

On March 31, the body was transferred to the Orthodox Church attached to the cemetery in Tegel, and on the next day, April 1, Nabokov was buried.

The March 31 meeting of the House of the Arts found the group in another location, the Nollendorf Casino on Kleiststraße 41. A curious argument developed between A. Belyj and Aleksej Tolstoj, which was reported in the new Russian language daily paper, *Накануне*:

Между А. Н. Толстым и Андреем Белым разгорелся частный спор, который так воспламенил последнего, что он вскопчил с места, и, обращаясь уже ко всей аудитории, быстро собрал вокруг себя "род веча" . . . Спор на модную тему - о "Смене вех", о "Накануне", против которых А. Белый ополчился с горячностью, не соответствующей его обычному спокойствию в частной беседе. (No. 7, April 2, 1922, p. 5).

The tongue-in-cheek description of Belyj notwithstanding, this was an issue of great concern to many and one which would seriously divide the emigre community in Berlin. The Bolshevik newspaper *Новый Мир* would announce in the April 5 issue that it was ceasing publication with the April 5, 1922 issue,⁵⁴ and *Накануне* had begun just a few days previously. There was widespread belief that the paper was sponsored by and controlled from Soviet Russia. Struve writes of the group and notes that while the established parties were quick to denounce this idealized view of Bolshevism, the movement nevertheless succeeded in attracting a number of followers and in some ways served as an intermediary stage on the road back to Russia.⁵⁵ Aleksej Tolstoj would become the literary editor of the newspaper and many found it difficult to reconcile the one time "Count" with his newfound political views. Tolstoj would become a figure of considerable controversy over the next few months, and Belyj would be unable to avoid taking a stand. There was also the arrest in Russia reported in March of the Social Revolutionaries, which would further divide the Berlin community.⁵⁶

⁵⁴ The demise of *Novyj Mir* caused few tears at *Golos Rossii* which reported in its article: "Končina 'Novogo Mira'", that: "This is simply a renaming and a change of clothes. 'Novyj Mir' is dying, so that its heir can be immediately born in its own successor - 'Nakanune'" (Nr. 935, Apr. 6, 1922, p. 2).

⁵⁵ ГЛЕБ СТРУВЕ, *Russkaja literatura v izgnanii*, NY 1965, pp. 30-35.

⁵⁶ S. SUMSKIJ, *O literaturnyx npravax*. In: *Golos Rossii*, 932, Apr 2, 1921, p. 7.

April was a troubled month for Belyj. On April 5 he spoke at a meeting of "Vol'fila" in the Flora Diele on the subject "Индивидуализм и коллективизм" (*GR*, 934, April 5, p. 4).⁵⁷ He again participated fully in the meetings of the House of the Arts. On April 7 at the House, Tolstoj, Vengerov and Belyj were supposed to speak about the theater. Instead, Belyj delivered an impromptu explanation on Eurythmy (the basis of his idiosyncratic "Глоссолалия" based on Rudolph Steiner's teachings) (*Nakanune*, 13, Apr. 9, 1922, p. 4). Another meeting was held on April 14. Belyj was listed as the moderator for the April 15 meeting of "Vol'fila" (*GR*, 942, Apr. 14, 1922, p. 6). But at a public lecture by Minskij on April 24, Belyj who had been announced as one of the discussants did not appear (*Rul'*, 438, Apr. 26, 1922, p. 5). On April 28, he did show up at the House to attack the journal *Вещь*. The first issue (March-April, I-II) was an attempt to expand the cultural horizons of Russians. The title page is in three languages, German, French and Russian. Edited by I. Erenburg and E. Lisitckij, the journal was defended at the meeting by both. *Nakanune* in its customary fashion reported:

Во время прений выяснилась любопытная подробность: А. Белый, громивший "Вещь" со всех точек зрения, увидевший в ней даже "личинку Антихриста", - признался в конце концов, что самой "Вещи" он никогда не читал и даже не видел. Публика, по обыкновению, смеялась.⁵⁸

If Belyj was still comical at this point in time, he would soon become pathetic. Earlier in the month he had signed an introduction to *Московский Альманах* (April 6, 1922). The collection published by Ogon'ki contained a number of works brought from Moscow by Pil'ňak plus works by Belyj and Remizov (both who had been former "Moscow" writers). In his introduction to this collection of writers in one volume Belyj writes:

Встреча авторов под покровом одной, их сплетающей, книги, должна не случайно быть . . . В самом деле: книга, в которой

Sumskij questions Tolstoj's alignment with *Nakanune* especially given the upcoming trial of the SR's.

⁵⁷ This theme of "Individualism and collectivism" had appeared in Belyj's article "O duxe Rossii i o 'dux'e' v Rossii."

⁵⁸ *Nakanune*, 29, April 30, 1922, p. 5.

мы встретились, сложилась — сама собой; и в ней оказались мы, не размышляя о том, почему именно в ней те, а не иные.⁵⁹

Belyj's own contribution, a part of "Записки чудака" had been dated February 20, 1922, just days after Pilnjak's arrival when there had been no question about his participation. By April he felt called upon to justify his own presence alongside Soviet writers. Harmony was similarly absent in Belyj's own personal situation in April. Still publishing prolifically he prints excerpts from "Из воспоминаний об А. А. Блоке", with a footnote citing the permission from Gelikon to publish from his book on Blok (*GR*, 934, Apr. 5, 1922, pp. 2-3). The appearance of "Сирин ученого варварства", Berlin: Skify, 1922, a reply to Vjačeslav Ivanov's "Всемирное и родное", caused Belyj to apologize for his failure to check the proofs of the work written in 1918. In Belyj's words: "Понятно, что в начале 1918 года можно было иметь романтическое отношение к событиям в России... Мне отчаянно грустно, что, забыв содержание перепечатаваемой статьи, я не провел ее сквозь собственную цензуру."⁶⁰ Unfortunately the issue did not end here. Five days later Belyj publishes an article "Du gleichst dem Geist den du begreifst" (*GR*, 954, Apr. 30, 1922, pp. 1-2) which in spite of the title was a reply in Russian to an attack on him and the publishing house Skify in a *Nakatime* article "Самоугрыжение" of April 28, 1922.

Belyj's inner peace was also shattered by the departure of Asja. Their conversation had made clear that Belyj's hope of a reconciliation were unrealistic. "Налли я видел недавно; она — изменилась; худая — и бледная. Мы посмиживали с ней в кафе; раза два говорили о прошлом, но мало: ей нег уже времени разговаривать о пустяках: 'Прощай!'" (Записки чудака, p. 232). The break-up was described prosaically, with uncharacteristic understatement by Belyj, but the reality, unembellished in prose was cruel, painful and physically and psychologically almost disabling.⁶¹

⁵⁹ ANDREJ BELYJ, "Vstuplenie" in *Al'mataz*, Berlin 1922.

⁶⁰ ANDREJ BELYJ, "Pis'mo v redakciju" in *Golos Rossi*, 949, Apr. 25, 1922, p. 2.

⁶¹ L. Dolgorolov, "V poiskax samogo sebja". *IAN*, 39, 6, 1980, p. 510 writes: "she simply dropped him, began appearing with another man, demonstratively, she turned away from Belyj before his eyes, just as Ljubov' Dmitrievna had previously done." Note: Dolgorolov errs, however, when he dates this break as 1921. Kusikov did not arrive in Berlin until February 1922. It is difficult to establish

May and June of 1922 are marked by an attempt at imposing solitude. Belyj moves to Zossen around May 5, a village to the south of Berlin.

Целый ряд месяцев прожил я в буржуазнейшем квартале Берлина; к весне я почувствовал, что более я не могу выносить этой жизни, . . . Я бежал из Берлина и поселился в предместьи сонного городышки Цоссена, сняв себе комнату в бедном домике, населенном наборщиками цоссеновской типографии. ("Одна из обителей", p. 63).⁶²

In a letter to Jaščenko Belyj complains that he is suffering from a case of frayed nerves and has moved because of his doctor's orders: quoting his physician he writes "Если бы не почувствуете хотя бы на 3 месяца себя свободным от всех обязательств, то вы умрете: нельзя жить в такой нравственной загроможденности."⁶³ In his own words, he was working twenty hours a day.

All of this came against a background of increased nervousness in the Russian community in Berlin. Intolerance would grow as Soviet

the exact chronology, but for a brief period Asja was seen in the company of the poet Aleksandr Kusikov. Cvetaeva recalls that Belyj had seen Asja and Kusikov in a cafe in June 1922. Asja would feel compelled to explain: "Dear Borja, from time to time rumors reach me, that I have married for second time. I don't know what you could think and say about my behavior for the outside world . . . For you I personally repeat that besides the fact that I had no desire to marry, I could unite my life only with a man, with whom I was connected by mutual interests and mutual aspirations. In any case, anyone who saw me together with K[usikov] could not have concluded that from my behavior." The letter was published by NINA BERBEROVA in "Kursiv moj", München 1972, p. 188. For acquaintances of Belyj their actions were tasteless. Professor Georges Nivat noted that Kusikov, who considered himself a ladies' man recalled later in life his brief affair with Asja Turgeneva with fond memories. Nivat recalls that at one time Kusikov received some of the letters which Belyj had sent to Asja.

⁶² ALEKSANDR BAKHRAK, p. 300, recalls: "I visited Belyj several times in Zossen and only recall that the trip there was very difficult, that from the architectural passage of the town came the smells of melancholy and barracks life (it was not for nothing that during the war some important headquarters was located there and that the house in which Belyj lived lay on a wide highway, across from a spacious cemetery. But I also recall that there in isolation, no one to disturb him, he could write almost a printer's page per day." Johannes Holt-husen mentioned to me that it was the Oberkommando des Heeres and apparently avoided detection until March 1945.

⁶³ L. FLEJŠMAN ET ALII, *Russkij Berlin 1921-1923*, Paris 1983, p. 222. The letter also gives Belyj's Zossen address as Stubenrauchstraße 68 bei Lai.

Russia began to exercise its rights under the Treaty of Rapallo. At the end of May A. Tolstoj would be expelled from the Berlin Union of Russian Writers and Journalists. There was a June 1 deadline for Russians to apply for Soviet passports or find their citizenship revoked. In June the trial of the Social Revolutionaries began; Rathenau was assassinated and the printers in Berlin went on strike.

Still, Zossen was within commuting distance of Berlin, and Belyj had several occasions to visit the city. On May 10, he attended a closed meeting of Vol'fila to discuss "Мир искусств". A similar meeting was scheduled for a week on May 17 later on the same topic. Esenin arrived in May in one of the first regularly scheduled flights between Moscow and Berlin and with Isadora Duncan caused a mild scandal at the May 12 meeting of the House of the Arts when they demanded that all join in a rendition of the International. Capitalizing on Esenin's arrival in Berlin in May, Skify reprinted "Россия и Июния" (Belyj's "Христов воскрес" and Esenin's "Товарищ Июния" with an introductory article by Ivanov-Razumnik first published in 1920).⁶⁴

The most important event of the month was the encounter on May 16 at the Prager Diele with Marina Cvetaeva. Cvetaeva and her daughter, Ariadna Efron, had arrived in Berlin the previous day (May 15) and taken up residence in the Prager Pension where Erenburg and his wife lived. Here on Pragerplatz was the famous Stammtisch of Il'ja Erenburg, who had been helpful in establishing contact with Cvetaeva's husband, Sergej Efron, and instrumental in publishing her "Разлука" with Gelikon.⁶⁵ It was at the Prager Diele that Belyj would meet Marina. It was not their first encounter:

⁶⁴ Without Belyj's participation Vol'fila will gradually drop from sight. Skify, the publishing house closest to it, had only published "Sirin učenogo varstava" by Belyj. There was also a curious note that a new philosophical society "The Free Philosophical Cooperative (Свободное Философское Сотрудничество)" had been founded as a counterweight to Vol'fila and Lev Sestov had been chosen honorary president on April 22. (See *Golos Rossi*, 954, Apr. 30, 1922, p. 8). Also known as "Zwovierson" the society "Accepts as members all those who are searching and those who have found something, whether physical or spiritual, in things or in ideas, is irrelevant." Baxrax in a letter to me indicated this was probably another practical joke of Remizov's.

⁶⁵ Il'ja Erenburg has recalled the Berlin period in his own memoirs "Ljudi, gody, žizn'", III, in *Sobranie sočinenij*, 8, Moscow 1966, pp. 399-433.

Marina had seen Belyj as a schoolgirl when he was already an established literary figure. There was also a curious connection between Marina and Asja Turgeneva, for whose affection she and Belyj somehow competed. But for Marina, the first real encounter with Belyj was the Berlin one. At the Prager Diele she recalls their first conversation in which Belyj eagerly grasped at the straws which connected their lives, not only the earlier meetings but the fact that both were offspring of professors, Professor Cvetaev and Professor Bugaev. That same evening, Belyj was given a copy of "Разлука", Cvetaeva's slim volume of verse dedicated to her husband, whom she had not seen since 1916. Cvetaeva's separation from her beloved seemed amazingly similar to Belyj's own separation from Asja. The coincidental in Belyj's life had almost supernatural significance for him. Hadn't he and Asja experienced identical dreams and curious encounters in 1912 which drove them both to seek out Rudolph Steiner? Could this be the beginning of a new life?

We do know that "Разлука" had a profound effect on Belyj. He read the book that very evening and immediately dashed off a letter to Cvetaeva "Позвольте мне высказать глубокое восхищение перед совершенно крылатой мелодией Вашей книги 'Разлука'."⁶⁶

Marina replied and Belyj answered with both a letter and a review article "Поэтесса-певица" in *Golos Rossi* on May 21 (No. 971, pp. 7-8).⁶⁷ Belyj was also probably at the May 19 meeting of the House of the Arts at which Cvetaeva read. Soon thereafter, Belyj, in a burst of poetic inspiration, writes several new poems. His diary for May has the following entry: "овладевает лирическое настроение: начинаю писать стихи цикла *После разлуки*". Cvetaeva, recalling the affair, exclaims that she did not understand the metrical explanations of Belyj (familiar to his readers of Simvolizm) and the actual effect of her upon his own poetry is difficult to assess. Belyj's own perception, however, was that her work was a miracle: it

⁶⁶ Cvetaeva has described her own version of the events in "Plennyj dux" *Sovremennye Zapiski*, 55, 1934, pp. 198-255. A recent description of this encounter is provided by ANNA SAAKJANG, "Vstreča poetov: Andrej Belyj i Marina Cvetaeva." In: Andrej Belyj: Problemy tvorčestva, Moscow 1988, pp. 367-385. See also THOMAS BEYER: "Marina Cvetaeva and Andrej Belyj: Razluka and Posle razluki." (forthcoming)

⁶⁷ Note Marina incorrectly identifies the newspaper as *Dni*. The article is reprinted in SAAKJANG, op. cit. 374-376.

wasn't poetry, but music, a song and for the next few weeks Belyj himself would try to capture the same music in his own poetry.⁶⁸

After that, Belyj would be a frequent visitor, often staying with his editor, Višnjak. (The kids put rubber animals filled with water in his bed). He helped to arrange for publication of her "Царь-Девица" with the publishing house Ёроха, and published a few of her poems and her article on Pasternak in his own journal *Эпохея*. Suddenly he disappears for a week or ten days. What Cvetaeva did not know was that he was working feverishly over the text of "После разлуки" and his diary for the month concludes that in June: "единам махом пишу цикл *После Разлуки*". The significance of this poetic outburst is captured by Belyj years later when he claimed: "'*После разлуки*' написана в две недели. Между запоями стихами я годами не писал ни одной строчки."⁶⁹ When he finally reappears, he claims he is a *lost man*. Everyone knows but I, but let me be unhappy. In a café three days ago, *my life* ended.

Belyj was in love again, always in need of a woman. First Nina Petrovskaja and then the tragic affair with Ljubov' Dmitrievna Blok, and finally Asja. "Andrej Belyj kam nicht nach Berlin, um eine neue Frau zu suchen, sondern um seine alte wiederzugewinnen."⁷⁰ But Belyj had been wounded and was outraged by Asja's parading of Aleksandr Kusikov before his eyes. He was convinced that Asja's behavior was revenge for the "Путевые заметки", Т. I which had appeared in May. Asja later wrote: "После 'Путев. Заметок' я сочла нужным показать ему жизненно что мы жизненно разошлись."⁷¹

Belyj in Zossen reads to Cvetaeva from "После разлуки". She quotes a conversation, actually a letter of June 24 in which he claims:

⁶⁸ It is difficult to agree with Cvetaeva's assertion that "Belyj wrote his 'Glossolalija' after my 'Razluka'." In letter to Бахрах of April 20, 1923 quoted in SAKJANG, 379. Although Belyj dates "Glossolalija" July 1, 1922, he had been working on the manuscript at least since April when he had read excerpts at the House of the Arts.

⁶⁹ In an introduction to the unpublished "Zovy Vremen" in *Novyj žurnal*, 102, 1971, p. 9.

⁷⁰ МАРИА РАЗУМОВСКИЙ, Марина Зветаева, Wien, 1981, p. 172.

⁷¹ In STRUVE "K biografii Andreja Belogo . . .", p. 65. Belyj still refers to Asja as his 'wife': "I dedicate this book to the one who wrote it together with me, Anna Alekseevna Turgeneva-Bugaeva . . ."

Моя милая, милая, милая, милая Марина Цветаева,

Знаете ли, что за день был вчера для меня? Я окончательно поставил крест над Асей: всею душой оттолкнулся навсегда от нее . . . Голубушка, милая, — за что Вы такая ко мне? Мне даже жутко: помните, что теперь как-то со мной то, что в словах Дельвига:

Куда, душа, просилась ты:

Погибнуть, иль любить.

Я ведь только тогда могу жить, когда есть для кого жить и для чего жить.⁷²

The delightful days which Belyj and Cvetaeva spent together were some of his most productive. His plans and projects were enormous and his works would soon flood the marketplace. In May the first issue of the long awaited *Эпохея* appears with an introduction by Belyj and his first of what will be four major installments of "Воспоминания о Блоке". "Возврат", "Возвращение на родину" and "Путевые заметки" with the offending passage are available. An article from the unpublished "Путевые заметки", Т. 2 "Двадцать две Франции" appeared in *Golos Rossi* (No. 982, June 4, 1921, p. 5). He lent his signature to a general call for help to the starving along with other cultural figures including Remizov and Tolstoj and several Germans in *Golos Rossi* (No. 985, June 9, 1922, p. 3). He was working on a revision of the poems from his first collection of poetry "Золото в лазури"; several of the revisions would be printed in "После разлуки". He was finishing Chapter III of the Blok Memoirs, which contained the painful reliving of the love triangle — Belyj — Ljubov' Dmitrievna — Blok. (They are signed Zossen-Swinemünde, May — June 1922). One article in *Nakanune* which appeared in early May noted the special status and aura of the man. E. GOLLEBAH in "Андрей Белый, как мыслитель" (*Literary supplement* No 40, May 14, 1922, pp. 5-6) recalls how unbelievably everything changes after direct contact with him.

Cvetaeva is the tenderest of memoirists: he was so different, so special, not of this world. Her description of his colors, their relationship and him vs. others culminates in a declaration: "я впервые увидела Белого в его основной стихии: полете, в родной и страшной его стихии — пустых пространств, потому и руку взяла,

чтобы еще удержаться на земле. Рядом со мной сидел пленный дух" (Cvetaeva, p. 250).

She would leave Berlin in a few weeks for Prague. Her separation from Sergej Efron had finally come to an end. Belyj's post-separation from Asja was just beginning.

Other memories of Belyj which characterize the Berlin period date from this second half of his stay. Xodasevič and Berberova arrived in Berlin at the end of June 1922. For a good part of the summer Belyj escaped to the sea along with the other members of the Russian community to Swinemünde on the Baltic coast. Cvetaeva speaks not of a farewell but simply of a disappearance. On July 1, 1922, Belyj initials the introduction to his "Глоссолалия" – "his best poem."⁷³ It and "Стихи о России" are published that summer by Eроха, which also announces the forthcoming Серебряный голубь and Петербург as well as После Разлуки. Also in July Belyj agrees with "Der Kommende Tag" publishing house to publish a German translation of his "Crises" series.⁷⁴

In August Belyj sees Xodasevič and "Петербург" with major corrections appears in an edition of 3000 copies for Eроха. *Голос России* publishes an announcement by the publishing house Logos: "Готовятся к печати: Андрей Белый Доктор Доннер, роман . . ." (1037, August 20, 1922, p. 9). Belyj would later refer to this as new slander:

Тогда новая клевета возводится на меня: Я де написал пастиль на Рудольфа Штейнера "ДОКТОР ДОННЕР" (тема романа, изображающего католического иезуита, направленная против традиций церковностей); клевете верить!⁷⁵

Belyj will characterize the summer months which he spends at the resorts of Swinemünde, Heringendorf and Misdoj as "неуютная жизнь". His "encounter" with Cvetaeva had given him a brief re-

spite from the stress and strain of his professional and personal life. But as the summer came to a close, Belyj would find himself again involved in too many projects. Xmel'nickaja writes: "Творческий тулик и распад он пережил в недолгий период своего пребывания за границей в 1922-1923 годах."⁷⁶ The peak had been reached, the descent was about to begin.

On September 6, 1922 Belyj returned to Berlin, this time to the Crampe Pension at Viktoria-Luise Platz 9.⁷⁷ (This is one of the few houses connected with Belyj which remains standing in Berlin today.) Here lived Xodasevič, Berberova and Geršenson; a five minute walk in either direction could bring them to Erenburg at the Prager Diele or to the House of the Arts meeting place on Nollendorf Platz. This arrangement would place Belyj in almost daily contact with Xodasevič, who with others witnessed Belyj's "dancing" – a phase which Cvetaeva did not experience, perhaps because her own departure was a partial cause of Belyj's behavior. At any rate, most of those who recall Belyj at this time, Berberova, Xodasevič, Вахгах, remember when Belyj "плясал фокстрот."⁷⁸

"Доссен" в жизни Белого продолжался весьма недолго и прикладбищенская комнатка у цоссенской хозяйки, . . . сменилась огромной светлой комнатой в пансионе Крампе, в самом центре западного Берлина, где жили "все".

Сразу следует отметить, что этот перевод из мрачного Цоссена в светлый Берлин – "Ве" ("Be") – Вестен, то есть Запад) отразился на жизни Белого довольно – не убоимся этого слова – трагически. Это переселение совпало с апогеем его "безумств", с тем, что двойное пристрастие к алкоголю и танцу (можно ли, строго говоря, называть танцами его плясовые упражнения?) стало общеизвестным. (ВАХГАХ 301, 302).

⁷⁶ "Поэзия Andreja Belogo." In: А. ВЕЛЫЙ, Стихотворения і поёму, Moscow 1966, p. 65.

⁷⁷ Klavdija Nikolaevna Vasil'eva lists the house as No. 118 but in a letter from Belyj to Nadežda Ševpak in November 1922, he gives the address as No. 9, and the "Berliner Adressbuch" lists the Crampe Pension at No. 9.

⁷⁸ JOHN MALMSTAD, "Notes" pp. 342-343, reviews the literature on Belyj's dancing. Xodasevič speaks of hysterics in Belyj's variations on the foxtrot: "It was not just a dance of a drunken man: it was, of course, a symbolic violation of the best in himself, a blasphemation of himself, a diabolical grimace at himself – to demonstrate through himself against Dornach." "Andrej Belyj" in *Nelropol*, Paris 1976, p. 89.

⁷³ According to MARGARITA WOLOSCHIN, *Die grüne Schlange*, Stuttgart, 1968, p. 373, Belyj had first become acquainted with Lory Smits and Eurhythmy in 1913 in München.

⁷⁴ "Die Krisis des Gedankens" is the only volume to appear. Also in 1922 Belyj publishes an article in German in the Anthroposophical journal *Die Drei*: "Anthroposophie und Russland". This is one clear indication that his ties with Steiner and the teachings of Anthroposophy had not been severed completely.

⁷⁵ "Роёму ја стал символістом", p. 115.

Belyj was constantly in motion, his lectures were accompanied by gesticulations, and he was fascinated by eurythmy. For a while this internal rhythm and pent up nervous energy expressed itself in dancing in German cafes. Vera Lur'e (Lourié), his twenty year old dancing partner, does not recall the dancing as exceptionally wild. Perhaps the generation gap played some part in the reaction of Belyj's contemporaries. Nonetheless many felt his conduct was improper, if not ridiculous and pathetic.

In the cheap bars of Berlin noted then and now for its night life, Belyj apparently tried to drown his sorrow or drive it away. Most were repelled. Belyj has a history of alienating those close to him. During this time one woman in particular stayed close to him. Vera Lur'e, a young poetess, had been a student of Gumilev's in the Petrograd House of the Arts in the group Звучащая Раковина. She left Russia with her parents in the Fall of 1921 and arrived in Berlin where she met Belyj and others at the Berlin House of the Arts, and like others, she fell under his spell. In her own words - there was "some sort of affair." Baxrax remembered that she loved him like a kitten while he treated her like a dog. Lur'e clearly loved him in those days, and when others abandoned him, she watched over him until Klavdija Nikolaevna arrived in January of 1923. In 1922 and 1923 she published several reviews of his works for *Novaja Russkaja Kniga* and *Dni* and a number of her own poems appeared in the press at that time. She was one of the few who remained in Berlin and has recently borne witness to those events of Russian Berlin.⁷⁹

In spite of his frenzied state and maybe because of it, Belyj threw himself into several activities wholeheartedly for the remainder of 1922. He attended the first meeting of the new season at the House of the Arts now in a new home, the Cafe Leon at Bülowstraße 1, held on September 15 with Viktor Šklovskij, Nikolaj Oкуп, Vera Lur'e and Xodasevič on the program, and the September 22 meeting which featured Tolstoj who read from his novel "Аэлита" and Boris Pasternak, who read his poetry.⁸⁰ There was also a flurry of

⁷⁹ See VERA LOURIE, *Stixotvorenija*, ed. with an introduction and bibliography by THOMAS R. BEYER, JR., Berlin 1987.

⁸⁰ Belyj's presence is noted in the daily list of meetings by Xodasevič. I am indebted to Nina Berberova and Professor David Bethea for making a copy of them available to me. Belyj's encounters with Pasternak are an interesting side

activity surrounding the thirtieth jubilee of Maksim Gor'kij's debut as a writer, with the publication of his story "Makar Čudra."⁸¹ Berberova recalls a meeting of Belyj and Xodasevič at the Gržbin publishing house on September 18 to discuss the jubilee and another on Sept 25. Belyj published a few articles on Gor'kij: one dated September 20, 1922 in *Novaja Russkaja Kniga* (No. 8, Aug. 1922, pp. 2-3). A slightly different version appeared in *Golos Rossi* (No. 1069, September 24, 1922, pp. 6-7) and a third version signed "Редакция" appeared in issue No. 3 of *Épopeja* in 1922. On September 30, messages and flowers were presented to Gor'kij by a delegation which included Belyj as the representative from Vol'fia. Belyj was also frantically working on his re-edition of his poetry for Gržbin, a milestone in his poetic career, and the largest collection of his poetry published in his lifetime. Belyj dates the introduction - September 21, 1922 (the volume appeared in 1923). The alterations are part of the never-ending attempt of the poet to re-examine his personal experiences and to re-evaluate them from the standpoint of the present. All this was, of course, directed at breaking through the limitations of time and space in the phenomenal world, to gain entry into the noumenal sphere of reality. Friends, critics, scholars felt that the artistic merit of the revised works almost always suffered, but little attention has been paid to the underlying aesthetic assumptions which guided the work.⁸² Belyj's own theory and practice of revision was defended years later:

After their return to Russia, there would evolve a correspondence. Pasternak signed along with Pil'njak in *Izvestija*, Jan 9, 1934, p. 4 a statement of support for Belyj. But even here we can see the difficulty of explaining the Berlin period for Soviet critics. "From 1921 to 1923 A. Belyj was abroad, in Berlin he was a literary watershed, determining Soviet and anti-Soviet literature and a confirmation of Soviet culture, whose banner he carried for those abroad." After Belyj's death Pasternak interceded on behalf of Klavdija Nikolaevna's pension with the authorities. Ron Peterson has written convincingly that Uncle Kostja in the novel "Доктор Живаро" is based on Belyj. RON PETERSON, "Andrej Belyj and Nikolaj Vedenjapin". In: *Wiener Slavistische Almanach*, 9, 1982, pp. 111-118.

⁸¹ See I. V. КОРЕЦКАЈА, Gor'kij i Andrej Belyj. In: *Gor'kovskie čtenija*, Moscow 1968, pp. 189-206.

⁸² Typical is the opinion of VLADIMIR PJAСТ in *Vstreči*, Moscow 1929, pp. 154-155. "Reworking, developing, so to say, his poems, - Andrej Belyj, actually, ruined them to such an extent, that you had to wonder, where had his 'inherent good taste' gone to. And we got together to institute the Society for the Preservation of Andrej Belyj's Works from his own harsh treatment of them."

Под переизданием разумел я критический пересмотр инвентаря мной написанного и переработку тех стихотворений, которые казались поправимыми. Особенность моих стихов — их рыхлость; все, мной написанное в стихах, в разгляде лет стоит, как черновики, с опубликованием которых я поторопился; стихи писались залпами; “Золото в лазури” я в общем написал в два месяца; “Пепел” явился на свет в итоге усиленного писания стихов летом 1907 года. “После разлуки” написана в две недели. Между “запоями” стихами я годами не писал ни одной строчки.

“Запой” отразился рыхлой, подчас ужасной формой; вставала мысль об отказе от себя, как “поэта”; если бы я мог собрать иные из моих книг стихов, я бы сжег их; этого я не мог технически выполнить. Книги мои, находящиеся в чьих-то руках, уличили б меня.

Отсюда и мысль о переиздании, т. е. редактировании, правке, переложении, переделке.⁸³

Also in September, Belyj had published poems in *Golos Rossii* and *Rul'*.⁸⁴ “Эпопея” II is on sale and “После Разлуки”, and “Серебряный голубь” are promised any day now, as well as “Записки чудака”, I–II. Roman Gul' has a review of “Стихи о России”.

On October 1 a special meeting in honor of Gor'kij at the Cafe Leon replaced the customary program at the House of the Arts. Belyj was one of the speakers (*Nakanune*, 149, Oct. 3, 1922, p. 5). He frequently meets with Ходасевич — twenty times in all. The life of the House of the Arts is varied and alive. On October 6, Erenburg reads from his new stories (“Трубки”). On October 13, Yu. Ajxenval'd, recently expelled from Russia with other intellectuals, appeared and Belyj read “Афоризмы.” The election of new officers which had been scheduled was postponed to a later meeting. On October 20, Vladimir Majakovskij, another recent arrival, gave a brief introduction to Futurism and read from his works. On October 27,

⁸³ “Zovy vremen: Vmesto predislavija”. In: *Novyj žurnal*, 102, 1971, p. 91.

⁸⁴ “Iz osennih pesen” (*My balagurim . . .*) *Rul'*, 550, Sept. 20, 1922, p. 2. This is the only work by Belyj which I have been able to identify in *Rul'*: “Zamanja . . .” In: *Golos Rossii*, 1067, Sept. 24, 1922, p. 6. The typography of the poem is curious. Belyj uses three different styles of indentation in his never ending search for a way to capture his own inner rhythms.

Šklovskij read on “Literature and the Cinematograph” and Belyj took part in the discussion afterward (*Nakanune*, 172, Oct. 29, 1922, p. 6).

Elections were also held that evening and Belyj was chosen president. The other officers included Remizov, Vengerov, Minskij, Erenburg, Tolstoj, Šklovskij, Ходасевич and the painter Ivan Puni. (*Nakanune*, 176, Nov. 3, 1922, p. 5). Belyj's reign would be short-lived: a lovely caricature in *Veremyni* (No. 3, Nov. 1922, p. 15) would capture the wildly gesticulating contortionist presiding over his single meeting. Belyj celebrated his birthday (October 27 n. s.) in Berlin with Ходасевич and others. Vera Lur'e, who is not invited along will write:

Я буду по твоим стопам
Безвольная идти,
И все продам, и все отдам
За доброе “прости”.
А в праздник твой совсем одна
Я лягу на постель.⁸⁵

Vera's absence is not all that surprising. Belyj, according to Ходасевич's notes, took on a German Mariechen for a time at the end of October, an innkeeper's daughter from a cafe on Lutherstrasse. But Belyj was not happy. He writes in “Rakkurs”: “С ‘Вольфилой’ не идет. С *Эпопеей* — не идет; с ‘Домом искусств’ — галиматъя.” Even so in October he continues work on the fourth and final section of his “Воспоминания о Блоке.”

As the fifth anniversary of the October Revolution approached, Soviet Russia was flexing its muscles. The country had re-established relations with Germany and formally re-occupied the old Tsarist Embassy. In the process, they closed the Orthodox Church attached to the Embassy and confiscated its holdings. Public show trials of the Social Revolutionaries had been held and sentences passed on in spite of world public outrage. Pressure was being put on the emigrants to choose between Soviet citizenship or risk never being able to return. Perhaps symbolic of the change was the closing of the newspaper *Golos Rossii* (The Voice of Russia) which was almost immediately replaced by the more modestly titled *Dni* which began publication on October 29, 1922. Belyj would be a frequent contribu-

⁸⁵ VERA LOURIE, p. 104.

tor in the early days, but as November 7 approached, Soviet Russia looked like it was here to stay.

On November 3, Ivan Puni, one of the House of the Arts' officers and founding members, spoke on Continental Russian Art and the Russian Exhibition in Berlin. This exhibition which had opened on October 15 at the Galerie Von Diemen at Unter den Linden 21, presented 500 works by over 150 artists. Among those displayed were Buriuk, Chagall, Kandinskij, Kustodiev, Malevich, Benois, Wasiliev, Zetlin and Tatlin.⁸⁶ After the talk, the discussion turned into a shouting match with a number of insults hurled around the hall, in spite of Belyj's plea at the beginning of the meeting.⁸⁷ The major controversy which erupted was followed by a request that Aleksej Tolstoj be expelled from the House of the Arts. On the next evening, November 4, Belyj with Xodasevič and others organized the Klub pisatelej as an alternative outlet for their artistic and creative energies and within days they would resign their positions at the House of the Arts. Belyj was there and at a subsequent meeting of the Club.⁸⁸

Belyj continued his activities in other forums, and he would be confronted with a memory of the past, "Осенью появилась в Берлине Нина Петровская, сама полу-безумная, нищая, старая, исхудалая, хромая. 8 ноября, как раз накануне того дня, когда исполнялось одиннадцать лет со дня ее отъезда из России, они у меня

⁸⁶ A catalogue of the "Erste Russische Kunstaustellung", Berlin 1922, can be found in Berlin's Bibliothek Preussischer Kulturbesitz.

⁸⁷ See BEYER "The House of the Arts . . ." pp. 27-32.

⁸⁸ ALEKSANDR BAXRAX, Po pamjati, po zapisjam: Andrej Belyj, *Kontinent*, 3, 1975, p. 293 writes: "I ought to write separately about the formation of the Writers' Club after the unavoidable schism [of the House of the Arts]." In an interview on August 9, 1984 and in a letter to me of March 3, 1985 he recalled only that the organization had no rules and no records. (This accounts for the sporadic nature of meeting announcements and reports in the press.) I think K. N. Bugaeva errs in her note that Belyj continued to work in the House of the Arts in November and December 1922. Baxrax indicated to me that after the Nov. 3 meeting, the subsequent resignations from their positions and the simultaneous founding of Klub pisatelej, that Belyj, Xodasevič and others would never again go the House of the Arts. While many writers would speak on alternate evenings first at the Home of the Arts and then at the Writers' Club, Belyj and Xodasevič were never again mentioned as participants at the House of the Arts. For a good description of the Writers' Club see the article in *Dni*, 111, Mar. 11, 1923, p. 15.

встретились, вместе ушли и вместе провели вечер. Оба жаловались потом. Даже безумства никакого не вышло. С ними случилось самое горькое всего, что могло случиться: им было просто скучно друг с другом."⁸⁹ On November 11 Belyj was at the Writers' Club and on the 12th he went with Xodasevič to Saarow. Together with Remizov, Belyj was present at the meeting to celebrate the 60th birthday of Gerhart Hauptmann on November 15 (*Dni*, 17, Nov. 17, 1922, p. 6). In a letter of November 17, Belyj writes to Na dezhdza Oseevna Schchapak.⁹⁰ He became an active contributor to the newspaper *Dni* and published excerpts from his Memoirs on November 5 and 19.⁹¹ He also could read in *Dni* a review of "Glossolalijsa" by Vera Lur'e, most of it dictated to her by him (No. 10, Nov. 9, 1922, p. 12).⁹²

Belyj would journey again to Saarow - a two hour trip from Berlin - on November 23 to visit Xodasevič, who had moved there not far from Maksim Gor'kij. Finally there is a report that Belyj attends the opening of the Russian Religious Philosophical Academy on November 26, capitalizing on the recent arrival of so many prominent philosophers and other intellectuals expelled from Russia. (*Dni*, 25, Nov. 28, 1922, p. 4). Some of these same figures would be regular attendees of the Writers' Club.

In December, Belyj continued to publish extensively in *Dni*.⁹³ He attends and speaks at a lecture of Fedor Stepun on December 11. The newspaper accounts attest that Belyj had not lost his ability to captivate an audience.

⁸⁹ XODASEVIČ, p. 91.

⁹⁰ See BORIS SAFIR, An Unknown Correspondent of Andrej Belyj in *SEER*, XLIX, 116, July 1971, pp. 450-452. Curiously, Belyj will indicate that he considers "put' otrazan" for his return to Russia.

⁹¹ The following articles appeared over Belyj's signature in November in *Dni*: "Gergardt Gaupman", No. 19, Nov. 19, 1922, p. 11 (the speech was apparently written by Belyj and then copied in his own imitable script by Aleksej Remizov.) "Iz vospominanij" No. 7, Nov. 5, 1922, p. 16, 17; "Na putjax" No. 13, Nov. 12, 1922, p. 10; "Na Ivanovskoj Bašne" No. 19, Nov. 19, 1922, p. 9. He also published his article "My idem k pred'oščušeniju novyx form" in *Veretenyš*, 3, Nov. 1922, p. 2.

⁹² Vera Lur'e in an interview with me admitted that she understood little of the work and that Belyj provided her with a general outline for the article.

⁹³ "Ali Džaluli" No. 30, Dec. 3, 1922, p. 9; "Sidi-by-Said", No. 36, Dec. 10, 1922, p. 13 from his African impressions; "Tomočka-Pesik", No. 48, Dec. 24, 1922, pp. 2, 3; review of Erenburg "Zverinoe teplo," 42, Dec. 17, 1922, p. 13; review of Blok "Molnija mysli", 52, Dec. 31, 1922, pp. 17-18.

Во время вдохновенной речи Андрея Белого, уснащенной философскими терминами, в публике раздаются смехи, но по окончании речи слушатели горячо приветствуют этого замечательного оратора (*Rul'*, 621, Dec. 13, 1922, p. 6).

On December 16 Belyj read from "Преступление Николая Летаева" at the Writers' Club meeting at the Cafe Leon. (*Dni*, 41, Dec. 16, 1922, p. 5). On December 17, another curious note concerning the elusive "Doktor Donner" appeared in *Dni*:

"Известия" сообщает: "Андрей Белый выпустил памфлет "Доктор Доннер" на доктора Рудольфа Штейнера, в связи с крупным столкновением между Штейнером и Белым. Столкновение это, крайне показательное для современного развала буржуазной культуры, произошло, якобы, на почве того, что пресловутый изобретатель теософии Рудольф Штейнер вместо теософии занялся спекуляцией, открыл лавочку и бойко торгует."

В этом сообщении "Известия" [sic] верно только слово "якобы". Рудольф Штейнер теософии не обрел, а Андрей Белый памфлет "Доктор Доннер" не выпускал.⁹⁴

For a few days he travels to Saargow to visit Hodasevič on the 6, 7, 8, 9 and 13. Most importantly, he finishes the fourth and final installment to the "Воспоминания о Блоке". This section is especially important because in it Belyj will make the transition from the painful memory of Ljubov' Dmitrievna Blok to the subject of Asja. There was always this coincidental correlation of Ljubov' and Asja. (Вахрамеев recalls a conversation in which Ljubov', Asja and Rudolf Steiner are all grouped together. [p. 306]) It also marks a shift in focus in the memoirs from Blok to Belyj himself. Belyj will ask rhetorically: Читатель наверно возмущен: какие же это воспоминания о Блоке? Где Блок? (*Эпопея*, 4, 1922, p. 128).⁹⁵ There is a clear-

⁹⁴ *Dni*, 42, Dec. 17, 1922, 11. Nina Berberova in a letter to me of March 7, 1982 noted that Belyj often referred to Steiner as Doktor Donner and raises the possibility that Donner - "thunder" was an allusion to Zeus. Belyj almost certainly was the source of this denial. The timing is significant, because it illustrates that even before the arrival of Klavdija Vasil'eva in Berlin, Belyj does not want to offend Steiner, at least in public.

⁹⁵ MARIETTA ŠAGINJAN, in a review of "Vospominanija o Bloke" in *Sobranie sočinenij*, Vol. 1, Moscow 1971, p. 732: "Belyj gave us simply a slice of his own autobiography and against the background of his fate he permitted Blok to appear." For a discussion of the evolution of the "Vospominanija o Bloke" into the

cut sequence of Belyj examining his own life through his poetry and prose. In "Glossolalija" he had written "*воспоминание есть начало мыслительной жизни*" (p. 97). The death of Blok and the subsequent work on the memoirs would provide an alternative method for self-examination, evaluation and analysis. But it was still one step removed from the purely personal. Belyj would spend the next ten years examining his life one more time, but this time more directly, without the filter of poetry, prose or third person memoirs.

As the year drew to a close, Belyj could recall good times and bad - professional triumphs and personal failures and tragedy. He writes in the "Раккурс": "Ужасный . . . месяц . . . все бросаю" and his troubled state of mind can be examined in "Россия в России и Россия в Берлине", which he writes in December. Had he taken stock of his accomplishments in Berlin, he would have found that his expectations for writing and publishing were amply fulfilled. Morčuk'sj cites sixteen works printed between 1922-1923. Seven are republications: "Возврат", "Серебряный голубь", "Петербург", "Котик Легаев", "На перевале" (1923), "Крещеный китаец" in *Современные записки*, "Стихотворения" (1923). Another nine were new works. "Путевые заметки", "Звезда", "Стихи о России", "После разлуки", "Возвращение на родину", "Сирин учебного варагта", "Записки чудака", "Глоссолалия", "Воспоминания о Блоке" in *Эпопея* (1923).⁹⁶ Belyj had continued to contribute to the journal *Записки мечтателей* in Russia and to *Современные записки* in Paris.⁹⁷ He had published in *Die Drei*, the Anthroposophical journal published in Stuttgart, and his "Krisis des Gedankens" would be published in 1923.⁹⁸

unrealized "Načalo veka" see *Literaturnoe nasledstvo*, 27-28, Moscow 1937, pp. 614-615.

⁹⁶ Močul'skij, p. 239. Most other scholars have quoted these same figures. The list omits "Poëzija slova" and "O smysle poznanija" and the republication of "Pervoe svidanie."

⁹⁷ In *Sovremennye Zapiski* the novel "Prestuplenie Nikolaja Letaeva" appears in issues 11, 12, 13 for 1922. In 1923 Belyj publishes "Gjaželaja lira" in issue 15, "Otkhiki prežnej Moskvu" in issue 16 and "Arbat" in issue 18. Belyj also continued to publish poetry, articles and memoirs of Blok in *Zapiski mečtatelej*. See K. ŽELINSKIJ, "Belyj i 'Zapiski mečtatelej'" in *Znamja*, 12, 1957, pp. 152-157.

⁹⁸ "Die Anthroposophie und Rufland", *Die Drei*, II, 4, pp. 317-328 and II, 5, 1922, pp. 376-385. In *Die Drei*, II, 6, 1922, pp. 437-444 there is an article about Belyj by Ernst Keuchel and a Wolfgang Groeger translation of one of his poems, p. 445.

But his attempts at reconciliation with Asja had lead not only to a final break with her, but with a loss of faith in Rudolf Steiner. What were his resolutions for the New Year? New Year's Eve was spent with Xodasevič, Berberova at Gor'kij's. At the same time, the Goetheanum in Dornach was burning!

The new year (1923) did not bode well for the Russians in Berlin. German inflation mixed with civil unrest would reverse the favorable conditions which had fostered the outburst of publishing the previous year. Indeed, most of the Berlin Russian language publishers had agreed upon a uniform multiplication co-efficient to replace the set prices on their books in Germany. Belyj would awake in Saarow with plans for a gigantic work, which would only be realized some ten years later. He describes the high points of the year in his letter to Ivanov-Razumnik:

23 год открывается: пожаром "Гетеанума" (с которым Я был так связан); и — тогда: приездом в Берлин К. Н., появившейся для меня в самую опасную минуту прострации; с этого начинается заметное пресуществление *болезни* в медленное *выздоровление*: с желания выздороветь; в нашем общении с К. Н. (январь — до июля 23-го) вызревает во мне жажда 1) вернуться в Россию (оживает тема "Москва") 2) оживает "доктор" (К. Н. невольно мирит меня с ним); в марте 23 года доктор мне "все" объясняет, что казалось неясным.⁹⁹

After spending the first and second in Saarow with Xodasevič, Belyj returned to Berlin. On January 10 he was back in Saarow. The Writers' Club had several meetings during the month: on January 15 — Pasternak; on the 22 Viktor Šklovskij; on Jan. 29 the "young poets" Georgij Ivanov, Nikolaj Ocuв, Irina Odоевцева and Vera Lur'e read from their works. (*Новая Русская Книга*, 1, Jan 1923, p. 37). Vasil'eva-Bugaeva notes that Belyj participated in at least one of these evenings. Belyj's "Кайрун" appeared in *Воля России* (1, Jan 15, 1923, pp. 1-19) and he published an article written in Moscow in 1920: "Проблема культуры" in *Струны*, 1, Berlin: 1923, pp. 163-188.

The central event of January 1923 was the arrival of Klavdija Nikolaevna Vasil'eva, who would serve as the catalyst for Belyj's re-

⁹⁹ "Andrej Belyj: Lettre autobiographique à Ivanov-Razumnik", *Cahiers du Monde russe et soviétique*, XV, 1-2, janv. — juin, 1974, p. 80.

conciliation with Steiner and his return to Soviet Russia. Granted a visa by Menžinsky, who was hoping to convince Belyj to return to Russia, some speculate, that she was sent by the Anthroposophists concerned about Belyj's drinking and wild behavior.¹⁰⁰ She had known Belyj in Moscow, where they worked together and Belyj had often taken meals at her house. In 1921, Klavdija Nikolaevna had been given the task of transcribing the Belyj-Blok correspondence.

The picture of Klavdija Nikolaevna among Russians in the West was not a very complimentary one. She was clearly not a femme fatale — an image of Asja or Nina Petrovskaja or Ljubov' Dmitrievna; Вахрах remembers her as "миловидной и очень ласковой женщиной."¹⁰¹ Even though she would ultimately divorce her husband and marry Belyj, her interests seem maternal, in a long line of Russian women who have made it possible for their husbands to write.

When she came to Berlin in 1923 Belyj was like a wounded animal, snarling and lashing out in all directions, often most venomously at precisely those people, even Klavdija Nikolaevna, who most wanted to help. Her quiet stability, her undemanding devotion, constant companionship, and shared anthroposophical faith nursed him back to life (MALMSTAD, p. 28).

An additional consideration was the death of Belyj's mother in 1922. If Steiner was a foster father, then Klavdija Nikolaevna became an adopted mother. The main point is that in 1923, Anthroposophy as a theme and driving life force returns to Belyj. Life continued in Berlin, but Belyj's gradual return to Anthroposophy was made public in his article on the Goetheanum.

Мне здание это особенно близко; с ним связаны для меня несравнимые, может быть, самые значительные воспоминания жизни моей; . . . Ограниченным людям, поставшим себе целью осмеивать нас, распространять клеветы на нас, не объяснить,

¹⁰⁰ MALMSTAD, "Introduction", p. 15 cites this from the unpublished memoirs of Nina Ivanovna Gagen-Torn. Malmstad provides an excellent overview of the relationship which we need not repeat here. Вахрах "По памяти, . . ." p. 313. Долгоруков says "In a state of mind close to frenzy Belyj was taken away [увезен] . . .", see "Neizvedannyj materik". In: *Voprosy literatury*, 3, 1982, p. 135.

¹⁰¹ ALEKSANDR ВАХРАХ, "Vospominanija o Belom" in *Novoe Russkoe Slovo*, March 21, 1982, p. 5.

что в споревшие ныне формы действительно вколотил я часть жизни (и - лучшую часть) . . .

Иоанново здание соединилось со светом: вспыхнуло: и взвевлось в атмосферу воздушную.

Но оно не погибло.

Мы - выстроим новое здание: новой любви, совершенного мира и братства народов! Пожар Гетеанума не запугает нас: он - лишь вливает в нас новые силы: к созданию - Иоаннова Здания!¹⁰²

Vera Lur'e has recalled that the burning of the Goetheanum in whose construction Belyj had participated was extraordinarily painful for him. It was as if 'he had lost his head.' This return to earlier beliefs is paralleled by a more outspoken defense of the intellectual and artistic life in Soviet Russia. But Belyj still refused to cut off all ties with the Berlin community. He continued to lecture and enliven discussions at the Writers' Club. On Feb. 3, Remizov read; on the 12 Rafalovič spoke on "Современный театр". Belyj along with Stepun and Zajcev was at the February 26 meeting where Jašenko read "О кризисе интеллигенции". Part of the month was spent with Xodasevič and four days together with Gor'kij where preparations for the initial issue of *Beseda* were in high gear.¹⁰³

On March 7, Stepun read at the Writers' Club about the "Стихия актерской души" to which both Belyj and Pasternak replied. (*NRK*, 2, Feb. 1923, p. 40). On March 11, Belyj lectures on "Революция духа" written in February for the Union of Russian Students. (*Dni*, 112, Mar 13, 1923, p. 5). On March 14, he reads from his "Трагедия сознания" at the Writers' Club. (*Dni*, 113, Mar 14, 1923, p. 5). On March 16, he goes with Klavdija Nikolaevna to visit Xodasevič. He spends a week there along with a few evenings with Gor'kij. Belyj, Gor'kij and Xodasevič were all editors of the journal, *Beseda*, although Gor'kij would later write that Belyj's participation was nominal.¹⁰⁴ He would, nonetheless, make lengthy contributions to the first two issues of the journal.

¹⁰² *Dni*, 100, Feb. 27, 1923, pp. 6-7. The article was reprinted with an introduction by THOMAS R. BEYER, JR. in the *Andrej Belyj Society Newsletter*, 3, 1984, pp. 18-27.

¹⁰³ Belyj was in Saarow with Xodasevič on February 18, 19, 20, 21, 24, 25 and from the 18-21 and 25 with Gor'kij.

¹⁰⁴ XODASEVIČ also remembers "The literary editorship was composed of

The crucial event of the month was the meeting which took place at the end of March in Stuttgart, where Belyj had travelled on March 23 to attend a meeting of the Waldorf Schule teachers and spoke with Steiner face-to-face. The meeting was the result of a number of behind the scenes negotiations. Klavdija Nikolaevna was clearly instrumental in arranging for the meeting. She had travelled to Stuttgart in February and met with Steiner. On March 11, 1923 Belyj sent a letter to Marie von Sivers-Steiner.¹⁰⁵

Я не знаю, сколько продлится мое пребывание здесь; но при отъезде в Россию мне нужно было бы иметь несколько Ваших советов относительно культурной работы, с которой я неизбежно в России буду связан. Конечно, - у меня есть и личные вопросы, - но не в них дело; я уже 15 месяцев в Германии и доселе не имел случая видеть Вас и Доктора Штейнера; думаю, что необходимость Вас видеть и с Вами говорить для меня имеет не только субъективный смысл, но и объективный.

Finally on March 30 came the long overdue face to face discussion with Steiner. It was decisive by all accounts. Maksimov recalls that in 1930 Belyj had a portrait of Steiner above his bed in Kucino. (p. 175) In "Почему я стал символистом" and "Воспоминания о Штейнера" Belyj recalls the crucial nature of their conversation.¹⁰⁶ The significance and lasting effect of the encounter is attested to by others. Asja recalled, "После разговора с Штейнером в Штутгарте, перед отъездом в Россию. Бугаев говорил моей сестре, что данное ему на прощание Доктором будет ему помощью во всей его последующей жизни."¹⁰⁷ The week also served to close the book on Belyj's relationship with Asja: "При нашей последней встрече в Штутгарте Анд. Б. меня понял и примирился но конечно осталась горечь. Ему трудно было не переносить глубокую связь кот.

Gor'kij, me and Andrej Belyj (the latter - only nominally)." *Novyj Žurnal*, 29, 1952, p. 207.

¹⁰⁵ See KLAVDIA VASIL'EVNA/BUGAEVA, "Erinnerungen einer Russin an Rudolf Steiner", in *Mitteilungen aus der Anthroposophischen Arbeit in Deutschland*, Stuttgart, 1980-1982, pp. 134-137. Also see the letters and article by THOMAS R. BEYER, JR., "Belyj and Steiner: The Berlin period" in *Andrej Belyj Society Newsletter*, 6, 1987, pp. 13-26.

¹⁰⁶ See also "Reminiscences of Rudolf Steiner", ed. CHRISTY BARNES, Hillsdale, N. Y. 1987.

¹⁰⁷ TURGENEVA, "Andrej Belyj i Rudolf Steiner", p. 238.

была между нами на жизненный путь. Но его путь был иной.¹⁰⁸ Slowly but surely Belyj was resolving old issues, even as he prepared for his return to Russia.

On April 1 he returns to Berlin and his article "Из эгипетских воспоминаний" appears in *Dni* (No. 128, Apr. 1, 1923, pp. 9-10). On April 4 he attends a reading at the Writers' Club by Ходасевич. (*NRK*, 5/6, May-June 1923, p. 430). Other meetings of the Club were held on April 11, 14, 18, and 25. He is working feverishly on his revision of the Blok memoirs, which he now envisioned as a four-volume opus: "Блок и его время".¹⁰⁹ In April, he also resigns from *Эпопея* and with Volume 4 the journal ceases publication.

Многообразные занятия и отсутствие свободного времени не позволяют мне продолжать редактирование "Эпопей"; оставаясь постоянным сотрудником мне близкого журнала я все же должен выйти из состава Редакции.¹¹⁰

Local news items indicate the changing scene in Berlin for Russians: "В последнее время в советское представительство на Унтер-ден-Линден замечается усиленный наплыв желающих получить разрешение на въезд в Россию" (*Rul'* 716, April 8, 1923, p. 9). On April 26 *Rul'* reported that the League of Nations was discussing the issue of passports for Russian emigres and on the 27th it reported on increased difficulties for Russian publishers abroad, including economic, but also the new refusal of Soviet government to accept works printed in the old orthography.

The Writers' Club held meetings in May on the 2, 9, 16, 23, and 30, but Belyj spent the 9, 15, 18, 22 and 23 at Saarow and at the end of the month he and Klavdija Nikolaevna moved to Harzburg.¹¹¹ Belyj's ties with the emigre community in Berlin would be further shaken by his article which appeared in the first issue of *Beseda*.

¹⁰⁸ Turgeneva letter in *STREUVE*, pp. 65-66.

¹⁰⁹ See the note in *Dni*, 139, Apr. 15, 1923, p. 13. Belyj and others will later refer to this work as "Načalo veka". In *Beseda*, 2, 1923, which appears in August, an advertisement by Époха announces the publication of "Načalo veka" by Andrej Belyj: "Vol. I: Blok i ego vremja, Vol 2: Sumerki, Vol 3: Krizis, Vol 4, Revoljucija". Volumes 1 and 2 were scheduled to go on sale on September 25 - but they never appeared and the fate of the manuscript is unknown.

¹¹⁰ ANDREJ BELYJ, "Letter to A. G. Višnjak of Gellikon" in *Épopeja*, IV, 1923.

¹¹¹ *Dni*, 172, May 27, 1923, p. 12 reported that Belyj had departed for Hamburg. The paper printed a correction in No. 174, May 30, 1923, p. 4.

Rul' announced on May 6 that the first issue had appeared. The article, which had been written in December of 1922, "О 'России' в России и о 'России' в Берлине" is a rationale for Belyj's return to the Soviets.

Увы, понял ненужность теперешних выступлений в Берлине. Работа культурная здесь представляется в данных условиях вряд ли возможной мне: факт восприятия это - не более. Знаю: в Берлине так много учащихя; молодежь современной России (интеллигентская и рабочая) мне понятна, известна; я был с ней в контакте; ... здесь в Берлине, я чувствую часто чужим себя, непонятым, ненужным; и молодежи - не знаю; настроение русской публики кажется мне "курбюрстендамским" каким-то; а лекции кажутся огниющими драгоценное "кафе-ландерафное", "прагердимльное" время.¹¹²

One can see the old themes of "why I can't do cultural work" reappearing. Belyj was terribly impatient, and in spite of large number of works which he successfully completed, his vision was always beyond his grasp. He was too intolerant, a work-horse who lacked the ability to see most projects through to their conclusion and a polished end product. Somehow the image of him working on the Goetheanum with a hammer and chisel seems appropriate.

He was equally blunt about Soviet Russia.

Пишут об ужасах современной России; есть ужасы, - да: утает сырье, нет пособий учебных, нет школы (развалена); ели друг друга; быть может, едят еще где-нибудь ... Вы не думаете, что я слепой, что не видел я "зверя" (pp. 218-220).

Belyj tries to persuade himself, as it were:

И нет спора: в России писать тяжело (нет бумаги, чернил, типографий); ... очень трудно конкретно работать в России; и - вот же: работают. Этим - все сказано.

Человек - не "субъект" прагердимльных продуктов. От хлеба я съят и от пива я пьян, но я ... голоден, голоден: дайте мне хлеба духовного! Холодно мне в этом "тепленьком" месте культуры "Берлинской России" (pp. 228, 232-233).

Belyj the polemist, a role he had enjoyed in the heydays of Symbolism, would emerge even more forcefully that month of May. In

¹¹² *Beseda*, 1, 1923, p. 213.

the same issue of *Beseda*, I, there was an article by Dr. Hans Leisegang, "Anthroposophy," a translation from the German which began with a short biography of Steiner but went on the characterize his philosophy as "mystical speculation." The exposé type of article prompted Belyj, who at the end of the month was in Harzburg with Klavdija Nikolaevna to come to Steiner's defense in the next issue of *Beseda*.¹¹³ In the article dated May 26, 1923 Harzburg, Belyj characterizes himself as "student of Dr. Steiner and a member of the Anthroposophical Society." (p. 392) Belyj would ultimately fall victim to the same sin of memoir writing that he had criticized in 1921. Harzburg was a particularly productive spot; his article "Орклики прежней Москвы" is also dated May 1923 at Harzburg (*Sovremennye zapiski*, 16, 1923, pp. 190-209).¹¹⁴ There was also a long section of "Воспоминания" in *Beseda* which recalled Belyj's first encounter with Steiner and Anthroposophy and the early mystical experiences of him and Asja. Asja was not exactly pleased with this publication of intimate details of their relationship; but, of course, by this time all communication had ceased.

These memoirs pick up where the "Путевые Заметки" had left off in Brussels in 1912 where the mystical experiences of Asja and Belyj caused them to take a train to Köln to see Steiner. This more factual account (as opposed to previous stylized fictional memoirs such as in the article) indicate a major trend in Belyj's work from this point on. Belyj had from the beginning of the century reviewed almost his entire life in his prose. "Котик Летаев" and "Крещеный китаец" had moved him from childhood to adolescence. "Перепуг" and "Серебряный голубь" dealt with the writer of 1905 and the following years. "Заниски чудака" covered the life of Ledjanoj and Nelli (Belyj and Asja) in Dornach. Belyj had already begun to review his life in the "Воспоминания о Блоке" which encompassed the years 1904-1909 and the "Путевые заметки" for 1910-1911. From this point on, beginning in 1923, Belyj would for a third and final time review the experiences of his life - this time not through the rosy-colored filter of fiction, or the third person of Blok.

Belyj and Klavdija Nikolaevna spent June at Harzburg and it was here that the final decision to return to Russia was made, al-

¹¹³ ANDREJ BELYJ, Anthroposofija i Dr Gans Lejzegang, *Beseda*, 2, 1923, pp. 378-392.

¹¹⁴ An excerpt of this article appeared in *Dni*, 202, July 1, 1923, pp. 9, 11.

though it was not made public to friends. "Июнь проводим с К. Н. в Гарцбурге; здесь пишу эюд 'Москва' (часть 3-го 'Начала века') и твердо решаю встать за уезжающей К. Н. вернуться в Россию."¹¹⁵ "Ужасно скучаю по России . . . Трудно жить с берлинскими русскими", he writes on June 27 to P. Zajcev.¹¹⁶ What were the reasons for the decision? Klavdija Nikolaevna was clearly a major factor. He needed someone desperately, not physically as much as intellectually and spiritually to be by his side. He longed again for recognition and his memory passed over the sickness and deprivation he had experienced in Russia. His renewed faith in Rudolf Steiner and Anthroposophy had taken hold. Belyj had always been the teacher, the prophet. He was going back to continue Steiner's mission - the apostle of the New Creed called upon to spread the faith among the Russians. Did Steiner give him instructions or advice to return? And, of course, the lure of Asja was now truly only a memory. Belyj still had acquaintances in Berlin: Remizov, Jaščenko, Ходасевич. But others like Aleksej Tolstoj had gone back and more would soon follow. The material conditions in Berlin were rapidly deteriorating. There was a dramatic, almost incredible inflation. On January 1, 1923, *Rub'* cost 70 R.M. On June 1, it was 400 marks, July 1-1000 marks. By October 1 it would be 5,000,000 marks. When Belyj had arrived in 1921 \$ 1 (one U.S. dollar) was worth 209 marks, by October 23, 1923 \$ 1 was worth 40,000,000,000 marks. There were strikes and shortages in Berlin. The entire structure of the state seemed ready to collapse. For anyone who had lived through the events in Russia of 1917, the situation was like a newsreel rerun of that time. If things were indeed to get that bad, wouldn't he be better off where friends and language could be valuable? Belyj would actually move in with the Vasil'evs upon his return to Moscow.

Having returned to Berlin on June 29 Belyj takes up residence "в труппе у Anhalter Bahnhof (sic)." Ходасевич sees Belyj in Berlin several times at the beginning of the July (1, 4, 5, 6, 8, 11). From July 14-17 he travels to Ahlbeck. On July 23 he takes K. N. Vasil'eva to Stettin and then travels on to Ahlbeck where he anxiously awaits permission to return to Russia. Writing from Ahlbeck to Baxrax on July 26 Belyj complains that he cannot work.¹¹⁷

¹¹⁵ "Andrej Belyj: Lettre autobiographique à Ivanov-Razumnik", p. 81.

¹¹⁶ Quoted in ВУГАЕВА, *Летопись*, p. 121.

¹¹⁷ Belyj's letters to Baxrax of July 26, 1923 and August 16, 1923 are found in