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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." 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 Klavdiya 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, Odna iz obitelej carstva tenej, 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 Tomasevskij in 1933, he wrote: "this 'distant monastery' doesn't exist anywhere: we must build it inside of ourselves." (A. V. Lavyrov, "B. B. Tomasevskij v perepiske s Andreem Belym". In: Puškinskij Dom: Stat'ı, Dokumenty, Leningrad 1982, p. 239. The concept of "shadow" for the emigration is oft repeated. See V. Šklovskij, Sentimental'noe put'ěstvие, 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 Baxrak, 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 Rohachova Kniga, 1, 1921, p. 10 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 Turgeneff had their marriage officially registered with the Zivilstandesamt of Bern on March 23, 1914. Cf. Band 1914 Seite 78 Nr. 157 Eheregister des Zivilstandesamtes 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 Xodasevič written only two days after Blok’s death, Belyj described his initial reaction. “Эта смерть для меня – роковой час бой: чувствую, что часть меня самого ушла с ним.” 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 resolved: “вот и стукнуло мне его смертью: пробудись или умри: начинись или кончись. И смерть Блоха для меня это зов ‘погибнуть или любить.’ Эта смерть – первый удар колокола.”

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. 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’f’ila (Вольная Философская Ассоциация) on August 28, 1921.

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

7 Souvremennye Zapiski, 55, 1934, p. 258. Quoted from a letter of August 9, 1921.
8 Belyj quotes here from a poem by A. A. Del’vég “Елегия”: “Когда душа просутся’ть ‘Погибнуть’, ‘Любить’...” 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 neizdannyx pisem Andreya Belogo k Aleksandru Bloku. In: Literaturozn obozrenie, 10, 1980, p. 165. 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 Белою по своему духовному подъему, по власти и силе звучащих слов, 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:

Blok’s 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-

11 It’sa Erenburg in an article of 1921 mentions “the sick B. N. Belyj”. “Aussess de la mélée” in Russkaja Kniga, 7-8, July – August 1921, p. 2.
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
Belyj’s departure was motivated not so much by a desire to leave as it was a need to see and speak with Asja. “Мол милая, милая, милая доченька! Боже мой, до чего я соскучился по Тебе . . .” Belyj writes in February of 1920. Their relationship is difficult to define, but they had been bound together uniquely by mystical and spiritual experiences. “Соединяла нас 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 parting 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, прошедшие с прошлым, он, наконец, обрел спокойствие. Но вера в то, что самое значительное, что мы пережили, сохранится неприкосновенным, была надлом-
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

‘Бутаев болен’ – сказал мне Рудольф Штайнер, по поводу этого письма. – Я рад был бы пригласить его сюда, но это не пойдет ему на пользу. Мы тут живем на пороге бочки (это было за несколько месяцев до похорон в Гетеануме, А. Т.) Постарайтесь отговорить его, я думаю, что могу, чтобы облегчить ему въезд в Германию.’

Asja recalls, these words made their way to Belyj, who found them “offensive.” 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. Political factors likewise favored


22 In a letter from December 1920 Belyj writes to Konstantin Erberg: “My entire life is in Asja and in ‘Epepeja’... My soul longs for Asja. I was ready to flee.” A. V. Lavrov, Materialy Andreja Beloga v Rukopisnym otdela Pulkinskogo Doma. In: Elenodnik Rukopisnogo otdela Pulkinskogo Doma na 1979 g., Leningrad 1981, p. 60. In a letter to Grzin on October 6, 1921 Belyj refers twice to his desperate need for money: “I must again live a living for myself and my wife.” Ibid. 67.
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. 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. Volkman 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. 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, оставшегося истинным другом русских в эти трудные годы), скопление здесь, в силу этого, значительных русских интеллигентных и предпринимательских сил, дешевизна производства, совершенство и эластичность герман-

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27 Quoted from Publishers Weekly in Novosti Literatury, I, August 1922, p. 39.
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 “третий (умственной) столицей” России. Законы экономической конкуренции на едином рынке привели к тому, что мало по малу почти все русские книгопродавцы 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 intellec-tual ties to the country. In an autobiographical note he had writ-ten:

Первым реальным прикосновением к искусству считаю те ве-черы далекого прошлого, когда мать моя играла сонаты Бетговена и прелюдии Шопена; первым прикосновением к поэзии – чтение велос для меня моей гувернанткой (немецкой) стихов Уланда, Гета и сказки Андресена. Музыка, Уланда, Гете и Андресен проникли во мне непрекращавшуюся любовь к искусству, любовь, которую, повинуясь какой-то детской стыдливостью, я долгое время скрывал тщательным образом. Может быть, то обстоятельство, что пробуждение во мне эстетических эмоций связано с Андресеном и Уландом, и отразилось в последствии на характер моей юношеской симфонии (“Северная Симфония”), выдержанной в старогерманских тонах. Может быть, оттого живя во мне и по сю пору любовь к старой Германии (да и к Германии вообще), к германской музыке (Бетховен, Шуман, Вагнер), живописи (Дюрер, Вольгемут, Грюневальд, Штригель), поэзии (Гете, романтики, Ницше), философии (Кант, Лейбниц, Шеллинг, Шопенгауэр, Рикрет и опять таки Ницше), науке (Гельмгольц, Оствальд, Вундт, Денисек и др.) и мистике (Эккерт, Бем и из нынешних – Рудольф Штайнер). Все, что люблю я на Западе, невольно как-то связано для меня с Германией.30

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 окренуть нервы, написать нататься книги, идеть 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 обители 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 Штайнером.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.


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


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


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’Andréi Biéli, Frankfurt 1981.
the inflated expectations set the tone for the personal crises that Belyj would experience in Berlin.\textsuperscript{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."\textsuperscript{34} The first few evenings Belyj spent at the residence of Evgenij Lundberg, director of the Сиђа 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 "Альвердди" with a selection of Caucasian and Russian dishes. One could dine and dance at the Russian bar at Spichernstraße. The Kurfürstendamm Casino was advertising its five o'clock tea with a Russian Gypsy orchestra. The "Alexanter" 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 Chekhov’s "Три сестры". There was also a public reading by Aleksey Tolstoj of his new play, "Любовь – книга золотая", and by Lev Šestov on "Dostoevskij."\textsuperscript{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."\textsuperscript{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).\textsuperscript{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 (Vo'fila) in Berlin. Among those at the meeting were Nikolaj Minskij, Lev Šestov, Ilja 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, 32, 33.

33 V. Xodasevič in "Andrey Belyj", Necropol', 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 Wohnungamt!'"

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 Steine" and "Počemu ja stal simvolistom" came to light in the past few years and were not general knowledge in the Russian émigré 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. Rus' provides valuable information on events between 1921 and 1922. Nakanune began publishing in March 1922. Golos Rossi ceases publication in October 1922, but is quickly replaced by Dni.

35 See Golos Rossi, 822, Nov, 24, 1921, p. 3.

36 E. Lundberg, Zapiski pisatelja, Berlin 1922, p. 177.

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 ‘Геликон’ в скором времени возобновляет свою деятельность в Берлине.” (GR, 802, Oct. 30, 1921, p. 5). In spite of this flurry of activity B. recalls in his “Ранкин в дневнику” for November “сумбур ... удар за ударом.” 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). 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. Jaščenko, editor of *Русский Путь*, 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.

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

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88 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.

89 “The Raccoons Diary” is quoted in *Клавдия Николаевна Бугаева, Андрей Беляев: Летопись жизни и творчества в GPB Saltikov Sceotrin F 60 ed. xx. 107. They have been extensively cited by John Malmsd 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 CGAL J. In a letter to me of March 6, 1986, the Director of the Central Literary Archives, Nehe Volova, 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 Carlsson for sharing with me her notes for the Berlin period in Belyj’s life.

80 These are presumably excerpts from *Prestuplenie Nikolaja Letaeva.* See the review of *Эпопея* by Marietta Šagijan in *Letopis’ doma literatorov*, 1, Nov 1, 1921, pp. 2–3.

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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.


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 пронзила меня молодежь в Петербурге, какие слова благодарности я слышал (кто-то из публики мне крикнул: “Милый Камил Летреев, – когда вам будет одиноко там, помните, что мы здесь, вас любим!”) Так же меня пронзали в Москве: представители студий, писатели, молодежь. Да, Ася, меня крепко любят 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 Olga 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 “Проблемы 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’f’ila lecture “Ветхий и Новый Завет” (GR, 836, Dec. 10, 1921, p. 3). On December 29 he read from his poem “Христос воскресе” 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 Gelinik 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.

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 больше: у меня трагедия: Ася ушла от меня; Штейнер – разочаровывает … От боли стискиваю зубы; и я сижу … Провалилась Ася, Штейнер, движение, – все: нелегко мне вынести эту утрату … когда я слушал Штейнера, то … мне казалось Штейнер – разживиненная “Вольфила”. Берегите “Вольфила”.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


45 Belyj’s own list of completed works and projects for the year is contained in an autobiographical note “Andrei 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 ‘Толстой’ (brief); a Latvian editor took the work for a Latvian edition; 4) ‘Notes of an Eccentric’ a poesia (a part of it has been published in ‘Записки мечтателья’), 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) ‘Glossolalia’ (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 ‘Эпопей’, the first part of which ‘The Christened Chinaman’ is printed in No. 4 of ‘Записки мечтателья.’” In: Novaja Russkaaja Kniga, 1, Jan. 1922, pp. 38–39.
rived from Russia, were scheduled to read there on February 17. Kusikov would publish poems in Belyj's Ėnones, but would play an even more painful role in the Belyj-Asja relationship. The February 24 meeting was devoted primarily to a musical program. Belyj's own literary and artistic output continued alongside of his busy personal schedule. An ad for the forthcoming Ėnones 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 Алманах 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 Искусства 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-Muzei imeni A. Bloka." The next article is a report of Belyj's speech at Vol'fíla on August 28 (Much of this material was taken verbatim from the journal of the Dom Literatov). Other articles concerned the founding of Vol'fíla 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 телей" first published with the title "Ас." Composed before Asja's arrival in Berlin, the poem also appeared in Belyj's "Посад. Раздумьи." 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

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48 Vol'fíla Rossi, 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."

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 “Бессонница” 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 “Перешибырь”. 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 была присланной 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 голодующих.” (GR, 919, March 18, p. 5). In all the evening raised eighty-five thousand marks.

49 Golos Rossi, 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 duke Rossi i o ‘duxe’ v Rossi” in Novaja Rossija, 2, 1922, pp. 145–147.


51 The subject of Belyj’s major revision of “Petersburg” has been the source of much scholarly speculation, beginning with Ivanov-Razumnik’s “Versiny” written in March-April, 1923. More recently the question of texts has been examined by L. Dolgopolov in “Roman A. Belogo ‘Petersburg’” in Peterburg, Moscow 1981, and in his book, Andrej Belyj i ego roman “Petersburg”, 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 Brudervereinshaus (Kurfürstenstraße 115–116) to aid the hungry. Among those scheduled to appear were Belyj, Remizov, and the poet Kusiov (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


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, “ Petersburgh”, and his metric studies in “Simvolizm”, was clearly influenced by his style and yet here and elsewhere he seemed determined to underestimate 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 Aleksey 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 вскошил с места, и, обращаясь уже ко всей аудитории, быстро собрал вокруг себя "род веча"... Спор на модную тему — о "Смене век"", 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 expression 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 Новий Мир would announce in the April 5 issue that it was ceasing publication with the April 5, 1922 issue, 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. Aleksey 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.

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). 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 "Глоссловалия" based on Rudolph Steiner’s teachings) (Накануне, 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 (RL, 438, Apr. 26, 1922, p. 5). On April 28, he did show up at the House to attack the journal Беуз. 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. Èrenburg and E. Lisiteckij, the journal was defended at the meeting by both. Накануне in its customary fashion reported:

Во время прений высилались любопытная подробность: А. Белый, громивший "Веу" со всех точек зрения, удивил в ней даже "личинку Антихриста" — признался в конце концов, что самой "Веу" он никогда не читал и даже не видел. Пу-блика, по обыкновению, смеялась.

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 Алманах (April 6, 1922). The collection published by Ogon’ki contained a number of works brought from Moscow by Pil’njan 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

54 The demise of Новий Мир caused few tears at Голос Российской which reported in its article: "Кончила Новогорода" that: "This is simply a renaming and a change of clothes. Новий Мир is dying, so that its heir can be immediately born in its own successor — Накануне" (Nr. 935, Apr. 6, 1922, p. 2).
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 Pilnik’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 “Сирины ученого заревства”, 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 перепечатываемой 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 dem du begreiβt” (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. “Нали 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, “Pri’mo v redakciiu” in Golos Rossi, 949, Apr. 25, 1922, p. 2.
61 L. Dolgorukov, “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: Dolgorukov errs, however, when he dates this break as 1921. Kusikov did not arrive in Berlin until February 1922. It is difficult to establish 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 [Kusikov] 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 Georgie 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 Bakrak, 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 Holt-husen mentioned to me that it was the Oberkommando des Heeres and apparently avoided detection until March 1945.

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 искусства”. 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 Interna-
tional. Capitalizing on Esenin’s arrival in Berlin in May, Skify re-
printed “Россия и Ионин” (Belyj’s “Христос в смерце” and Es-
enin’s “Товарищ Ионин” 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 Efiron, had arrived in Berlin the previous day
(May 15) and taken up residence in the Prager Pension where Ерен-
burg and his wife lived. Here on Pragerplatz was the famous
Stammtisch of II’ja Еренбург, who had been helpful in establishing
contact with Cvetaeva’s husband, Sergej Efiron, and instrumental in
publishing her “Разлукa” 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 “Сирин ученого вар-
варства” by Belyj. There was also a curious note that a new philosophical so-
ciety “The Free Philosophical Cooperative (Союз философского Союза)’’ 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 “Zwoiverson” 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.” Baxrak in a letter to me indi-
cated this was probably another practical joke of Remizov’s.

65 II’ja Еренбург has recalled the Berlin period in his own memoirs “Ljudi,

Marina had seen Belyj as a schoolgirl when he was already an estab-
lished literary figure. There was also a curious connection between
Marina and Asja Turgeneva, for whose affection she and Belyj some-
how competed. But for Marina, the first real encounter with Belyj
was the Berlin one. At the Prager Diele she recalls their first con-
verson in which Belyj eagerly grasped at the straws which con-
ected 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 “Разлукa”,
Cvetaeva’s slim volume of verse dedicated to her husband, whom
she had not seen since 1916. Cvetaeva’s separation from her beloved
seemed amazingl similar to Belyj’s own separation from Asja. The
coincidental in Belyj’s life had almost supernatural significance for
him. Hadn’t she 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 “Разлукa” had a profound effect on Belyj. He
read the book that very evening and immediately dashed off a let-
ter to Cvetaeva “Позвольте мне высказать глубокое восхищение
перед совершением крылатой мелодией Вашей книги “Разлукa”.66

Marina replied and Belyj answered with both a letter and a re-
view article “Посетив-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: “название лирическое настрои-
ение: начинаю писать стихи цикла После разлук”. Cvetaeva, re-
calling 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 “Пленны душ”
Soversennye Zapiski, 55, 1934, pp. 198–255. A recent description of this encoun-
ter is provided by Anna Saaťjančj, “Vstreča poeťov: Andrej Belyj i Marina
See also Thomas Belyj: “Marina Cvetaeva and Andrej Belyj: Razluka and Pos-
sie razluki.” (forthcoming)
67 Note Marina incorrectly identifies the newspaper as Dni. The article is re-
printed in Saaťjančj, 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.\textsuperscript{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 "Парк-Девица" with the publishing house Эпонах, and published a few of her poems and her article on Pasternak in his own journal Эпох. 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: "единим махом пишу цикл Послел Разлуки". The significance of this poetic outburst is captured by Belyj years later when he claimed: "'После разлуки' написана в две недели. Между запоми стихами я годами не писал ни одной строчки."\textsuperscript{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 Petrovskaia and then the tragic affair with Ljubov' Dmitrievna Blok, and finally Asja. "Andrey Belyj kam nicht nach Berlin, um eine neue Frau zu suchen, sondern um seine alte wiederzusammen."\textsuperscript{70} But Belyj had been wounded and was outraged by Asja's parody of Aleksandr Kusikov before his eyes. He was convinced that Asja's behavior was revenge for the "Путевые заметки", T. 1 which had appeared in May. Asja later wrote: "После Путев. Заметок я счел нужным показать ему жизненно что мы жизненно разошлись."\textsuperscript{71}

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

\textsuperscript{68} It is difficult to agree with Cvetaeva's assertion that "Belyj wrote his 'Glossolalia' after my 'Разлука'". In letter to Baxrax of April 20, 1923 quoted in SAČKJANC, 379. Although Belyj dates "Glossolalia" 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.

\textsuperscript{69} In an introduction to the unpublished "Zovy Vremen" in Novyj žurnal, 102, 1971, p. 9.


\textsuperscript{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 ..."