Dove* free will does not exist. The occultist, Schmidt, who is never undercut by the narrator, urges Dariafskii to reevaluate his relationship with the world but later comes to think that no effort on his friend's part can ward off fate. Dariafskii recognizes Maieria from a previous incarnation, and so it is unlikely that he has any free will in resisting her (86). Belyi even suggests that "thoughts actually reify matter, so that individuals become agents of transcendent forces that act through them to create aspects of the material world" (89). Thus by way of symbolism Belyi arrives at fatalism (92).

For John D. Eisworth, Dariafskii is a mortal trying in vain to escape from devils. He claims that it is abundantly clear that Dariafskii is "involved in a struggle with a real occult force, which stands behind the ostensible motivation of the novel's events in the relationship of a real cause to an apparent one." The hero has put himself in "the devil's power" and has even wished that he might perish if he should ever betray the Doves. Indeed, his wish comes true (1983: 79), for . . . in some sense he connives at his own death (1976: 386).<sup>3</sup>

Of the readings proposed above, those of the first group, the critics who stress Dariafskii's view of himself as a sacrificial figure, come closest to the authorial view that is implicit in the novel although not directly stated by the narrator. In addition, the detailed reading of the novel by Maria Carlson has the additional merit of linking Dariafskii's horoscope to the theosophical use of the Arcana and to Belyi's own horoscopes in Russian archives (70-71). Of course, my point is not that Belyi's views, theosophical or otherwise, are silly, wrong, excessively speculative, or historically quaint, but rather that they are mystifying in terms of the understanding of good and evil in the world.

Dariafskii's submission to the Doves is related to the world of natural process. Thought is unfortunately put aside. In the chapter "About What the Sunset Told Him" Dariafskii feels that autumn is revealing to him that it is time to acquiesce. He sees the night coming down, and he comes to sense that the forest "mutters its old tale, which is always the same: it is time for the forest to surrender its leaves" (387). From the deciduous natural world we turn to the spiritual world. Belyi writes:

Who, in such moments, has not experienced the soul's illumination, in him the soul has died, for all men--all men--have wept in these instants for their spent years, who has not watered the empty fields with a single tear, who has not watched the yellow gems revealing from the fields with the receding sun, who has never felt the touch of light fingers on his breast, the tenderly quivering lips pressed against his own--you must leave, run away from such a person, men and beasts, and you, grasses, wither if that rude tread brushes against your slender stems; on such nights it is right to weep and take pride in the submissive sobbing which has surrendered itself to the fields: those are blessed tears, in them crime is washed away, in them the unsheltered soul faces itself. (Belyi 1974: 387)

Dariafskii hears a wordless song coming to him, beckoning him to catch up with the evening sunset, and he responds by thinking, "I hear you, I am returning -- don't go away, wait for me

... " (387). In this symbolist universe Dariaiskii believes, and presumably Belyi hopes, that crime can be eradicated by the breaking down of the barrier that separates spirit and matter. However, by turning the murderous impulses of the Doves into the call of the forest, Belyi is actually taking the wrong way of connecting spirit and matter. He is not washing away any crime, he is simply abandoning reasoning and allowing the Doves to continue their vengeance without protest. Berdiaev's belief that Dariaiskii is being swallowed up by pagan thought masquerading for Christianity is close to the truth, but his insight is diminished by his insistence on connecting Logos with a masculine principle and the world of emotions with the mystique of the eternally feminine.

When Dariaiskii leaves Schmidt without being able to take precautions based on his friend's warning, he tries to make an existential transformation of all values by telling himself that he is freely accepting his death. All he has left is the desire to "turn his shameful behavior and destruction itself" into a trial (387). If Dariaiskii had not connected his passivity to his exaggerated sense of his own criminality, he would deserve more sympathy. In fact, criminality lies with the Doves not with Dariaiskii. He lets them off the moral hook.

As Maria Carlson (87) indicates, this existential drama is underlined by an iconography of the "heavy came with an ivory knob" that is associated both with Christ's cross and with Dionysus' wand for initiates, the thyrsus. For Belyi there is not that much difference between the pagan and the Christian because he thinks of Christianity as continuous with the Mediterranean mystery religions. He is influenced both by gnosticism (Carlson 86)—which may have developed its core beliefs by breaking away from the more central tradition of Christianity—and by the theosophy of Annie Besant's *Esoteric Christianity* (Carlson 87). By the time that Dariaiskii arrives at the train station, he has lost the bearings of day and night, entering a "city of shadows" where "everything was dim and as if draped in mourning" (Belyi 402). Finally Annushka the servant girl guides him on the last stage of his journey as he sheds the last trappings of this world.

Although his first impulse is to use his revolver, Dariaiskii decides to give in to his persecutors:

By shouting and inviting them to do their will upon him, he was, as it were, signing his own death warrant. "The key clicked in the lock, and they appeared. Until he had shouted, they were still debating whether to cross the fatal threshold. For they were men too; but now they had made their decision. (416)

After the eight Doves enter in order to kill him, Dariaiskii sees the face of one of them and thinks that this person is just frightened and not evil. This thought should be seen as a further indication of his moral disintegration rather than as a moment of illumination—albeit that the "recognition" takes place by the light of a candle. After being morally wounded with his own ivory-knobbed came, Dariaiskii is given what Belyi would consider a vision rather than a delirium: "Pet' lived a billion years in ether; he beheld all the splendor hidden from mortal eyes, and it was only after this that he blessedly returned, blessedly half-opened his eyes" (417).

Dariaiskii's visions parake of what René Girard would consider "false transcendence." In his books *Violence and the Sacred*, *Things Hidden Since the Foundation of the World*, *The Scapagoat*, and *Job, the Victim of His People*, Girard elaborates on how Christianity must be interpreted according to his lost and buried roots which expose the sinister processes by which groups consolidate social cohesion in times of trouble by turning innocent people into scapegoats, thus giving a criminal grounding for sacrifice in human violence. The death of the innocent Christ upon the cross in Girard's view exposes the way that the earlier Mediterranean religions had claimed that the scapegoat to be killed was the person chosen by the gods, one who should accept his death resignedly.

In *Things Hidden Since the Foundation of the World*, Girard writes of false transcendence:

The Passion reveals the scapegoat mechanism, i.e., that which should remain invisible if these forces are to maintain themselves. By revealing that mechanism and the surrounding mimeticism, the Gospels set in motion the only textual mechanism that can put an end to human imprisonment in the system of mythological representation based on the false transcendence of a victim who is made sacred because of the unanimous verdict of guilt. This transcendence is mentioned directly in the Gospels and the New Testament. It is even given many names, but the main one is Satan, who would not be considered simultaneously murderer from the beginning, father of lies, and prince of the world, were he not identified with the false transcendence of violence. (Girard *Things Hidden* 166 quoted in Webb 177)

Belyi's victim Dariaiskii, like the typical scapegoats, is made to seem sacred because he has come to misrepresent himself as a criminal deserving death. Belyi even uses the cross imagery to describe Dariaiskii's murder at the hands of a sinister cult that Schmidt feels has devilish powers. Here Belyi seems to follow the misconceived tradition of Roman Christianity continued by many versions of Protestantism. Eugene Webb notes that Girard did not specifically point out that Saint Anselm's *Cur Deus Homo* (1098) may be the most highly elaborated view of God as a violent being who forces his own son to die.

However, Belyi's novel, as its title indicates, also parakes of an Eastern Orthodox tradition that is less reprehensible than the perverted Christianity of the mainline Catholic tradition. According to Webb:

Generally speaking, where Latin Christianity has emphasized the idea of mankind's salvation through sacrificial atonement, the Eastern Christian tradition has interpreted the redemption of mankind as taking place through the Incarnation, with the implication that the crucifixion was not strictly necessary but was indeed a senseless murder. It is reverently commemorated because of who was killed (the God-man) and why (because of humanity's sinful rejection of him), but for the Eastern tradition what matters essentially is that in the Incarnation as such human nature was "healed" by its assumption into the divine life of the Son of God, which is offered to be "participated" in by all who are willing to receive it and the healing it brings. (Webb 180-81).

Webb, who draws from George P. Fedotov's *The Russian Religious Mind* (1960: 92-110) to supplement Girard, mentions how medieval Russians canonized holy sufferers such as Saint Boris. Would it be possible to see Dariaiskii as such an innocent saint-victim? The answer would be no, since Dariaiskii believes in his own guilt, which is prompted by his own failure to bring the new Incarnation of the Dove Savior into the world. In the novel's world the death of Christ has been in vain, and a new Savior is needed. It has not exposed the system of sacrificial violence by which such groups as the Doves operate.

In conclusion, I have written this essay not to make a polemical plea for Girard, although I do think he makes a good case for how Western Christianity has distorted the Crucifixion, but rather because I feel that when we place *The Silver Dove* in the context of the hotly debated theological notion of sacrifice, we find that the novel has an overlooked relevance. Once we examine the previous scholarly literature as a whole, we also see that *The Silver Dove* is a novel that forces us to take sides for or against Dariaiskii's understanding of his situation. The retreat to the private sphere in a period of political disappointment is one that will find resonance in the lives of both Russians and Americans for many years to come.

#### NOTES

1. The novel's first appearance was in the monthly *Vesy* (Seales), Nos. 3 (March), 4, 6, 7, 10, 11, and 12 (1909), and it is available in the Kraus reprint series for this journal. The first book edition appeared in 1910. The novel's text is the same and "In Place of a Foreword" is added as a preface. There were further editions in 1917 (Moscow: Pashukams) and 1922

(Berlin: Epokha). The 1917 edition printed only the first four chapters because of the revolutions and the death of Pashukanis (see Carlson 1987: 60), so the 1922 edition is considered the second edition.

The Wilhelm Fink Verlag has reprinted the 1922 edition of *Serebriani golub*, edited by Dmitrii Tschizewskij and with a preface by Anton Hömg (Munich, 1967, for the Slavische Popylän Series, No. 38). The 1922 edition has also been reprinted by Ardis (Ann Arbor, 1980).

There are variants among the editions. James Rice notes that Belyi did not reprint the preface to the 1910 edition, wherein "he states ambiguously that his hero Dar'jal'skij at last simply abandoned the sect" (311). The corpse of the hero disappears from the end of the novel in the 1922 edition, along with mentions of the ritual funeral procession led by a woman carrying the image of The Dove, and of the bright blood extended across the sky (311). English translator George Reavey (xii) has used the 1922 Epokha edition. Thomas R. Beyer, Jr. calls the translation "for the most part smooth and flowing and sometimes even brilliant," but marred by omissions and translation errors (441). The page missing from Reavey's translation has been translated by Gary Kern (1983: 12), and it is to be inserted at the paragraph break on p. 347. See also the review by Simon Karlin'sky (1974: 2).

2. Ada Steinberg notes that the "atmosphere of threat and tension" occurs not only in Belyi's novels but also in such contemporary musical works as Scriabin's *Prometheus* (1911), Stravinskij's *Rite of Spring* (1913), and Prokofiev's *Seythian Suite* (1914) (37).

3. Johannes Holtussen, in an article primarily concerned with narrative voice, also sees the hero as calling for his own death (341). For other discussions of *The Silver Dove* see Mochul'sky (1977), Barrat (1980), Kozlik (1981), and Skaza (1989).

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Belyi's Contributions to the Development of Russian Cinema

OLGA COOKE

Remember the scene in Petersburg in which the human myriopod ("mnogonozhka") of the city's inhabitants oozes in a ceaseless Gogolian flow of disembodied beards, moustaches and chins? What a feast for the cinematographer! If there were ever a novel that was composed on the principle of montage, it was Belyi's twentieth-century classic. In Yuri Tsviyan's book *Early Cinema in Russia and Its Cultural Reception* the author makes the point that, had Belyi's 1918 film scenario for Petersburg been shot, "it would certainly have been the first really avant-garde movie in film history" (154).

Tsviyan draws on impressions of Belyi's article of 1907, "Sinematograf," in order to uncover the Symbolists' role in Russian reception of cinema. While Belyi embraced the new medium as a fascinating and frightening new world exemplified by speed, instability and urban life, even occasionally as an emblem of occult forces, he also stressed the cinema as embodying "sobornost," whose meaning can be summed up in the following: "The cinema is a club. People come together here to undergo a moral experience, to travel to America, to learn about tobacco farming and the stupidity of policemen. Absolutely everyone comes here to meet their friends: aristocrats and democrats, soldiers, students, workers, schoolgirls, poets and prostitutes" (35).

Tsviyan tries to recreate the spectator's responses to the new medium then holding sway. While his contribution represents a history of film reception in Russia, it surprisingly offers as many as 26 pages strewn throughout the study on Belyi's important achievements. The film historian provides a perspective on the sort of questions Belyi was posing as he watched early films. These would be crucial to his development of future narrative devices. For example, Belyi and other Symbolists approached cinema as an unexpected prophecy, a preview of an apocalypse they all felt was imminent. For Belyi, the sudden explosions and transformations of the trick film genre (films in which characters exploded) so popular in cinema's first decade presented a "tangible image of the instability of existence, liable to explode suddenly in a puff of hand-colored smoke and dissolve into nothingness" (150). Tsviyan underlines Belyi's audacity as a lay cinematographer. Belyi was apparently fascinated with what then might have been considered defects in the film, such as breaks and celluloid rain; this, for Belyi, was the snuff of the new cinema. Because of the wear and tear on films, reels often broke, leaving the audience irritated. Belyi called this device of the break "figura obryva," first by addressing its compositional structure in Gogol's work, then applying the same device to his own film script.

In addition to the essay mentioned earlier, Belyi also wrote "The City," in which he described two films that exerted a great impact on him in their depiction of modern life. Referring to a film entitled *That Fatal Sneeze*, Belyi seized on the motif of sneezing as being synonymous with the end of the world: "Man is a cloud of smoke. He catches a cold, he sneezes and bursts; the smoke disperses... The cinematograph reigns in the city, reigns over the earth. In Moscow, Paris, New York, thousands of people come to see a man who sneezes - who sneezes and explodes. The cinematograph has crossed the borders of reality" (151). Tsviyan relates this motif with the bomb-ridden, gas-filled characters of Petersburg. The unstable, wavering, fluttering, and vibrating nature of the cinema was an apt symbol for the destruction of the world which Belyi grasped with aplomb.

Tsviyan concludes his study with a fascinating interpretation of Belyi's application of the revolving stage in his film script. In his instructions to the future film-maker, Belyi referred to characters "walking on the spot," creating the illusion of movement while revealing the "fallacy of motion" (212). The scene depicting Dudkin pursued by the Bronze Horseman is accompanied by instructions as to how Dudkin was to flee while running on the spot. The effect one is left with is particularly grotesque, as the statue becomes animated just as Dudkin seems incapable of flight. Clearly, Tsviyan valued Belyi's contributions to the cinematic aspects of narrative, for the final page of his long history records the patricidal plot and how it may

have been filmed. Here is how Belyi intended to shoot the scene in which the bomb explodes:

N.A. begins to bang frenziedly on the door to the 'unmentionable place' [the lavatory, where his father A.A. is trying to save himself from the son]; and, receiving no reply, hurls his bomb. [We see] the smoke of the explosion (the sound of the explosion can be heard too). When the smoke clears there is no corridor and no N.A. on the fence, where the picture still flickers; only the door leading to the 'unmentionable place' stands out clearly. The door is thrown open, and A.A., clad only in his underwear, his colourless eyes glittering like molten stones, leaps off the surface of the fence and lands right beside N.A., who is standing in front of the fence contemplating the misty images in his mind. The picture fades from the fence. (213)

### The Problem of Closure in Andrei Belyi's *The Silver Dove: The Impossibility of the Christian-Dionysian "Hero"*

KEILEY HOLLE

The final chapter of Andrei Belyi's *The Silver Dove* initially seems ambiguous: how is the reader finally to view the flogging to death of the novel's hero by the society of Doves? Is Darialskii's death a useful sacrifice or a senseless waste? Will anything come of his death? The problem of finding closure in Belyi's novel in part reveals something about the novel's major theme. It clearly shows the fallacy of the idea that anything fruitful would come of a journey to the East for the renewal of Russia because of the irreconcilability of the antinomic worlds of East and West into a single figure and a single view.

Considering that the attempt to synthesize these two worlds is the main concern of the *Silver Dove*, it is not, therefore, surprising that its hero Darialskii should be shown to embody both the Eastern and Western worlds. He represents simultaneously the dying god - here represented by Christ - and the tragic hero. These are two very different figures in terms of point of view and the implication of their deaths, but two figures who share a common heritage in ritual, as Nietzsche argues in *The Birth of Tragedy*.<sup>1</sup> Darialskii is the representative of the Christian or Dionysian scapegoat figure, while Oedipus is his counterpart in tragedy. His two roles are revealed in part through his relationships with other characters in the novel. His relation to Matrena is especially telling: she is a mother figure (as symbolized in her name) and a lover to Darialskii, reinforcing the Oedipal role, while she is also the wife of a carpenter and the potential "vessel" for the holy child, which points to Darialskii's Christian role. This simultaneous employment of the myth of the dying god and the pattern of the tragic hero is an attempt to synthesize the mythical nature of the East and the individualism of the West in "a struggle between the image of the ancient beast and that of a new human sanity" (Belyi, 134).

The East, represented by the peasant Doves, is throughout the novel linked to the cyclical turning of nature; their Christ is, therefore, seen merely as an example of the dying cereal god of the peoples of Egypt and Western Asia. These peoples represented the yearly decay and revival of life, especially vegetable life, in the form of a god who died and rose again from the dead. In the case of Russian Christianity, one can perhaps modify the old saying "Scrach a Russian, find a Tartar," to "Scrach a Russian faith, find a peasant faith." In primitive societies this yearly dying god ritual is performed for the stability of society; the scapegoat is sacrificed to ensure a good harvest. When Christianity entered these societies, the Christian myth was simply superimposed onto the existing pagan one. This persistence of pagan forms, or *dvoeverie*, is perhaps best illustrated by the common practice of placing icons on trees in order to worship simultaneously both the pagan tree-god and the Christian one.

*Dvoeverie* is also clearly evident in the correspondences between Christian holy days and the days of pagan festivals. The Christian holy day mentioned most frequently in *The Silver Dove* is Whitsun; it is on Whitsun that Abram and the carpenter decide that "a spiritual act was necessary, a great exploit: not until the spirit assumed a human likeness would people be granted joy, and animals and every heavenly joy be granted joy too" (Belyi, 59). Whitsun and Whit-Monday correspond to the day on the pagan calendar on which the "king of the wood," in Frazerian terms, is beheaded in effigy to symbolize the ritual sacrifice of the dying god. According to Frazer:

the custom of beheading the king is observed on Whit-Monday. A troop of young people disguise themselves; each is girt with a girdle of bark and carries a wooden sword and a trumpet of willow bark. The king wears a robe of tree bark adorned with flowers, on his head is a crown of bark decked with flowers and branches. (*The Golden Bough*, Abridged edition, 347)

This correspondence clearly shows that the Christ role Darialskii plays within the context of the Doves' mythology is purely that of the scapegoat (and never the more personalized, modern Jesus). Belyi also emphasizes this fact by having his hero wear a "green branch of the fir



wreath" (206). This fir wreath is reminiscent of Christ's crown of thorns and Dionysus's wreath of ivy, and it is also the traditional garb of the "king of the wood" from the Whitsun festival. The fir, being an evergreen tree, also represents the eternal life of these figures, and, therefore, parallels the mistletoe that hero figures traditionally take with them to overcome the underworld, or death. As Maria Carlson suggests, there is also a clear association of the Doves with this part of the dying god myth in the symbolism of the first name of the leader of the Dove sect Dmitrii Mironovich Kudeiariov. "Dmitrii," argues Carlson, "ties him to the realm of the Earth Mother, Demeter and to the pagan mysteries" (73). Demeter is, of course, the one who escorts the female dying god Persephone to Pluto's underworld.<sup>3</sup> According to Veronica Shapalov, the association of his last name *Kudeiariov* with Kudeiariov the Robber is also pertinent in establishing a tie with pagan traditions, since in "one of the most popular variants of the legend, the repentant Kudeiariov became a hermit, and in order to redeem himself for his crimes, he had to cut a huge oak tree with a knife" (597-98). The story of Kudeiariov the Robber suggests the performance of the Whitsun ritual, the beheading of the "king of the wood" who is also associated with the oak.

Because the dying god rituals focus on the welfare of society, i.e., they are told from the point of view of the collective and not the individual, it is a cyclical and static myth. The association of this sort of myth with the East is evident in the description that Belyi gives of Likhov: "theirs was the same way, the same preoccupation, the same business, the same life - and an endless eternal life" (58). The tragedy, however, is completely focused on the individual sacrifice and is thus linear in character and proper to the West. It is the nature of Belyi's symbolism to reap as much as possible out of Dariaiskii's association with the individualism of the West and never to fall into mere allegory, i.e., one-to-one correspondences. Dariaiskii is, therefore, a symbol for the Western hero in tragedy through his association with Oedipus, and he is also a symbol of the related hero of the quest romance or even the Theosophical pilgrim.<sup>4</sup> As mythologists such as Otto Rank, Joseph Campbell and Lord Raglan have demonstrated, the basic pattern of the tragic hero and that of the hero of romance is the same, and, as Carl Jung argues, this pattern is deeply related to the growth of the individual.<sup>5</sup> Belyi is, therefore, able to use all of these associations to deepen his use of Dariaiskii as a symbol of Western individualism and the Western hero.

Dariaiskii's embodiment of this hero pattern is very clear. Dariaiskii is an orphan, just as Oedipus believes himself at first to be, and he leaves his home to go into an unknown land. Dariaiskii's quest is to find the religion of the golden age in order to help renew dying Russia. He "dreamt that in the deeper layers of his native people there pulsed a native and as of yet unexhausted way of life - that of ancient Greece" (Belyi, 135). He goes to the East in search of this "Graft" and comes temporarily into a position of power, that of the chosen father of the new Messiah. He must fight a representative of evil and goes through a night-sea journey - or a "dark night of the soul." Here Maritona could even be viewed as a Circe figure, leading the hero to these depths. He then loses favor with his society, is driven from it, and meets a mysterious death like all other heroes before him. There are some similarities between the pattern of the hero and the myth of the dying god; however, the difference between these two - the thing that makes the one linear and the other circular in nature - is that the hero is human and, therefore, limited in time and abilities, while the dying god is timeless and ever-renewed. For this reason, Dariaiskii cannot follow out both of these patterns to their conclusions.

With the two worlds of symbolism working simultaneously in *The Silver Dove*, resolution into a single, unified closure of the novel's events becomes problematic. The point of view shifts continually from Dariaiskii to the Doves, not allowing for either the catharsis proper to the tragedy nor for the unified societal ritual. No true realization or transformation takes place in Dariaiskii. He asks, "O Lord, what is this, what is this... What for?" (Belyi, 417). According to S.H. Butcher in his essays on Aristotle's *Poetics*:

The tragic katharsis requires that suffering shall be exhibited in one of its comprehensive aspects; that the deeds and fortunes of the actors shall attach themselves to larger issues, and the spectator himself be lifted above the special case and brought face to face with universal law and the divine plan of the world. (271)

For Dariaiskii this murder comes abruptly and without reason, and his death cannot be attached to any "universal law." Thus the reader is not struck by horror or pity, but by confusion. This confusion is intensified by the ironic juxtaposing of Dariaiskii's "sacrifice," his death during which he felt he "lived a billion years in ether," and the "clack-clack-clack" of the cane (Belyi, 417). The constant shifting of view - the result of the attempt to maintain two systems of symbolism, one individual and the other collective - opens up the gap between the hero and the reader that allows for such ironies to be presented. When there is no room for irony of this sort there can be little real catharsis.

Neither can Dariaiskii's death be viewed in ritual terms, because by now the motivations of the society have become so muddled as to render absurd the idea that their killing of Dariaiskii is done for renewal. This is also partially achieved by the changing of point of view, since through Dariaiskii's eyes the reader can properly view the Doves from the point of view of an outsider and victim. It is clear that no rebirth will come of this "hanged man" that the Doves have buried in the Orchard. One is reminded of the section of T.S. Eliot's *The Waste Land* where the speaker asks: "That corpse you planned last year, / Has it begun to sprout?" and the implied answer is "No" (39). Because one of these - either a catharsis or true ritual - is needed by the reader to deal appropriately with the patterns set up by Belyi's massive system of symbolism, no sense of a comfortable closure of the events of the novel is reached.

The reader is presented with two groups, each trying to use the other to bring about the renewal of Russia; Dariaiskii looks for the religion of the Greeks in the East, and the Doves look to Dariaiskii to bring about the coming of the Messiah, neither allowing for any sort of synthesis. This lack of synthesis fails to close the novel in terms of action, but decisively closes the message, or moral, of the novel concerning the possibility of the merging of East and West to bring about renewal in Russia. Any true sense of comfortable closure would betray Belyi's ideological reason for writing *The Silver Dove*: to show that going to the East in search of remnants of some golden age or of ancient mysteries - Dariaiskii's ancient Greece - is doomed to failure. He shows that the "ancient beast" of the East, the "evil eye," will continue to strike down the "structure" of the West (Belyi, 134-35). In a way, the East strikes down Dariaiskii before he has a chance to live out the pattern of the hero to its conclusion, and the confusion and absurdity that characterize the last chapter of the novel shows the irrational East having conquered "human sanity" (Belyi, 134). Like his contemporary (and fellow Theosophist) W.B. Yeats, Belyi seems to be prophesying the coming of a new, irrational, Dionysian age - the "beast" that "Stonches toward Bethlehem to be born" - that follows a structured, Apollonic one (185).<sup>6</sup>

In *The Silver Dove* Belyi abandons a satisfying closure of the novel's events in order to "close" the novel on another level. The reader must take into account the ironies present in Dariaiskii's death, the fact that closure of either of the patterns of symbolism set up through the novel has been aborted, and the confusion and irrationality that reign at the end. *The Silver Dove* is written almost as an experiment to test the plausibility of the idea of synthesizing East and West, and the reader as observer must take the results given by Belyi in the last chapter to form of them a suitable conclusion.

#### NOTES

<sup>1</sup> "The tradition is undisputed," argues Nietzsche, "that Greek tragedy in its earliest form had for its sole theme the sufferings of Dionysus" (73). See also Francis Macdonald Cornford, *The Origins of Aitlic Comedy* (Cambridge: CUP, 1914); Jane Harrison, *Themis: A Study of the Social Origins of Greek Religions* (Cambridge: CUP, 1912). For an argument for the relationship between the dying god myth and the hero of the romance, see Jesse L. Weston, *From Ritual to Romance* (Princeton: Princeton UP, 1993).

<sup>2</sup> This is the major theme explored by Frazer in *The Golden Bough*.

<sup>3</sup> The first part of Demeter's name is itself derived from the Cretan word *deai*, or barley, and thus signifies "Barley-mother" (Frazer, *Abridged GB*, 463).

<sup>4</sup> For an analysis of the Theosophical symbolism of *The Silver Dove* and Dariaiskii's embodiment of the Theosophical pilgrim, see Carlson, 77-90.

<sup>5</sup> Despite their differences in opinion as to what the cycle represents - Rank's work is essentially Freudian, Campbell's Jungian, and Raglan's following in the myth-trialist tradition - these three do agree upon the existence of a basic hero pattern that applies to tragic as well as romantic heroes. See Rank 57; Raglan 138; Campbell 58. For a concise Jungian account of the connection between the hero pattern and the development of the individual consciousness, see Eric Neumann, *The Origins and History of Consciousness*, trans. R.F.C. Hull, Bollingen Series 42 (Princeton: Princeton UP, 1954).

<sup>6</sup> For a discussion of the origins of Belyi's conception of the West as structure versus the east as energy in anthropology and Nietzsche, see Elsworth, 42-45. For an evaluation of Belyi's conception of the Dionysian, see Clowes, 152-164.

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### One More Note on Glossolalia

THOMAS BEYER, JR.

In my recent article on "Andrei Belyi's Glossolalia: A Berlin Glossolalia," *Europa Orientalis* 14 (1995), 2, 7-25, I discuss the confusion surrounding the title of the work as follows:

Even before examining this voluminous material it is legitimate to ask, to what extent is Belyi's work "glossolalia" at all. The title of the 1922 version is ГЛОССОЛОГИЯ. In Belyi's article "Aron's staff" (Жезл Арона) the word appears as ГЛОССОЛОГИЯ (1917: 212), as it does in an excerpt of the work printed in *Drakon* in 1921. Klavdija Nikolaevna Bugaveva and A. Petrovskij also identify the text as ГЛОССОЛОГИЯ, pointing out that the spelling ГЛОССОЛОГИЯ is a misprint. [p. 16]

In a footnote [No. 13] I attempted to summarize the position of key contributors to that confusion:

Vera Lourie in the title of her review spells it ГЛОССОЛОГИЯ. Bobrov and Cackij use ГЛОССОЛОГИЯ. Some scholars have followed the reasoning of Bugaveva and Petrovskij and, like John Elsworth, routinely correct the title; others preserve the original spelling, mindful of the distinction.

On purely etymological grounds it should be: Glossolalia: glossolalia. Also in Anglicized form glossolaly [cf. Gr. γλῶσσο - GLOSSO - [Tongue] + λαλία - speaking]. The faculty or practice of speaking with 'tongues' (Oxford English Dictionary, VI, 593).

While there are enough inaccuracies in Belyi's poorly edited text to support the "misspelling" or "typographical error" theory, there are alternatives. It could be an error in Belyi's hearing or memory that exchanges -ЛОГИЯ for -РАГИЯ. If the word is stressed on the initial syllable, the reduction of unaccented vowels in Russian results in identical pronunciation of -ЛОГИЯ and -ОРАГИЯ. Tschizewskij has a curious footnote: "In meinen Händen befand sich vor Jahren ein Exemplar, auf dessen Umschlag der Titel 'Glossolalija' heißt. Der Name stammt von gr. 'glossa' oder 'glotta' - die Sprache" (1971: v). Note the root form glossa, typically found in Russian words.

It is also possible that Belyi was misreading -ЛОГИЯ for -ЛОГИЯ. The typographical distinction between Russian Г and П is not that great, and Belyi uses the word ГЛОССОЛОГИЯ (1917: 172). Miller uses the word "glotology" or "glossology" in his essays to designate "the science of language" (1866: 4). The word "glossology" in English comes from "glosso" + Gr. λῶγία "logia" - discourse]. The study of a language or languages. (=Glottology)" (Oxford English Dictionary, VI, 593-594). While the prevailing assumption is that Belyi's intention was to name his work Glossolalia (Zungensreden, as the Deutsche Bucherei notes in its card catalogue), I have retained the spelling of "Glossolalia," perhaps one of Belyi's many neologisms.

Recently I received a note from Taja Gut who has been working on a book about Belyi and who carefully examined materials found in the Rudolf Steiner Archives in Dornach, Switzerland. With his permission I quote:

Zürich, 2. VI. 96

Dear Tom,  
Concerning the title of Belyi's GLOSSOLALIA (the question of its misprint, as you discuss it in footnote 13 of your article in *Europa Orientalis*), it might be of interest for you to hear that there is a copy of the book, dedicated and sent by Belyi to Marie Steiner, in the archive of Rudolf Steiner Nachlassverwaltung in Dornach, as I recently discovered. Belyi there corrected the title by hand... (Letter of Taja Gut to author)

On the enclosed copies it is clear that the corrections to the letters "o" and "a" made by hand to the title page and the Introduction match the handwriting of the inscription to Мариин Яковлевна Штейнер signed by Андрей Белый and dated Берлин 5. Декабря. 22 года.

Thus it would seem that Belyi himself was already aware of the misprint shortly after the publication of the work in the fall of 1922, and that his intention was to entitle his work ГЛОССОЛАГИЯ. I am grateful to Taja Gut for his careful reading of my article and for pointing out this new information. Likewise I am indebted to him for copies of the page containing those corrections and the dedication. They are reprinted here with the kind permission of the Rudolf Steiner Nachlassverwaltung.

Still one might wonder what was in Belyi's mind, and in that of Sergei Zalshtupin, the cover illustrator, when they boldly proclaimed this work in 1922 as ГЛОССОЛАГИЯ.

### News From the Front

Oleg Cooke (Texas A&M University) reports that the proceedings from the 1993 Belyi conference in Moscow have gone through review and are ready to be published at the Gorkii Institute; what remains is the money.

Peter Christensen (University of Wisconsin-Milwaukee) is examining the theme of sacrifice in Belyi's works.

Vladimir Alexandrov (Yale University) continues to work on theories of the limits of interpretation.

Taja Gut (Switzerland) informs us that his huge Belyi reader, album, bibliography etc. is now in print. See Julian Grafy's Bibliography below.

John Malmslad (Harvard University) has moved on after completing his editing of the correspondence of Belyi and Ivanov-Razumnik to other Belyi-related projects, including one on "Rakurs dnevnika."

Pamela Davidson (SSEES, UK) is researching a major monograph on the history of religion in Russian culture

Peter Barta (Surrey University, UK) is editing a book on "Metamorphosis in Russian Literature" which will include chapters on the modernist period.

Stephen Hutchings (Surrey University, UK) is working on a monograph provisionally entitled: "The Word as Image: Russian Literature and the Modern Visual Media."

## Andrei Belyi: A Bibliography 1995-1998

JULIAN GRAFFY

(Some materials from 1995 were included in the last bibliography. Some materials from before 1995 have only recently come to my notice and are included here.)

### I. Primary Material: Recent Publications and Reprints

Andrei Belyi o Bloke. *Vospominaniia*. Stat' 1. Dnevnik. Rech', introduced, compiled, text preparation and notes by A. V. Lavrov, Moscow, Avtograf, 1997, 608 pp. [This volume contains the following sections: introductory essay "Romanika pomnoveniia," Andrei Belyi o Bloke, pp. 8-22; 'Vospominaniia o Bloke,' pp. 23-428; Stat' 1 [A Blok, 1916; Nekrolog, Pis'mo v redaktsiiu], pp. 429-46; 'Dnevnik,' pp. 447-74; Rech' [Vysupleniia na LXXXIII otkrytom zasedanii Vol'noi Filiosotskoi assotsiatsii, Petrograd, 28 avgusta 1921 g. and Rech' na vechere pamiat' Bloka v Politehnicheskom muzee, Moskva, 26 sentabريا 1921 g.], pp. 475-512; Kommentarii, pp. 513-85; Ukazatel' imen, pp. 585-606]

Andrei Belyi. Symbolismus. Anthroposophie. Ein Weg. Texte - Bilder - Daten, edited, introduced, and with notes and a bibliography by Taja Gut, Dornach, Switzerland, Rudolf Steiner Verlag, 1997, 363 pp. [This beautifully produced and lavishly illustrated book contains the following main sections: introduction by Taja Gut, Die Narrenkome der Einweihung, pp. 9-26; Briefe und Texte, pp. 29-169 (32 items, mainly Belyi's letters); Eine Biografie in Bildern, pp. 171-205; Dokumente zur Biografie, pp. 209-227 (9 items); Andrei Belyi's Leben und Werk. Eine Chronologie, pp. 228-54 (here the work of A. V. Lavrov is acknowledged); Bibliografie, pp. 255-300, of which the main section is a chronological bibliography of primary publications 1897-1996; notes, pp. 301-40; an annotated index of names, pp. 341-361; and a list of sources for the illustrations, p. 363

'Apokalipsis v russkoi poezii,' in Aleksandr Blok, *Sobranie sochinenii v dvenadtsati tomakh*, volume 1, *Silkihi o prekaznoi dame*, Siltkhovoreniia. Kniga pervaiia (1898-1904), ed. and notes V. N. Bystrov, Moscow, Litera, 1995, pp. 341-57, notes, p. 562 [first in *Vesy*, 1905, 4, pp. 11-28]; 'V zashchitu ot odnogo narekaniia. Otkrytoe pis'mo Valeriiu Brinsovu,' *ibid.*, pp. 359-62, notes p. 562 [first in *Vesy*, 1905, 6, pp. 41-42]

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Kubok meletei. Roman i dovesti-simfonii. Moscow, Terra, 1997, 768 pp. [contains, as introduction, Margarita Morozova, 'Andrei Belyi,' pp. 5-24; the four symphonies, pp. 25-448; *Sebzhanii golub*, pp. 449-748; and, as *Prilozheniia*, B. s. 'Kak my pishem' [1930], pp. 749-61 and 'O sebe kak pisatele' [1933], pp. 761-67]

Moskva. Drama v piati deistviiakh, introduction, pp. 3-35, notes, pp. 152-62, T. Nikolescu, Rossiiskaia Akademiia nauk, Institut mirovoi literatury imeni A.M. Gor'kogo, Moscow, Nasledie, 1997, 164 pp.

'O religioznykh perezhivaniakh' [1903], introduction, pp. 4-6, publication and notes by A. V. Lavrov, *Literaturnoe obozrenie*, 1995, 4-5, pp. 4-9 [first complete publication from the autograph copy held in the Blok archive IRLI, f. 654, op. 3, ed. khr. 70]

'Osnovy moego mirovozreniia' [1922], introduction, pp. 10-12, publication and notes, pp. 36-37 by L.A. Suga, *Literaturnoe obozrenie*, 1995, 4-5, pp. 10-37 [RGALI, F. 53, ed. khr. 69]

'Plan lektsii Andreia Belogo o Bloke' [1923] [see Magomedova in section IV]

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'Simvolicheski teatr. Po povodu gastrolei Komissarzhevskoi,' *Meitkhoid v russkoi teatral'noi kritike*, comp. and notes N. V. Pesochinski, E. A. Kukha and N. A. Tarshis, Moscow, Artist. Rezhisser. Teatr, 1997, pp. 135-42, 444-45 [first in *Uho Rossii*, 28 September 1997]

'Sinematograf,' with afterword by V. Vishnevskii, *Kinovedcheskie zapiski*, 28, 1995, pp. 102-06 [first in *Vesy*, 1907, 7, pp. 50-53]

*Sobranie sochinenii*. *Vospominaniia o Bloke*, introd., 'O Bloke, o vremeni i - o sebe', pp. 5-15, and notes, pp. 439-508, by S. I. Piskunova, Moscow, Respublika, 1995, 510 pp. [and see Nekhnin in section IV]

*Sobranie stikhovoreniia* 1914, edition prepared by A. V. Lavrov, resp. ed. N. A. Bogomolov, appendix, "'Sobranie stikhovoreniia" - kniga iz arkhiva Andreia Belogo,' pp. 313-45 and notes, pp. 346-439, by A. V. Lavrov, alphabetical list of poems pp. 440-47, *Literaturnye pamiatniki*, Moscow, Nauka, 1997, 458 pp

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There are three unpublished poems by B., 'Polina,' 'Starinnyi dom' and 'Nenast'e' in N. Bogomolov, 'Neizdannnye stikhovoreniia Andrei Belogo,' *Novoe literaturnoe obozrenie*, 18, 1996, pp. 218-21

"'Kharakteristika sovremennikov'," Andreia Belogo, publ. introd. and notes by A. V. Lavrov, *Novoe literaturnoe obozrenie*, 24, 1997, pp. 256-59 [On Sologub, Bal'mont, Brinsov, Merezhkovskii, Vlachoslav Ivanov, Boris Zaitsev and Vladimir Iudin. Source is given as the archive of V. A. Desnitskii, Otdel rukopisei RGB, fond 439, kart. 25, ed. khr. 16. Compare with the publication by M. Mironova, *Australian Slavonic and East European Studies*, 7, 1993, 1, pp. 18-23, ABSN, 12, p. 86]

There are 39 dedications by B. from the Russkaia gosudarstvennaia biblioteka in *Avtografy poetov serednianoogo veka*. *Darstvennye nadpisi na knigakh*, resp. ed. E. I. Iatsunok, Moscow, Kniga, 1995, pp. 81-115. Nineteen of them are reproduced in facsimile. The volume also includes four dedications to B., from Bal'mont, pp. 52-53; from Brinsov, p. 177; from Gorodetskii, p. 251; and from Khodassevich, pp. 440-41

'Al'bomy iz arkhiva S. M. Alianskogo', *Shakhatmatovskii vestnik*, 6, 1996, K. 75-letiu so dnia smerti A. A. Bloka (1921-1996). Iz fondov muzeia-zapovednika A. A. Bloka. Katalog Vypusk 1. Shakhatmatovo. Gosudarstvennyi istoriko-literaturnyi i prirodnyi muzei-zapovednik A. A. Bloka, 1996, pp. 44-71 contains entries and two drawings by B., pp. 47-49

'Knigi s darstvennymi nadpisiarni. Iz arkhiva S. M. Alianskogo,' *ibid.*, pp. 72-87, contains a subsection, 'Knigi s darstvennymi nadpisiarni Andreia Belogo,' pp. 79-81 [see also Illustrations of documents pp. 130, 138, 141]

### II. Translations

#### III. Letters

There are four letters to M. Ia. Sivers and one to Rudolf Steiner in Spivak, M. I., 'Andrei Belyi - Rudolf f. Sheiner - Maria Sivers' [see section IV, below]

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There is a letter of 29.10.1927 to S.V. Shuvalov in P.N. Zaitsev, 'Andrei Belyi i "Nikitskie subbotniki"', publ. V.P. Abramov [see section IV, below], pp. 127-28

There are letters to E.F. Nikitina of 29.3.1927 and 18.4.1928, publ. D.M. Fel'dman, in D.M. Fel'dman, *Posleslovie*, pp. 128-34 to P.N. Zaitsev, 'Andrei Belyi i "Nikitskie subbotniki"' [see section IV, below], pp. 130-31 and 133-34 [the sources are given as GLM, f. 135, op. 2, d.133, l. 1-6 and 7-10]

'Neizvestnoe pis'mo A. Belogo', introd., publ. and notes T.O. Serova, *Serebrianyi vek russkoi literatury. Problemy, dokumenty*, Moscow, Izdatel'stvo Moskovskogo universiteta, 1996, pp. 100-06 [letter of Belyi, and letter of Asia Turgeneva to Natal'ia Alekseevna Turgeneva of October 1912]

There is a letter to B. from A.A. Shreider of 1 September 1921 in Leon'tev, Ia. V. 'K istorii vzaimnooshennii levogo narodnichestva i <Skifov>', [see section IV, below], pp. 468-69 [the source is given as RGALI, F. 53, Op. 1, Ed. khr. 294, L.1, 2]

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There is a special edition of *Literaturnoe obozrenie*, entitled *Andrei Belyi. Zhizn'. Miroponimanie. Poetika*, issue 1995, 4-5, compiled by M.L. Spivak and L. F. Katsis, 200 pp. Individual entries are included in the various sections of this bibliography

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