

On August 1 Belyj is notified that he has been granted permission to return by the Berlin Narkompros. He will still have to wait for a visa. Part of the month is spent at Ahlbeck - there is another letter to Вахрам on August 16 in which he expresses the hope to leave in the beginning of September and stating that he needs his suitcases between the 26th and 28th of August.¹¹⁸ Apparently he visits Prague four times, but never gets to reside there as was his wish.

On August 27 Belyj was back in Berlin and his intention to depart was common knowledge. "Андрей Белый, закончивший свой большой четырехтомный труд 'Воспоминания о Блоке', на днях переезжает в Россию."¹¹⁹ He would join an ever increasing flood of Russians leaving Berlin. Berberova recalls a farewell photograph taken on September 8: В. Zajcev, Ходасевич, М. Osorgin, А. Вахрам, А. Remizov and Belyj, plus Berberova and Р. Muratov. Ходасевич was insulted by Belyj that evening and there is no indication that they ever met again. On the next day *Dni* announced a forthcoming *Романтический Альманах* edited by V. A. Kadashev containing "Петр, Иоанн, Павел" by Belyj. (No. 260, Sept. 9, 1923, p. 10).¹²⁰

The final months for Belyj must have been excruciatingly lonely. He himself writes of the "томительное ожидание". Nonetheless he read from his memoirs on September 15 at the Writers' Club. (*Dni*, 265, Sept. 15, 1923, p. 6) and again was there on October 6. The Writers' Club would continue weekly meetings until October 20 its last meeting, after which it dissolved because of a lack of members.¹²¹ Stepun remembered Belyj as a sick and nervous shortly before his departure. Vera Zajcev gave him an icon of the Virgin which he apparently took when he left.¹²²

Butler Library at Columbia University. Portions of them are printed in Вахрам, "По памяти, по запискам," in *Kontinent*, 3, 1975, pp. 315-316.

¹¹⁸ Belyj's stay in Ahlbeck is also recalled by Vadim Andreev, "Vozvraščenie v žizn'" in *Zvezda*, 6, 1969, pp. 105-107.

¹¹⁹ *Dni*, 254, Sept. 2, 1923, p. 10.

¹²⁰ I have not found other references or evidence of its publication.

¹²¹ "On Saturday October 20, the 'Writers' Club' is closing in light of the departure from Berlin of a significant majority of the organization's members. It is possible that the activity of the Club which originated in Moscow and was then transferred to Berlin, will be resumed in Paris." See *Rul'*, 880, October 20, 1923, p. 5.

¹²² Борис Зайцев, Dalekoe, Washington 1965, pp. 36, 37. Zajcev notes: "Berlin somehow made him cruder".

There is a brief flurry of activity at the beginning of October. Belyj had apparently one last doubt before his final departure. He writes to Svetaeva in desperation.

В ноябре [sic] 1923 г. - волею, письменный вопль в четыре страницы, из Берлина в Прагу: - Голубушка! Родная! Только Вы! Только к Вам! Найдите комнату рядом, где Вы бы ни были - я не буду мешать, и не буду заходить, мне только нужно знать, что за стеной - живое - живое тело! - Вы.¹²³

On October 4, Svetaeva contacts Вахрам, claiming she has found a position for Belyj and will care for him. But it is essential to get Belyj to Prague.

У меня к Вам большая просьба - если Вы еще в Берлине - п.ч. если не в Берлине, то уже ничего не можете сделать. Дело в том, что необходимо перевести (перевезти!) Белого в Прагу, он не должен ехать в Россию, слава Богу, что его не пустили, он должен быть в Праге, здесь ему дадут иждивение (stricte nécessaire) и здесь, в конце концов, я, которая его нежно люблю и - что лучше - ему предана.¹²⁴

Did Вахрам get the message to him in time? There was more than a little confusion concerning Belyj's intentions. "Андрей Белый, не получивший визы на съезд в Россию, переселяется из Берлина в Чехословакию" (*Dni*, 290, Oct. 14, 1923). But then two weeks later *Dni* recorded: "Андрей Белый уехал из Берлина в Москву, где предполагается читать лекции по вопросам искусства" (No. 302, Oct. 28, 1923).¹²⁵ Belyj left Berlin on October 23 and arrived in

¹²³ СВЕТАЕВА, "Plennyj dux", p. 251. Svetaeva clearly mistakes the month. Her own letter in reply to Вахрам comes early in October. She must have received Belyj's letter before then.

¹²⁴ *Mosty*, 6, 1961, p. 337. See also her letter of July 20, 1923 to Вахрам "I love B. N. [Boris Nikolaevič] tenderly . . . He is a lonely being. In life he is even more helpless than I am, he is completely mad. When I am with him I feel that I'm a dog, and he is a - a blind man! . . . My finest memories in Berlin are about him." *Mosty*, 5, 1960, p. 311.

¹²⁵ See JOHN MALMSTAD, Andrej Belyj in Berlin, 1921-1923. Addenda for a Biography of his Works. In: *Andrej Belyj Society Newsletter*, 4, 1985, pp. 20-29. Malmstad supplements the work of GEORGES NIYAT in "L'Oeuvre polémique, critique et journalistique d'Andrej Belyj", in *Cahiers du monde russe et soviétique*, XVIII, 1-2, janv. - juin 1977, pp. 22-39. Belyj also continued to publish extensively in collections both in Berlin and in Russia. See N. P. Rogožin, *Literaturno-xudožestvennye al'manaxi i sborniki 1918-1927*, Vol 3, Moscow 1960.

Moscow on October 26, almost two years to the day when he had left. Вахрах recalls seeing Belyj off at the station with Kaplun-Sumskij, the publisher of *Эпоха*.¹²⁶ Years later, Berberova recounts how she was told by Vera Lur'e who described his departure in glowing terms.¹²⁷ It is all too long along, perhaps we'll never know. And the mystery of memory is more comforting than the reality which no longer matters. A week later, on November 4, Ходасевич and Berberova left for Prague.

Belyj returned to Russia and began to write. His Moscow novels would be monuments to Belyj's verbal fireworks but they are not masterpieces. They are simply too inaccessible, the mysteries enclosed are locked away from the eyes of most readers. Soviets have largely ignored them and most Western scholars are at a loss to explain anything but the bare outlines of plot. He continued his studies of poetic form. On January 3, 1924 he gave a talk on "Трёхдольники" for the Moscow Circle of Poets. On January 14 he delivered a talk "Одна из обителей царства теней" which would later grow into a short book primarily concerned with the Berlin experience. Later he performed a rhythmical-mathematical analysis of Puškin's "Медный всадник" and engaged in a polemic with Viktor Žirmunskij. There was also a comprehensive study of Gogol's style - a dictionary of stylistic devices - "Мастерство Гоголя". For many readers, critics and scholars, his most important contribution was the three published volumes of memoirs "На рубеже двух столетий" (1930), "Начало века" (1933) and "Между двух революций" (1934). There was also significant work still unpublished in the Soviet Union which has only come to light in the last few years, including "Почему я стал символистом" (1982) and "Воспоминания о Штейнере" (1982).

Back in the USSR Belyj was highly critical of his two year stay in Berlin. Later he would admit that he was ill at the time, and the memories were, of course, painful. "Одна из обителей царства теней" is a searing indictment of Berlin, its mores and its morals. There were also plans to publish a full-scale novel entitled "Германия".¹²⁸

¹²⁶ ВАХРАХ "По памяти . . .", p. 320.

¹²⁷ БЕРБЕРОВА, *Курсив мой*, p. 188.

¹²⁸ See S. S. GREČIŠKIN and A. V. LAVROV, *Neosuščestvlenyj zamysel Andreja Belogo* (Plan romana 'Германия'), *Russkaja literatura*, XVII, 1, 1974, pp. 197-200.

Was he happy upon his return? Perhaps that isn't the right question. Belyj remained until his dying days an enigma, both to former friends in emigration and to those who knew him in Russia. The Silver Age of Russian literature and Symbolism had already become a historical memory, and Belyj was a living relic. Even the youth of the country upon which Belyj had placed so much of his hope would disappoint him. The saddest commentary is delivered by Maksimov, who notes that when he saw Belyj in 1924 after his return from Berlin the light, that "сияние" in Belyj's eyes, had been extinguished.¹²⁹ It would never return.

Belyj's death in 1934 brought remembrances and reappraisals from Cvetaeva, Osorgin, Stepun, Pasternak, and Ходасевич. And the Soviets would find themselves ever trying to justify Belyj, who was one of the least Soviet "Soviet" writers.

In Berlin - the papers folded, the printing houses which did not fall victim to economics disappeared in the 1933 *Verlagsveränderungen*. Most of the "Russian Berlin" intelligentsia departed, some to Prague, others to Paris, then later to America. Jaščenko remained in Berlin but little of his archive is left. Most of the newspapers and journals, and even many of the books, did not survive the war. What remains are the cemetery and the antique shops selling icons and Easter eggs. Vera Lur'e remained behind, but even her voice is one of memories:

Берлин

Не узнать старых улиц Берлина,
После долгих годов сатаны.
Оставались там только руины
И калеки от бомб и войны.

А в двадцатые давние годы
Ехал мимо балкона трамвай.
На балконе писала я оды,
С улиц слышен собачий был лай!

dreja Belogo (Plan romana 'Германия'), *Russkaja literatura*, XVII, 1, 1974, pp. 197-200.

¹²⁹ D. МАКСИМОВ, "О том, как я видел i slyšal Andreja Belogo", p. 172.

Свеж был воздух, не пахло бензином,
 Не торчали под небом дома
 И белые не стирали машины.
 Холоднее казалась зима.

Это время давно миновало . . .
 Новый город восстал из руин,
 Только я еще не устала
 Вспоминать тебя старый Берлин!¹³⁰

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¹³⁰ In November 1989, I received complete cooperation and extensive access to the archival holdings concerning Belyj's stay in Berlin at the Institut Russkoj Literatury ANSSSR (Puškinskij Dom), the Rukopisnyj otdel Gosudarstvennoj puščinoj biblioteki im. Saltykova-Ščedrina, the Rukopisnyj otdel Gosudarstvennoj biblioteki im. Lenina and the Central'nyj gosudarstvennyj arxiv literatury i iskusstva (CGALI). Information in A. BELYJ, *Rakkers k "Dnevniku"* (CGALI, f. 53, op. 1, ed. x. 100), which has just recently been made available to scholars, generally coincides with the information presented in my article. For the Berlin period, composed primarily from memory, the *Rakkers* contains several inaccuracies, mostly concerned with months in which a particular lecture or meeting took place. A. BELYJ, *Sebe na pamjat': Perečen' pročitan'nyx referatov, publikacij, lekcij, besed (na zasedanijax), opromirovanij s 1899 do 1932 goda* (CGALI, f. 53, op. 1. ed. x. 96, p. 14/2, 15/1) admits on pages devoted to the Berlin years: "My memory is failing, and perhaps there are errors (omissions, or an inaccurate record of the months) in the list." Three new points, not reported in the press or other sources, do emerge from these documents. Belyj did see Asja in Berlin in November 1921 and there was a painful encounter with her again sometime in the last ten days of June 1922. He was exceptionally active in the Berlin section of Vol'fila, attending sixteen lectures and business meetings between November 1921 and May 1922. In October 1922 a meeting of Vol'fila was held to dissolve the organization. Finally, Belyj's fascination with dancing in the summer and fall of 1922 was partially an attempt to increase his physical activity for medical reasons. The *Rakkers*, perhaps the most frank and honest of Belyj's memoirs, provides its own footnotes to the Berlin period. Under the heading of October 1923, Belyj writes: "I know that in Moscow after Trocki's article about me participation in journals and literary-public life are off-limits to me (p. 116/2). Stopping to characterize the period between 1916 and 1923, he adds: "An active literary-public seven year period; I sum it up, because after it I ended up in different conditions; with literature, and public life, you could say, - the accounts were closed" (p. 117/1).

I want to thank A. V. Lavrov for his insights and useful suggestions on use of the archives. Prof. Dr. P. Brang kindly brought to my attention the important addition of the article by H. Riggenbach and R. Merti "Eine Grussadresse russischer Schriftsteller an Gerhart Hauptmann".

Zur Bedeutung des Raums in Michail Bulgakovs Dramen „Kabala Svjatoš“ (Mol'er) und „Poslednie Dni“ (Puškin)

Die Forschung zu Michail Bulgakovs dramatischem Werk hat gegenüber Arbeiten zu seinem Roman „Master i Margarita“ noch einen vergleichsweise geringen Umfang. Wesentliche Aspekte sind hier noch unerschlossen oder nur in einführender Weise behandelt. Dieser Aufsatz versucht einen Zugang zu zwei in der ersten Hälfte der dreißiger Jahre entstandenen Theaterstücken, bei denen jeweils ein bedeutender Dichter – Molière im einen Falle, Puškin im anderen – im Mittelpunkt steht.

Eine vergleichende Betrachtung von „Kabala svjatoš“ und „Poslednie dni“ bietet sich insofern an, als beide Dramen der späten Schaffensphase Bulgakovs zuzurechnen sind, in der er außerhalb des Theaters praktisch keine Publikationsmöglichkeiten mehr hatte. In beiden Dramen bildet die Frage nach dem Verhältnis von Dichter und Staatsmacht eine wesentliche thematische Schicht. Wenn dieses Problem eine Konstante von Bulgakovs Spätwerk überhaupt bildet, so ist darin nicht zuletzt sein Versuch zu sehen, die eigene Situation zu reflektieren und zu bewältigen. Dies dürfte zumindest einer der Gründe sein, warum er Puškin und Molière – beide für ihn auch künstlerische Autoritäten allerhöchsten Ranges – zu Zentralfiguren seiner Stücke macht. Beide befanden sich gegen Ende ihres Lebens in vergleichbaren Situationen, und in beiden Fällen stellt Bulgakov eben diese Phase dar, zeigt er den Künstler als Opfer politischer Intrigen und Machtmechanismen. Neben diesen Gemeinsamkeiten weisen die beiden Werke aber auch genügend Unterschiede auf, um einen Vergleich fruchtbar erscheinen zu lassen.

Methodischer Ausgangspunkt der Untersuchung ist die Beobachtung, daß Bulgakov in den vorliegenden Texten von der Möglichkeit, Räumen, räumlichen Relationen und räumlichen Vorgängen – über Situierung und Organisation des Geschehens hinaus – Bedeutungen zu verleihen, die in den Kern der Thematik führen, in besonders starkem Maße Gebrauch macht. Weltmodell und Kräftekon-