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Andrej Belyj The Berlin Years 1921–1923

One of the most controversial periods in the life and work of Andrej Belyj is the two year period which he spent in Berlin. Belyj's stay abroad is troubling to both Soviet and emigre scholars. Peter Drews describes the enigma: "So wenig seine Abreise aus der Sowjetunion im Herbst 1921 eine plausible Erklärung findet, so wenig gibt es einsichtige Gründe für seine Rückreise im November 1923."¹ Konstantin Močul'skij, relying primarily on the memoirs of Cvetæva and Xodasevič, portrays Belyj as absent-minded, distracted and estranged.² Soviet critics and scholars have depicted him, not as an emigre, but rather a lost sheep returned to the fold of Soviet literature.³ Neither view adequately explains Belyj's extraordinary burst of creative activity in Berlin. Not since the first decade of the century had Belyj been so prolific, so engaged, so in demand. To dismiss Belyj merely as a sick and troubled eccentric is to ignore his central role in "Russian Berlin". Scholarship to date lacks an "Überblick" examining the entire period of Belyj's stay in Berlin from November 1921 to October 1923 missing in the views of Cvetæva, Xodasevič and others who arrived in Berlin in mid 1922, a time of acute psychological crisis in Belyj's life. With this in-depth review of Belyj's activities, I hope to balance the reality, vividly re-

¹ PETER DREWS, *Russische Schriftsteller am Scheideweg – Berlin 1921–1923*. In: *Anzeiger für Slavische Philologie*, 12, 1981, p. 127.

² KONSTANTIN MOČUL'SKIJ, Andrej Belyj, Paris 1955, pp. 233–257. See also FEDOR STEPUN, *Pamjati Andreja Belogo*. In: *Sovremennye Zapiski*, 56, 1934, pp. 257–259.

³ See L. SKORINO, *Slušaju velikuju muzyku buduščego*. In: *Znamja*, 5, 1974, p. 236: "A. Belyj's departure abroad in the fall of 1921 was not an emigration; he was called by the hardships of life in the starving, devastated Petrograd." *Pravda*, January 11, 1934 in Belyj's obituary declares: "It is important to note, that he did not share the fate of other leaders of that literary movement (Merežkovskij, Gippius, Bal'mont) who slipped into the swamp of Whiteguard emigration. A. Belyj died a Soviet writer."

called in the Russian press in Berlin, with the perceptions of emigres, Soviets and Belyj's own harsh and one-sided recollection in "Одна из обителей царства теней."⁴ No such study can be complete without considering the special roles played by Asja Turgeneva-Bugaeva, Rudolf Steiner and Berlin itself for Belyj's arrival and the corresponding roles played by Klavdija Vasil'eva, Rudolf Steiner and conditions in Berlin for his departure.⁵

There are several references as early as 1920 for Belyj's desire to go abroad and rejoin Asja in Dornach.⁶ Two events in August 1921

⁴ ANDREJ BELYJ, *Oдна из обителей царства теней*, Leningrad 1924. This work was written shortly after his return to Moscow and not unmotivated by certain political realities of resuming a career in Soviet Russia. The work itself is dated by Belyj March 1924, but he gave a lecture with the same title on January 14, 1924. The English translation of the title, "In the Kingdom of Shadows", ignores the word *obitel'*. Yet Belyj was constantly in search of this "monastery" or "abbey." In a letter to Tomaševskij in 1933, he wrote: "this 'distant monastery' doesn't exist anywhere: we must build it inside of ourselves." (A. V. LAVROV, "B. B. Tomaševskij v perepiske s Andreem Belym". In: *Puškinskij Dom: Stat'i, Dokumenty*, Leningrad 1982, p. 239. The concept of "shadow" for the emigration is oft repeated. See V. ŠKLOVSKIJ, *Sentimental'noe putešestvie*, Moscow 1929, p. 332 "And know I live among the emigres, and I myself am turning into a shadow among shadows" [v ten' sredi tenej].

⁵ Many scholars have contributed bits and pieces to an understanding of Belyj's time in Berlin and their works will be cited in the course of this article. I am indebted to the many individuals who were generous with their time, critical reactions and suggestions, especially those eyewitnesses of the Berlin period who shared with me their memories: Nina Berberova, Aleksandr Baxrax, Vera Lur'e and Roman Gul'. The Alexander von Humboldt-Stiftung and Middlebury College provided generous support for travel and research.

⁶ A biographical note on Belyj printed in *Russkaja Kniga*, 1, 1921, p. 19 asserts: "Permission to travel abroad was not received." For some time there was a question of the official status of Belyj's and Asja's relationship. Asja in a letter to N. V. Vol'skij declared: "We actually – purely a formality – were married civilly in Bern in 1914 in order to not scandalize the unfriendly peasant population in Switzerland. I didn't want a marriage at all – and certainly not a church one." p. 65 in "K biografii Andreja Belogo: A. Belyj i A. A. Turgeneva" by GLEB STRUVE in *Annali dell'Istituto Universitario Orientale*, Sezione Slava, 13, Napoli, 1970, p. 65. Both John Malmstad and Ron Peterson have noted that Boris Bugaieff and Anna Turgenieff had their marriage officially registered with the Zivilstandsamt of Bern on March 23, 1914. Cf. Band 1914 Seite 78 Nr. 157 *Eheregister des Zivilstandskreises Bern*. Belyj and Asja had arrived in Dornach to take up residence on February, 1914 and to avoid difficulties with the local authorities or to avoid scandalizing the "aunties" at Dornach, they formalized their living together.

provided new impetus for Belyj's departure: the death of Alexander Blok and the arrest and execution of Nikolaj Gumilev. The most dramatic and profound event for the writer and the man was the death of his friend-foe, Aleksandr Blok on August 7, 1921. Their twenty-year relationship, both personal and professional, dominated Russian Symbolism. Born in the same year Belyj and Blok had been alternately united and divided by a series of philosophical and aesthetic concerns throughout their brilliant careers. In a letter to Khodasevič written only two days after Blok's death, Belyj described his initial reaction. "Эта смерть для меня – роковой часов бой: чувствую, что часть меня самого ушла с ним."⁷ At the same time, the loss was tempered by the sobering thought of his own mortality and the realization that at the age of forty he must be resolute: "вот и стукнуло мне его смертью: *пробудись или умри: начнись или кончись*. И смерть Блока для меня это зов *'погибнуть или любить'*. Эта смерть – первый удар колокола."⁸

Over the next few months, Belyj would speak eloquently in memory of his own one-time literary brother. Blok's death provided a clear focus for a flood of memories, especially of the earlier days of their literary careers from 1902 to 1905. He certainly saw Ljubov' Dmitrievna at the funeral who also opened the doors to retrospection and re-evaluation of his life.⁹ Often these retrospective moments concerned Belyj more than they did Blok, but their content was captivating and Belyj, a hypnotic orator, spellbound the audience at a morning memorial ceremony at the Petersburg section of *Vol'fila* (Вольная Философская Ассоциация) on August 28, 1921.

Заседание открыл Андрей Белый, выступивший с кратким вступительным словом и за тем – с большим докладом о Блоке. . . . Андрей Белый в тот день возник передо мной не только как

⁷ *Sovremennye Zapiski*, 55, 1934, p. 258. Quoted from a letter of August 9, 1921.

⁸ Belyj quotes here from a poem by A. A. DEL'VIG "Ėlegija": "Kogda duša prosilas' ty/Pogibnut', il' ljubit' . . ." He will repeat these words to Cvetaeva a year later.

⁹ Belyj's infatuation with Blok's wife, Ljubov' Dmitrievna, had precipitated one of his first crises. See A. LAVROV, *Stranicy istorii: Iz neizdannykh pisem Andreja Belogo k Aleksandru Bloku*. In: *Literaturnoe obozrenie*, 10, 1980, p. 105. In a letter written between April 11–14, 1905 Belyj admitted: "I recognize myself in Ljuba. I need her in spirit . . . But more than that I'm in love with Ljuba. Unthinkingly and completely."

оратор и человек, но и как явление . . . Мне долго казалось, да и теперь кажется, что эта речь Белого по своему духовному подъему, по власти и силе звучащего слова, по глубине дыхания была выше всех речей, которые мне когда-либо приходилось слышать.¹⁰

Still, even as Belyj was undergoing an intellectual rebirth, his physical health was by no means assured.¹¹ Blok and Belyj had both endured material hardship in Russian. Just as ominous was the threat to those too outspoken (and Belyj had never been known for his restraint). Maria Razumovsky writes:

Bloks Tod bot Andrej Belyj Anlaß zu einem flammenden Protest an die Adresse der verantwortlichen Stellen, denen er die Schuld am vorzeitigen Tod seines Freundes gab, und auf die menschenunwürdige Lage hinwies, in der die russischen Intellektuellen vegetieren mußten. Möglicherweise hat dieser Appell dazu beigetragen, daß ihm selbst und anderen die Ausreise ermöglicht wurde.¹²

Nikolaj Gumilev's arrest on the night of 3–4 August and subsequent execution signaled an end to the tolerance for cultural figures.¹³

Belyj was finally granted permission to leave in September.¹⁴ For the next month he moved between Moscow and Petrograd maintain-

¹⁰ D. MAKSIMOV, O tom, kak ja videl i slyšal Andreja Belogo. *Zvezda*, 7, 1982, pp. 171, 172.

¹¹ IL'JA ĖRENBURG in an article of 1921 mentions "the sick B. N. Belyj". "Aude-ssus de la mêlée" in *Russkaja Kniga*, 7–8, July – August 1921, p. 2.

¹² MARIA RAZUMOVSKY, Marina Zwetajeva: Mythos und Wahrheit, Wien 1981, p. 162.

¹³ Prof. A. JAŠČENKO summing up the early years of the Bolshevik powers admits: "it must be recognized, that if the life of anyone during this time was subject to minimum danger, it was the life of writers and scholars. In spite of the great terror we know of only a few instances of executions in this milieu. This respect and careful handling of intellectual workers was displayed from the very beginning of the revolution and continues to this day." Cf. *Russkaja kniga posle oktjabr'skogo perevorota*. In: *Russkaja Kniga*, 1, January 1921, 3.

¹⁴ Belyj had been summoned from Switzerland to Russia in the summer of 1916 for induction into the armed forces. First the war, then the events of 1917 and following prevented his departure abroad and return to Asja. In his letter to her from Kowno dated November 11–12, 1921 Belyj recalls: "Don't forget, that simultaneously, I tirelessly sought to leave. I wasn't permitted in February

ing an active schedule of lectures, meetings and negotiations for the publication of his works.¹⁵ He departed Russia on October 20, 1921 and after a few hours in Riga, where he was granted only a transit visa, he travelled on to the city of Kowno (Kaunas) where he gave two lectures on poetry and one on Tolstoj.¹⁶ From Kowno, where he was still awaiting a visa and the necessary permission to travel to Germany, he wrote to Asja. Time was running out and Belyj desperately wanted to make his way to "Ты, Доктор, Дорнах." (Letter to Asja, p. 301).¹⁷

1920; then in August 1920 I was turned down a second time, . . . Then Blok died, they shot Gumilev, and – they were ashamed; the young people began to shout: 'let Belyj go abroad, or he'll die, like Blok.'" (p. 306). In *Vozdušnye puti*, 5, 1967, pp. 296–309. This is the complete version of the letter which XODASEVIČ edited for *Sovremennye Zapiski*, 55, 1934. For an overview of Belyj's state of mind and desire to leave Russia see A. V. LAVROV, *Materialy Andreja Belogo v Rukopisnom otdel Puškinskogo Doma*. In: *Ežegodnik Rukopisnogo otdela Puškinskogo Doma na 1979 god*, Leningrad 1981, pp. 58–68. JOHN MALMSTAD in his "Introduction" to K. N. BUGAEVA, *Vospominaniia o Belom*, p. 13 states: "Officially he, like many others who left Russia at the time, had been granted an exit visa for reasons of health."

¹⁵ Already on August 11, 1921 Belyj was setting about to record his memories of Blok, a task which would grow and expand until it would become a major thrust of his literary life. He had written to the director of the Rumjantsev Library asking that copies of his own correspondence with Blok be made – a task given to Klavdija Nikolaevna Vasil'eva, who would later play a key role in Belyj's life.

On September 6, 1921 Belyj returned to Moscow and gave his diary and notes to Ivanov-Razumnik for safe-keeping. On September 26 he spoke in Moscow about Blok. See *Literaturnoe nasledstvo*, 92/93, Moscow 1982, pp. 535–538. In October Belyj tried to arrange his professional affairs. Most important was to obtain a release from his contractual obligations with Gržbin: See *Ežegodnik . . . na 1979*, pp. 66–67.

Also in October, Belyj organized a chapter of Vol'fila in Moscow based on the original group in Petersburg and on October 9 gave a lecture there on "Dostoevskij and Tolstoj." On October 16 Belyj met with the Anthroposophical Circle in Moscow and the Group Kuznecy (See L. SKORINO, p. 236). On October 17 he read from his "Pervoe svidanie" at a special meeting of the Union of Writers in Moscow and was hosted at a farewell dinner by the All Russian Union of Writers.

¹⁶ S. S. GREČISKIN, A. A. LAVROV, *O stixovedčeskom nasledii Andreja Belogo*. In: *Učenyje zapiski Tartuskogo universiteta*, 5125, 1981, p. 109.

¹⁷ The Doctor, of course, is Rudolf Steiner and Dornach is the village in Switzerland where Steiner had located his Anthroposophical colony. A note in *Russkaja Kniga*, 5, May 1921, p. 20 had noted that Andrej Belyj "Is preparing to travel to Switzerland."

Belyj's departure was motivated not so much by a desire to leave as it was a need to see and speak with Asja. "Моя милая, милая, милая, милая деточка! Боже мой, до чего я соскучился по Тебе . . ." Belyj writes in February of 1920.¹⁸ Their relationship is difficult to define, but they had been bound together uniquely by mystical and spiritual experiences. "Соследила не радость: вопрос – тот единый, который стоит перед каждым: 'Как жить?'"¹⁹ Belyj has described how in 1912 the two had experienced a mystical togetherness which came to full fruition in the person of Rudolf Steiner, and thus the triangle (Belyj's favorite form) of Belyj – Asja – Steiner.²⁰ After his return to Russia in 1916 Belyj kept alive the hope of a relationship with Asja. He refers to her with tenderness (albeit paternalistic – she was ten years his junior) and harbored the conviction that a face to face meeting and baring of their souls would restore the unity between the two. His own expectations were in sharp contrast to those of Asja. In her own mind the relationship had already ended before Belyj's departure in the summer of 1916.

Лишь в последние недели, прощаясь с прошлым, он, вновь обрел спокойствие. Но вера в то, что самое значительное, что мы пережили, сохраниться неприкосновенным, была надлом-

¹⁸ GEORGES NIVAT, *Lettres d'Andrej Belyj à la famille d'Asja*. In: *Cahiers du Monde russe et soviétique*, XVIII, 1–2, janv. – juin 1977, p. 138.

¹⁹ ANDREJ BELYJ, *Putevye zametki*, T. 1, Berlin 1922, p. 73.

²⁰ Belyj first writes to Blok about the experience in a letter of May 14, 1912. Later he will describe in artistic prose the life of "Nelli" [Asja] in "Zapiski čudaka", and ultimately he will describe personal details in "Iz vospominanij" *Be-seda*, 2, 1923, pp. 83–127. Asja herself says it would be illegitimate (nepravomerno) to comment on these experiences were it not for the fact that Belyj had described them in detail. See "Andrej Belyj i Rudolf Steiner", *Mosty*, 13–14, 1967–1968, p. 242. In a letter to N. Valentinov (Vol'skij), Asja complains that "Andr. Belyj in his last works describes our relationship subjectively (in details not always faithfully) and tastelessly – but in general correctly." "After 'Putev. Zametki' I considered it necessary to show him in life (žiznenno) that we had separated in life (žiznenno razošlis')." In Struve, "K biografii Andreja Belogo . . ." pp. 64–65. MAGNUS LJUNGGREN, *The Dream of Rebirth*, Stockholm 1982, p. 86 refers to Belyj's own "Material k biografii (intimnyj)" to explore the man and wife aspect. "Turgeneva declared in Bogoluby that she had finally found 'her own path' in anthroposophy as an ascetic, and that she was no longer able to play the role of his 'wife', but could only be a 'sister' to him. From this moment on Belyj says that Turgeneva categorically refused him sexual contact . . ."

лена. Он это знал. Будущее показало, что и сохраняя ему верность, уберечь его он не сумел.²¹

Asja's remarks that the correspondence soon ended are not completely accurate. Belyj continued to send letters to her and he refers to one of her letters in 1920 (her Christmas present for 1919) and her request passed on by an acquaintance in 1918 for money. Regardless of her perception, Belyj intended to join his wife and he refers to her often.²² The best indication of Belyj's true desire to see Asja is in the November letter from Kowno. After chiding her for the tone of her own letters, her lack of understanding of Soviet reality and his accusation that "Ты покинула меня в самое критическое время." (p. 304), Belyj nonetheless affirms: "Тебя лично я глубоко люблю; но эта любовь – все эти года доставляла одно сплошное страдание; и от этой любви – 'ни привет, ни ответа'." (p. 307).

A second motive for his trip abroad was Belyj's desire to rejoin the Doctor – Rudolf Steiner. This relationship, too, is complex and controversial. The Doctor Donner of Belyj's Moscow novels remains today an obstacle in attempts to define Belyj's reaction to the man who was his spiritual mentor, and intellectual foster father. This association with Steiner is central to any understanding of the Berlin period as well as to Belyj's mental state, and while the strange father-son bond between the two men has been treated elsewhere, Steiner was so central to Belyj during the Berlin years, some aspects deserve repetition. Belyj's own father had died in 1903, and the Oedipus complex in the novel "Перебъыр" is merely one indication of Belyj's ambiguous feelings toward him. Rudolf Steiner stepped into that gap and there are references that make it clear that Belyj looked upon Steiner as a father.²³ Belyj believed that

²¹ A. TURGENEVA, Andrej Belyj i Rudol'f Štejner. In: *Mosty*, 13–14, 1967–1968, p. 248.

²² In a letter from December 1920 Belyj writes to Konstantin Ėrberg: "My entire life is in Asja and in 'Epopeja' . . . My soul longs for Asja. I was ready to flee." A. V. LAVROV, *Materialy Andreja Belogo v Rukopisnom otdela Puškinskogo Doma*. In: *Ežegodnik Rukopisnogo otdela Puškinskogo Doma na 1979 god*, Leningrad 1981, p. 60. In a letter to Gržbin on October 6, 1921 Belyj refers twice to his desperate need for money: "I must again earn a living for myself and my wife." *ibid.* 67.

²³ See THOMAS R. BEYER, JR., Andrej Belyj's "Reminiscences of Rudolf Steiner": A Review Article. *Slavic and East European Journal*, XXV, 4, Winter 1981, pp. 76–86. A more recent discussion appears in my "Belyj and Steiner:

Steiner could easily arrange his entry into Berlin, and while he wrote that he did not want to bother the "great one" with a request for intercession, he clearly hoped for Steiner's support on his behalf. This conflicts with Asja's account, who quotes Steiner as saying

'Бугаев болен,' – сказал мне Рудольф Штейнер, по поводу этого письма. – 'Я рад был бы пригласить его сюда, но это не пойдет ему на пользу. Мы тут живем на пороховой бочке (это было за несколько месяцев до пожара в Гетеануме, А. Т.) Постарайтесь отговорить его, я делаю, что могу, чтобы облегчить ему въезд в Германию.'

Asja recalls, these words made their way to Belyj, who found them "offensive."²⁴ Already in Kowno, however, Belyj realized that visa and currency problems would preclude moving to Switzerland. Consequently he decided to travel to Berlin.

Several factors at the beginning of 1920 combined to make Berlin an appealing community for the Russian intelligentsia. Berlin had emerged from World War I somewhat poorer and wiser than before – but its cultural and architectural heritage were intact. In 1920 with the unification of the surrounding communities Berlin became a metropolis of four million inhabitants. The events of the nineteen thirties have overshadowed the city's heritage of tolerance. In the seventeenth century Berlin had granted refuge to the Jews of Europe and later to the French Huguenots. In the early 1920's some 100,000 Russians lived here and another 300,000 were scattered around other parts of Germany.²⁵ Political factors likewise favored

The Berlin Period 1921–1923." *Andrej Belyj Society Newsletter*, 6, 1987, pp. 13–26 and "Andrej Belyj's First and Last Encounters with Rudolf Steiner: Two Letters to Marie von Sivers." *Journal for Anthroposophy*, 46, Winter 1987, pp. 71–76. An excellent overview of Steiner and Anthroposophy can be found in the series "Anthroposophen" in *Der Spiegel*, 17–20, 22 (1984).

²⁴ A. TURGENEVA p. 248. This reaction of Steiner comes apparently on the basis of Belyj's letter from Kowno. Most have assumed that the letter was never sent. Could it be that Asja returned the letter to Belyj who left it in the trunk which the landlady at the Crampe Pension gave to Xodasevič and Berberova when Belyj left?

²⁵ Little remains of their physical presence. The Russian cemetery at Wittestrasse (Русская Православная Церковь св. равноапостольных царей Константина и Елены) guards peacefully the remains of the few hundred Russians who perished in the city after 1917 including the grave of V. D. Nabokov. Most of

Berlin. The Treaty of Brest-Litovsk had brought an early cessation of hostilities between Russia and Germany. The Bolshevik regime desperately needed trading partners and the Weimar Republic still smarting from the burden of the Treaty of Versailles had signed an economic agreement in Berlin on May 6, 1921 which resulted in *de facto* recognition of Soviet Russia. By November 1921 Russia would have permanent diplomatic representation in Berlin and on April 16, 1922 the Treaty of Rapallo extending diplomatic and economic relations was signed.

Vasilij Nemirovič-Dančenko described the conditions as follows: "Германия сейчас земля обетованная. К нам относятся приветливо, а после соглашения с советской властью и совсем хорошо."²⁶ Differences in the value of currencies resulted in a particularly low cost of living for those with access to the more stable currencies. This seemingly favorable arrangement would soon have drastic consequences for those living in Germany, but for the years 1921 and most of 1922 there was a real window of opportunity in Berlin. By 1923 Berlin would have forty Russian language publishing houses, three major daily Russian newspapers and more than twenty Russian journals. There was a more or less free interchange of ideas as well as persons between Berlin and Moscow. The emigration, which many still hoped was only temporary, was much like a return to pre-war days when Russia's intelligentsia frequently spent time in the major cultural centers and universities of Europe.

the houses are gone too – victims of the bombing of Berlin. Twenty percent of all the buildings were destroyed and another fifty percent severely damaged. The Cafe Landgraf, the Grand Casino Nollendorf and the Cafe Leon (actually the Cafe and Conditorei of Gustav Leon) where Ėrenburg, Remizov, Esenin, Pasternak, Majakovskij, Šklovskij, Cvetaeva, Xodasevič, A. Tolstoj and A. Belyj would come together are no longer to be found. The Prager Pension and Prager Diele are gone. Here at Ėrenburg's "Stammtisch" the literary elite would gather and in the words of Belyj "прагердильствовать". A curious exception is the house at Viktoria Luise Platz 9 where the top floors were occupied by the widow Ella Crampe's Pension. Xodasevič lived here with Nina Berberova. So, too for a time, did Andrej Belyj, Geršenson and Nikolaj Nikitin. For one of the first discussions of the Berlin emigration see HANS VON RIMSCHA, *Rußland jenseits der Grenzen 1921–1926*, Jena 1927. A recent and excellent overview is contained in FRITZ MIERAU, *Russen in Berlin: 1918–1933: Eine kulturelle Begegnung*, Weinheim 1988.

²⁶ VAS. I. NEMIROVIČ-DANČENKO, *Pis'mo iz Berlina*. In: *Literaturnye Zapiski*, 2, June 23, 1922, pp. 10–11. See also the continuation "Pis'mo iz Berlina", *Literaturnye Zapiski*, 3, August 1, 1923, pp. 14–15.

The emergence of the Russian press and printing industry in Berlin is a topic once well documented. As they consolidated their political gains in 1918 the Bolshevik authorities succeeded in stifling newspapers and journals unsympathetic to their cause and views in those areas where they had military control. The Civil War presents a complicated picture of temporary papers in pockets unoccupied by the Bolsheviks. At least as effective as the political and legal obstructions to printing were the material difficulties and shortages of newsprint, ink and paper which even when available were allocated to more mundane and pragmatic areas.

Still, within the borders of Soviet Russia precious little was printed. There were the publishing houses of Alkonost' and Gržbin, but the figures for new titles which appeared in 1920 were disappointing: Great Britain 11,026, America 8,329, Germany 32,345, Russia 742.²⁷ Meanwhile the explosive growth of the numbers of Russians living abroad, including many of the intellectual elite, constituted fertile grounds for literally hundreds of publishing ventures. Figures vary on this account. "Справочник для русских в Берлине" (Berlin 1923, pp. 26–28) lists forty-six publishers and twenty one periodicals. Volkmann notes that Berlin had fifty five periodicals in 1922 and forty seven in 1923. He also finds 471 Russian language books published in the city in 1922 and 667 in 1923.²⁸ Many were short-lived (the collapse of the German economy would doom them), but while they flourished Russian writers prospered. The publishing houses which sprang up would soon compete with each other for writers and works as vigorously as they advertised their wares in the newspapers. And the center of this activity would become Berlin:

К началу 1922 года определилось в этой области подавляющее значение Берлина. Свобода и терпимость германской республики, дружелюбное и гостеприимное отношение германского народа (единственного, оказавшегося истинным другом русских в эти трудные годы), скопление здесь, в силу этого, значительных русских интеллигентных и предпринимательных сил, дешевизна производства, совершенство и эластичность герман-

²⁷ Quoted from *Publishers Weekly* in *Novosti Literaturny*, I, August 1922, p. 39.

²⁸ HANS-ERICH VOLKMANN, *Die russische Emigration in Deutschland 1919–1929*, Würzburg 1966, pp. 121–126.

ской типографической техники, разработанность методов международной торговли, либерализм германского законодательства и закона о прессе, — все эти, и многие другие, условия способствовали тому, что Берлин действительно стал “третьей (умственной) столицей” России. Законы экономической конкуренции на едином рынке привели к тому, что мало по малу почти все русские книгоиздательства в других странах, кроме Германии, должны были прекратить свою деятельность или перенести печатание книг в Германию.²⁹

Belyj was no stranger to Germany — he had considerable intellectual ties to the country. In an autobiographical note he had written:

Первым реальным прикосновением к искусству считаю те вечера далекого прошлого, когда мать моя играла сонаты Бетховена и прелюдии Шопена; первым прикосновением к поэзии — чтение вслух для меня моей гувернанткой (немкой) стихов Уланда, Гете и сказки Андерсена. Музыка, Уланд, Гете и Андерсен пробудили во мне непрекращавшуюся любовь к искусству, любовь, которую, повинувшись какой-то детской стыдливостью, я долгое время скрывал тщательным образом. Может быть, то обстоятельство, что пробуждение во мне эстетических эмоций связано с Андерсеном и Уландом, и отразилось в последствии на характер моей юношеской симфонии (“Северная Симфония”), выдержанной в старогерманских тонах. Может быть, оттого жива во мне и по сию пору любовь к старой Германии (да и к Германии вообще), к германской музыке (Бетховен, Шуман, Вагнер), живописи (Дюрер, Вольгемут, Грюневальд, Штрингель), поэзии (Гете, романтики, Ницше), философии (Кант, Лейбниц, Шеллинг, Шопенгауэр, Риккерт и опять таки Ницше), науке (Гельмгольц, Оствальд, Вундт, Деиссен и др.) и мистике (Эккарт, Беме и из нынешних — Рудольф Штейнер). Все, что люблю я на Западе, невольно как-то связано для меня с Германией.³⁰

²⁹ A. JAŠČENKO, “Literatura za pjat’ istekšix let.” *Novaja Russkaja Kniga*, 11/12, Nov.-Dec. 1922, p. 2. A recent overview of this publishing with an excellent bibliography is contained in HARTMUT WALRAVENS, “Blaue Nächte in Berlin . . .” *Zum russischen Verlagswesen im Berlin der zwanziger Jahre.* *Aus dem Antiquariat*, 5, 1987, pp. A 189-A 195.

³⁰ ANDREJ BELYJ “Avtobiografičeskaja spravka” in S. A. VENGEROV, *Russkaja Literatura XX veka*, 2, III, pp. 9-10. For an overview of Belyj’s thoughts on

On the eve of his departure for Berlin, however, he was decidedly less enthusiastic: “В Берлине я буду один . . . я стараюсь, пока что рассматривать Ausland, как санаторий, в котором мне надо укрепить нервами, написать начатые книги, издать их.”³¹ Belyj would not be alone in Berlin and his plans to finish and publish his works would be fulfilled far beyond even his expectations. He boarded a ship in Pilau to Königsberg and then on to Stettin in a journey described in “Одна из обителей царства теней.” (pp. 13-28). From there he boarded a train for the journey to Berlin where he arrived on November 19, 1921.

Belyj’s first day in Berlin coincided with a lecture that very evening by Rudolf Steiner on “Anthroposophie und Wissenschaft.” And so on the evening of November 19 just having arrived, he hurried off to the lecture —

куда я попал в первый день приезда в Берлин и где встретился с “БЛИЗКИМИ” некогда мне, и рядом старых знакомств, и с “ДОРНАХАМИ”, и со Штейнером.³²

The Doctor, however, was likely not prepared for Belyj’s appearance at his lecture. The result was far from the expected welcome for the Prodigal Son.

в условиях моего состояния, разумеется, падали все намерения, среди вопросов, свидания, самому Штейнеру, спросившему меня: “Ну, — как дела?”, — я мог лишь ответить с гримасой сокращения лицевых мускулов под приятную улыбку: “Трудности с жилищным отделом.” Этим и ограничился в 1921 году пять лет лежачий [(sic) желаемый] и нужный мне всячески разговор (p. 114).

The German polite but cool greeting, the crash of reality against

Germany see also THOMAS R. BEYER, JR. “Zwischen Moskau und Goetheanum — Andrej Belyj” in *Deutsche und Deutschland in der russischen Lyrik des frühen 20. Jahrhunderts*, München 1988, pp. 41-58.

³¹ *Vozdušnye puti*, 5, 1967, p. 307.

³² A. BELYJ, *Počemu ja stal simvolistom*, Ann Arbor 1982, pp. 112-113. It was in a discussion with FRÉDÉRIC KOZLIK that I realized the true impact of this coincidental meeting. Kozlik’s monumental work is a valuable resource for scholars of the Belyj — Steiner connection: *L’influence de l’anthroposophie sur l’oeuvre d’André Biéli*, Frankfurt 1981.

the inflated expectations set the tone for the personal crises that Belyj would experience in Berlin.³³

For the Germans Belyj (Boris Nikolaevič Bugaev) would be another statistic, one of 17,500 foreigners and 1,040 Russians who entered the country in November. His arrival was officially reported in *Голос России* (No. 820, November 22, 1921, p. 3) "Приехал в Берлин известный писатель Андрей Белый."³⁴ The first few evenings Belyj spent at the residence of Evgenij Lundberg, director of the Скифы publishing house in Berlin before moving into Passauerstraße 3 bei Boraus across the street from KaDeWe (Kaufhaus des Westens), one of the largest department stores in the world.

Germany of 1921 and the bustling Berlin presented a clear contrast to the cold and hunger of Moscow and Petrograd. The material side of Berlin and its Russian community were plain to see. A look at the Sunday issue of *Голос России* (No. 825, November 27, 1921) highlights the restaurant "Alerverdi" with a selection of Caucasian and Russian dishes. One could dine and dance at the Russian bar at Spichernstraße. The Kurfürstendamm Casino was advertising

³³ V. XODASEVIČ in "Andrej Belyj", *Nekropol'*, Paris 1976, pp. 88-89. Repeated by Močul'skij, Xodasevič makes much of Belyj's remark that "Finally at some sort of meeting, in Berlin, Belyj saw Steiner. He rushed up to him - and heard the emphatically prosaic question, delivered in a paternalistic condescending tone: 'Na, wie geht's?' Belyj understood that there was nothing to talk about, and answered with contemptuous rage. 'Schwierigkeiten mit dem Wohnungsamt!'"

Xodasevič, who recalls most of this from Belyj's own words, had arrived in Berlin in late June 1922. The more memorable line is spoken by Belyj on the U-Bahn who threatened to go to Dornach and shout out "Herr Doktor, Sie sind ein alter Affe!" (p. 90). Belyj would recall with regret his illness at the time and his intemperate outbursts. Unfortunately Belyj's own apologies contained in letters, and "Vospominanija o Šejnere" and "Počemu ja stal simvolistom" came to light in the past few years and were not general knowledge in the Russian emigre community which continued to speak of Belyj's alienation from Steiner. While the conflict was no doubt real, it was not permanent nor very long-lived as events of 1923 will show. At any rate, contacts did take place during the days following Belyj's arrival in Berlin, and the result was to shatter Belyj's dreams and leave his personal life in shambles.

³⁴ In gathering information on this period I have relied heavily on the daily Russian language newspapers printed in Berlin. *Rul'* provides valuable information on events between 1921 and 1922. *Nakanune* began publishing in March 1922. *Golos Rossii* ceases publication in October 1922, but is quickly replaced by *Dni*.

its five o'clock tea with a Russian Gypsy orchestra. The "Alexander" restaurant at Behrenstraße 57 offered an orchestra of balalaikists. There were Russian chocolates, coffee, papirosy, cigars. Several jewelers were doing business in *Buying* and selling *Diamonds*. You could find Russian doctors and lawyers and shop at the Modehaus Petersburg at Passauerstraße 4, next door to Belyj. There was also the promenade - the Russian "parti-de-plaisir" along Tauenzienstraße. More shocking was the incomparable Berlin night life of cocaine, easy women, gay bars and transvestite clubs.

Berlin, however, was also a center of Russian culture and in the last week of November 1921 one could attend the opening of the Moscow Art Theater with a performance of Chexov's "Три сестры". There was also a public reading by Aleksej Tolstoj of his new play, "Любовь - книга золотая", and by Lev Šestov on "Dostoevskij."³⁵

It was quite naturally to this other side of Berlin that Belyj turned and immediately assumed an active and leading role in the artistic and literary community. For one who had complained of too much outside activity which distracted him from his writing, Belyj was quick to establish organizational ties with the literary elite of Berlin. Lundberg asserted: "Когда для Андрея Белого наступает успокоение, он, вероятно, перестает быть."³⁶ Only two days after his arrival, on Monday evening November 21, 1921, Belyj attended an organizational meeting of a group at the Cafe Landgraf (Kurfürstenstraße 75) to discuss the establishment of the Дом искусств в Берлине (House of the Arts) (*GR*, 822, Nov. 24, 1921, p. 3).³⁷ A week later on November 29 the board of directors which included Belyj was chosen. (*GR*, 829, Dec. 2, 1921, p. 4). Belyj had always had a penchant for forming groups. On November 30 a group of friends and co-workers of Skify met to open a chapter of the Вольная Философская Ассоциация (Vol'fila) in Berlin. Among those at the meeting were Nikolaj Minskij, Lev Šestov, Il'ja Ėrenburg and Aleksej Remizov. Šestov was chosen honorary president, but Belyj was elected president, a position he held in the Moscow and Petrograd chapters. (*GR*, 831, Dec. 4, 1921, p. 1 and *Rul'*, 318,

³⁵ See *Golos Rossii*, 822, Nov. 24, 1921, p. 3.

³⁶ E. LUNDBERG, *Zapiski pisatelja*, Berlin 1922, p. 177.

³⁷ See THOMAS R. BEYER, JR., *The House of the Arts and Writers' Club in Berlin 1921-1923*. In: "Russische Autoren und Verlage in Berlin nach dem Ersten Weltkrieg", Berlin 1987, pp. 9-38.

Dec. 3, 1921, p. 4). Belyj had also made a commitment to deliver two lectures on behalf of Russian student organizations for the Union of Russian journalists and Writers in Berlin. (*Rul'*, 310, Nov. 24, 1921, p. 4).

One other note in the Russian language Berlin press that fall would have far-reaching consequences for Belyj: "Московское Литературное и Художественное книгоиздательство 'Теликон' в скором времени возобновляет свою деятельность в Берлине." (*GR*, 802, Oct. 30, 1921, p. 5).³⁸ In spite of this flurry of activity B. recalls in his "Раккурс к дневнику" for November "сумбур . . . удар за ударом."³⁹ Berlin had not reunited Belyj with Steiner or with Asja but it would permit him to publish the works he had written since 1916, and so he turned for consolation to his work.

If Belyj was looking for a rest, his activities in December seemed to preclude it. At the regular weekly meeting of the House of the Arts on December 3, Belyj read from *Эпопея* (*GR*, 834, Dec. 8, 1921, p. 3).⁴⁰ On December 5, there was a meeting of Vol'fila to elect new members attended by I. V. Gessen, the editor of *Rul'* and director of the Committee for Aid to Russian Writers, and A. Jašenko, editor of *Русская Книга*, the valuable bibliographical journal of the Russian emigration (*GR*, 836, Dec. 10, 1921, p. 3). A number of open Vol'fila meetings was also announced. Belyj's first public lecture for the House of the Arts had been scheduled for that evening of the

³⁸ Ultimately Belyj would publish several works with Gelikon, including the journal *Эпопея*, and the publisher, A. G. Višnjak, would be one of Belyj's most faithful supporters.

³⁹ "The Raccoursy Diary" is quoted in KLAVDIJA NIKOLAEVNA BUGAEVA, Andrej Belyj: *Letopis' žizni i tvorčestva in GPB Saltykov Scedrin* F 60 ed. x. 107. They have been extensively cited by JOHN MALMSTAD in his introduction to BUGAEVA's *Vospominanija o Belom*, Berkeley 1981. Scholars have repeatedly referred to the diary indirectly through Klavdija Nikolaevna. The actual "Rakkurs" is preserved in CGALI. In a letter to me of March 6, 1986, the Director of the Central Literary Archives, N. B. VOLKOVA wrote: "This material entered the archives with the note of the author 'For personal use.' This means, that the diary notes, contained in the cited manuscript, bear an extremely personal character and therefore cannot be provided for examination and research." I am grateful to Professor Maria Carlson for sharing with me her notes for the Berlin period in Belyj's life.

⁴⁰ These are presumably excerpts from "Prestuplenie Nikolaja Letaeva." See the review of *Эпопея* by MARIETTA ŠAGINJAN in *Letopis' doma literatorov*, 1, Nov 1, 1921, pp. 2-3.

fifth, but had been postponed. On December 10, the House held its regular Saturday meeting with readings scheduled by Tolstoj, Remizov and Minskij. On Monday, December 12, there was a closed meeting of Vol'fila.⁴¹ On December 14, Belyj finally delivered his earlier promised lecture on "Современная культура в России" at the Logenhaus (Kleiststraße 10).⁴²

Belyj's first public statement is both profoundly personal, as well as a daring defense of Soviet Russia and a none too veiled criticism of the emigration.

Культурная жизнь современной России представляет собой пеструю смесь противоречий и крайностей; красота переплетается с безобразием, головные утопии с конкретнейшими достижениями в области искусства, забота о куске хлеба, одежде, дровах переплетается с мыслями о Вечности и о Гробе; смерть и воскресенье, гибель и рождение новой культуры – все это столкнуто; норма отсутствует (p. 2).

Belyj points to those who "эмигрировали в абстрактную сферу безжизненных принципов, в воспоминания о прошлом." The accusatory tone is ironic, because Belyj too will eventually arrive at "a land of Memories."⁴³ Belyj defends the new culture, especially the proletarian poets with whom he had labored in 1918-1919 and concludes "есть культура в России, культура выдавшая перед собой лик гроба и смерти, не убоявшаяся ни гробов современности, ни гробов, ей сколачиваемых издавна. Это – культура сходящей к России Вечности" (p. 6).

⁴¹ As one of the organizers and a key figure in both the House of the Arts and Vol'fila, it is likely that Belyj attended most of their meetings. Where Belyj's participation is either announced prior to the event or commented on after the meeting I have provided specific references to the newspapers or journals of the day. Where no citation is given, I have been unable to confirm Belyj's presence.

⁴² MIKHAIL ŠVARC, Andrej Belyj o grjaduščej Rossii, in *Golos Rossii*, 845, Dec. 21, 1921, p. 2. BELYJ published his article "Kul'tura v sovremennoj Rossii" in *Novaja Russkaja Kniga*, 1, 1922, pp. 2-6. The article with an introduction by THOMAS R. BEYER, JR. was republished in *Andrej Belyj Society Newsletter*, 5, 1986, pp. 13-28.

⁴³ W. POLENSKY, Die Suche nach der objectiven Wahrheit, *Russische Korrespondenz*, 1-3, Jan - March, 1922, p. 216. "Wir stehen an der Quelle eines Flusses, der sehr wasserreich zu werden verspricht, – des Flusses der Erinnerungen . . . Schon jetzt zählt die Memoirenliteratur über die große russische Revolution nach Dutzenden von Bänden."

If we look to the beginning for a hint of the end, we can see one reason Belyj would choose to return to Russia: the young poets and young people in general from whom he drew sustenance which was unavailable anywhere else. In his letter to Asja, he had spoken of being alone in Berlin, but cautioned her not to repeat his comments especially because of Cheka agents who might arrest his mother and because he did not want to spoil a return entry "ибо близкие сердцу друзья – в России" (p. 308). Indeed, if Asja did not love him he could, he believed, always return to his fans.

Если бы ты знала, как провожала меня молодежь в Петербурге, какие слова благодарности я слышал (кто-то из публики мне крикнул: "*Милый Котик Летаев, – когда вам будет одиноко там, помните, что мы здесь, вас любим!*") Также меня провожали в Москве: представители студий, писатели, молодежь. Да, Ася, меня *крепко любит Россия!* (pp. 306–307)

If not with love and adulation, then with curiosity and eager anticipation, Berlin crowds waited to hear him. On December 15 in the Philharmonic Hall along with Ol'ga Knipper of the Moscow Art Theater, Remizov and Tolstoj, Belyj was featured at an evening organized by the Russian Social Committee where he was scheduled to read from *Эпопея* and share his impressions about Russia. (GR, 839, Dec. 14, 1921, p. 3). On December 17, another meeting was held at the House of the Arts to choose officers of the literary, artistic and musical section. On the 18th Belyj was scheduled to give an address to the YMCA in the Cafe Abazia am Knie on "Проблема культуры." (Rul', 329, Dec. 16, 1921, p. 5). Belyj read at the House of the Arts on the 24th from his "Первое свидание" (GR, 852, Dec. 30, 1921, p. 3), on the 26th he was scheduled to deliver the Vol'fila lecture "Ветхий и Новый Завет" (GR, 836, Dec. 10, 1921, p. 3). On December 29 he read from his poem "Христос воскрес" for the literary Thursday get-together of the Union of Russian Students at the Speisehaus (Stuttgarter Platz 20) (GR, 851, Dec. 29, 1921, p. 3). On the 30th the House of the Arts held its final meeting before the new year and a switch of meeting night from Saturday to Friday.

Also in December Gelikon somewhat prematurely announced that Belyj's "Путевые заметки", 1 и 2 as well as "Записки чудака" were in print and would soon be on sale. Another milestone was the completion of the first installment of his "Воспоминания о Блоке" which would appear in the journal *Эпопея* that Belyj would edit. In

spite of this activity, Belyj was not happy. His diary for the month speaks of "Угрюмость . . . ужас отчаяния".

The New Year 1922 opened with mixed emotions. In a letter of January 15, 1922 to Ivanov-Razumnik he wrote:

Сердце сжимается болью: у меня трагедия: Ася ушла от меня; Штейнер – разочаровывает . . . От боли стискиваю зубы; и – пью . . . Провалилась Ася, Штейнер, движение, – все: нелегко мне вынести эту утрату . . . когда я слушал Штейнера, то . . . мне казалось Штейнер – разжизненная "Вольфила". Берегите "Вольфилу".⁴⁴

And yet even given his disappointments or perhaps in spite of them the year 1922 would be one of the most crucial in the writer's career. It was a time of intense and incredibly productive literary activity – and the most prolific publishing year of his life.⁴⁵

Much of January 1922 was devoted to writing the second installment of the "Воспоминания о Блоке" which are dated January 1922. They would eventually be published in the journal *Эпопея* which would serve as a center of Belyj's activity in 1922. "Изд-во

⁴⁴ CGALI, 1782 op. 1 No. 73 quoted in A. LAVROV, "Rukopisnyj arxiv Andreja Belogo v Puškinskom Dome", *Ežegodnik Puškinskogo Doma na 1979 god*, Leningrad 1981, p. 54.

⁴⁵ Belyj's own list of completed works and projects for the year is contained in an autobiographical note "Andrej Belyj, arrived in Berlin in November 1921 (Passauerstraße 3 bei Boraus) . . . 1) 'On Poetic Meaning' the manuscript remained in Russia, 2) Four 'Crises' (Crisis of Life, Crisis of Thought, Crisis of Culture, Crisis of Consciousness); the first three crises appeared as separate booklets; the manuscript of the last Crisis I lost (there are rumors it has been found) 3) work on 'Tolstoj' (brief): a Latvian editor took the work for a Latvian edition; and after taking it he disappeared with it (I did not have a copy, – in the conditions of Russian life I could not permit myself the luxury of copying what had been written), 4) 'Notes of an Eccentric' a *poeset'* (a part of it has been published in 'Zapiski mečtatelja'), the story will come out as a separate book in the publishing house Helikon, 5) 'A Star', a book of verse (everything could not appear in Russia), 6) 'On Rhythmic Gesture' (a small study, supposed to have appeared in Russia), 7) Reworked again 2 volumes of "Travel Notes". The first volume will appear soon in the Berlin publishing house Gelikon. 8) 'Glossolalija' (a poem about sound) (never published anywhere). Everything written lay for years and continues in part to lie in Russia . . . At present I am finishing work on Blok which will appear in the journal 'Эпопея', and I am also working on the first volume of 'Эпопея', the first part of which 'The Christened Chinaman' is printed in No. 4 of 'Zapiski mečtatelej.'" In: *Novaja Russkaja Kniga*, 1, Jan. 1922, pp. 38–39.

'Теликон' в Берлине предполагает выпускать с начала 1922 г. ежемесячный журнал под редакцией Андрея Белого."⁴⁶

On January 4 Belyj delivered the inaugural lecture of the Berlin section of Vol'fila "Культура духа" at the Logensaal at Kleiststraße 10 (*Rul'*, 343, Jan. 3, 1922, p. 5) and participated at the second public session of Vol'fila at the Berliner Secessionssaal, Kurfürstendamm 238, on January 24 (*Rul'*, 358, Jan. 20, 1922, p. 3). Minskij read a paper followed by a discussion including Belyj, Remizov and Lundberg. "Вольная Философская Ассоциация сосредоточивает свое внимание на проблемах философии, религии, культуры, сознания и общественности, взятых в свете кризиса жизни и в свете поисков положительных начал жизни и мысли."⁴⁷ At least temporarily "Vol'fila" seems to have filled the gap left by Steiner and Anthroposophy.

On Jan. 15 Belyj delivered a lecture "Культура сознания" at the Berlin YMCA billed as a continuation of his December lecture to that group (*Rul'*, 350, Jan. 11, 1922, p. 7). The House of the Arts continued to flourish with meetings on January 13, devoted to the memory of V. G. Korolenko, and on January 20 and 27. On the 20th they discussed the publication of the journal "Bulletin of the House of Arts" in Petrograd. Belyj was presumably present, though he is not mentioned in the newspaper announcements or reports.

February 1922 was likewise filled with meetings for Belyj. Vol'fila organized a public session devoted to Blok on February 2. On February 3 the House of the Arts dedicated the evening to the memory of the conductor, Arthur Nikisch, at which Belyj participated (*Rul'*, 368, Feb. 1, 1922, p. 4). On February 4, Gessen and V. D. Nabokov joined together with Belyj in a panel discussion sponsored by the student journal *Звено* at the Logenhaus at Joachimstaler Straße 12. Belyj's topic was "Из студенческих лет" (*Rul'*, 367, Jan. 31, 1922, p. 5). The House of the Arts met again on February 10 and the writer Boris Pil'njak and the poet Aleksandr Kusikov, both recently ar-

⁴⁶ *Volja Rossii*, I, January, 1922, p. 22. "The character of the new journal can be judged by the following statement of the directors of Gelikon: the publishing house is apolitical, among its tasks is to shed more light on problems of new art rather than surveys of the former: the interests of the publishing house are directed toward Russia, both in the sense of the market for books and in relation to literary-artistic materials."

⁴⁷ ANDREJ BELYJ, Vol'naja filosofskaja asociacija. In: *Novaja Russkaja Kniga*, 1, 1922, pp. 32-33.

rived from Russia, were scheduled to read there on February 17. Kusikov would publish poems in Belyj's *Энонея*, but would play an even more painful role in the Belyj-Asja relationship. The February 24 meeting was devoted primarily to a musical program.⁴⁸ Belyj's own literary and artistic output continued alongside of his busy personal schedule. An ad for the forthcoming *Энонея* listed as a monthly with the first issue scheduled for March announced that the editor [Belyj] was now receiving on Wednesdays between 1:00 and 4:00 PM at the offices of Gelikon on Alte Jakobstraße 129 (*GR*, 902, Feb. 26, 1921, p. 7). On February 20, 1922, he finishes an excerpt from "Записки чудака" for *Альманах* and on the 26th he publishes "Блок в юности: Из воспоминаний о нем Андрея Белого" (*GR*, 902, p. 5). Finally the first issue of the *Бюллетени Дома Искусств Берлин* appears with a number of items relating to Belyj. Published by Minskij, Remizov and Sumskij-Kaplun, this nineteen-page brochure was modeled on the Petrograd version. Issue I-II was dated February 17, 1922. The first article contains a request from the Committee for the Preservation of the Memory of Blok "that all manuscripts, letters, other materials be turned over for the establishment of the Dom-Muzej imeni A. Bloka." The next article is a report of Belyj's speech at Vol'fila on August 28 (Much of this material was taken verbatim from the journal of the Dom Literatorov). Other articles concerned the founding of Vol'fila in Berlin and a report on Belyj's lecture "О культуре." There is also a satirical interview with Andrej Belyj, which gently chides his foibles, and is likely a total fabrication by the master of practical jokers, Remizov. Belyj's most fascinating poetic creation of February is the poem "Ты тень теней" first published with the title "Ace". Composed before Asja's arrival in Berlin, the poem also appeared in Belyj's "После Разлуки". The "lost poet" reaches out to find and embrace her, the soul of light, hidden behind the pale of years and the invisible boundaries of space and time. "Тебя, себя Я обниму," if only in his mind. In February Belyj could still hope for re-unification with Asja, which he considered necessary for his own re-integration of body and spirit.

March 1922 began optimistically for Belyj and the Russian community in general in Berlin, but it would end in tragedy and signal

⁴⁸ K. Bugaeva's notes indicate that Belyj read both poetry and from "Kreščenyj kitaec" at the House of the Arts in February.

hard times to come. Belyj was particularly active during the month which was rich with cultural and social events. In fact, in the next few months Belyj would ascend to a professional peak and descend into a personal nadir. Asja arrived in Berlin, but little is known about her activities. On March 1 Vol'fila held another in a series of public lectures with Professor Braun, the keynote speaker. On March 5 Belyj published his article "О духе России и 'духе' в России" in which he weighs the hardships of life in Russia against the special "что-то" of intellectual and spiritual rebirth.⁴⁹ Two articles in March recalled his work with the Proletkul't.⁵⁰ He also published the poem "Бессоница" which had been written in the hospital in 1921 (GR, 914, March 12, 1922, p. 5). In addition, Belyj was busy with preparations for the republication of his significantly revised version of "Петербург".⁵¹

On March 10, there was a public meeting at the Philharmonic Hall, Bernburger Straße 22-23. This activity was sponsored by the Russian Social Committee to Aid the Starving Population of Russia. Belyj, along with Gessen and V. D. Nabokov, was one of the primary speakers. Belyj was both eloquent and convincing (GR, 914, March 12, 1922, p. 3). Testimony to his power of persuasion was a note printed a few days later "от неизвестной были присланы через детей 100 марок и 2 золотых цепочки при письме, где говорится, что 'после речи Андрея Белого все наше золотое украшение кажется печатью черного духа' и жертвуется на голодающих." (GR, 919, March 18, p. 5). In all the evening raised eighty-five thousand marks.

⁴⁹ *Golos Rossii*, 908, March 5, 1922, pp. 5-6. Belyj draws the title of his article from Dostoevskij's story "Bobok" in which "dux" (scent, smell) is juxtaposed to "Dux" (the Spirit). Belyj also published an article "O duxe Rossii i o 'duxe' v Rossii" in *Novaja Rossiia*, 2, 1922, pp. 145-147.

⁵⁰ "Moskovskij prolet-kul't II" *Golos Rossii*, 926, March 26, p. 5. JOHN MALMSTAD, Andrej Belyj in Berlin, 1921-1923. Addenda for a Bibliography of His Works. In: *Andrej Belyj Society Newsletter*, 4, 1985, p. 21 notes that Belyj's entry onto the pages of *Golos Rossii* in late February 1922 was connected with a change in the paper's editorial board.

⁵¹ The subject of Belyj's major revision of "Peterburg" has been the source of much scholarship and speculation, beginning with IVANOV-RAZUMNIK's "Veršiny" written in March-April, 1923. More recently the question of texts has been examined by L. DOLGOPOLOV in "Roman A. Belogo 'Peterburg'" in *Peterburg*, Moscow 1981, and in his book, Andrej Belyj i ego roman "Peterburg", Leningrad 1988.

Starvation in Russia served as a common cause uniting various political factions in the emigre community. Worldwide attention was focused on the problem and a week later on Sunday, March 19 the House of the Arts organized a concert ball at the Brüdervereinshaus (Kurfürstenstraße 115-116) to aid the hungry. Among those scheduled to appear were Belyj, Remizov, and the poet Kusiakov (GR, 920, March 19, 1922, p. 9). The following evening, the House staged another major event with the appearance of Thomas Mann who spoke at a benefit performance for writers in Petrograd. At 8:30 PM at the Logenhaus on Kleiststrasse 10, Mann spoke first on the theme of Goethe and Tolstoj after which Belyj thanked the writer (in German) for his help. At the second half of his performance Mann read from his "Das Eisenbahnunglück."⁵²

On March 24, the regular meeting of the House of the Arts with Belyj scheduled to attend was held at the Flora Diele at Motzstrasse 65 (on the corner of Martin-Luther-Straße). The regular meeting on March 31 was dedicated to the memory of V. D. Nabokov who had been shot on March 28. This assassination, perhaps more than any other event, symbolized the new emerging intolerance in the Russian emigre community. Nabokov, a leading figure in the Kadet Party (Constitutional Democrats) was shot several times as he attempted to protect Pavel Miljukov, who had just finished the first half of his lecture. The terrorist, a monarchist apparently angered by Miljukov's liberal stance within the Kadet Party, ironically murdered one of the staunchest defenders of the monarchy. On March 30, the funeral service was held at the old Russian Embassy Church, which had continued operating at Unter den Linden 7 even after the fall of the Romanovs. Among other representatives of Russian groups, Belyj was present (*Rul'*, 418, March 31, p. 3).⁵³

⁵² K. M. AZADOVSKIJ, A. B. LAVROV, Novoe o vstrečax Tomasa Manna s russkimi pisateljami. In: *Russkaja Literatura*, 4, 1978, pp. 146-151.

⁵³ V. D. Nabokov was the father of the writer Vladimir Nabokov, who was a young man at the time. Vladimir returned to Berlin after his father's death and began to contribute to the newspaper *Rul'*. NABOKOV recalls in "Strong Opinions", NY 1973, pp. 62-64: "Once in 1921 or 1922, at a Berlin restaurant where I was dining with two girls, I happened to be sitting back to back with Andrej Belyj who was dining with . . . Aleksej Tolstoj, at the table behind me." Nabokov, in his early twenties, knew and admired Belyj's novel, "Peterburg", and his metric studies in "Simvolizm", was clearly influenced by his style and yet here and elsewhere he seemed determined to understate any influence which Belyj might have had upon him.

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, *Nakanune*:

Между А. Н. Толстым и Андреем Белым разгорелся частный спор, который так воспламенил последнего, что он вскочил 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 *Nakanune* 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 GLEB STRUVE, *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. Ėrenburg 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'njak 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 случайна 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 'duxe' 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 "Вселенское 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 *Nakanune* article "Самоугрызение" 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. "Нэлл я видел недавно; она — изменилась; худая — и бледная. Мы посиживали с ней в кафе; раза два говорили о прошлом, но мало: ей нет 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'manax*, Berlin 1922.

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

⁶¹ L. DOLGOPOL'OV, "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: Dolgoplov 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 заторможенности."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 BAXRAX, p. 300, recalls: "I visited Belyj several times in Zossen and only recall that the trip there was very difficult, that from the architectural paysage 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 Holtusen 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 "Христос 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 Ėfron, had arrived in Berlin the previous day (May 15) and taken up residence in the Prager Pension where Ėrenburg and his wife lived. Here on Pragerplatz was the famous Stammtisch of Il'ja Ėrenburg, who had been helpful in establishing contact with Cvetaeva's husband, Sergej Ėfron, 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 varvarstva" 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 Šestov had been chosen honorary president on April 22. (See *Golos Rossii*, 954, Apr. 30, 1922, p. 8). Also known as "Zwoverson" 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 Ėrenburg 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 "Поэтеца-певица" in *Golos Rossii* 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 SAAKJANC, "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 SAAKJANC, 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, Višňjak. (The kids put rubber animals filled with water in his bed). He helped to arrange for publication of her "Царь-Девница" with the publishing house *Эпоха*, 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: "единым 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 cafe 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. 1 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 Baxrax of April 20, 1923 quoted in SAAKJANC, 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 MARIA RAZUMOVSKY, Marina Zwetajeva, 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 Rossii* (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 Rossii* (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. GOLLERBACH 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,

⁷² SAAKJANC, p. 381.