

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

⁷⁵ “Поэтому я стал символистом”, p. 115.

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

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

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

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

⁷⁶ “Poézija Andreja Belogo.” In: A. BELYJ, *Stixotvorenija i poëmy*, Moscow 1966, p. 65.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

⁸⁵ VERA LOURIE, p. 104.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

⁸⁹ XODASEVIČ, p. 91.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

An additional consideration was the death of Belyj's mother in 1922. If Steiner was a foster father, then Klavdija Nikolaevna became an adopted mother. The main point is that in 1923, Anthroposophy as a theme and driving life force returns to Belyj.

Life continued in Berlin, but Belyj's gradual return to Anthroposophy was made public in his article on the Goetheanum.

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

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

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

что в сгоревшие ныне формы действительно вколоти́л я часть жизни (и – лучшую часть) . . .

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

Но оно не погибло.

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

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

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

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

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

¹⁰⁴ XODASEVIČ also remembers "The literary editorship was composed of

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

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

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

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

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

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

¹⁰⁷ TURGENEVA, "Andrej Belyj i Rudol'f Štejner", p. 238.

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

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

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

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

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

¹⁰⁸ Turgeneva letter in STRUVE, pp. 65–66.

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

¹¹⁰ ANDREJ BELYJ, “Letter to A. G. Višnjak of Gelikon” in *Epopeja*, IV, 1923.

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

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

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

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

He was equally blunt about Soviet Russia.

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

Belyj tries to persuade himself, as it were:

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

Человек – не “субъект” прагердильных продуктов. От хлеба я сыт и от пива я пьян, но я . . . голоден, голоден: дайте мне хлеба духовного! Холодно мне в этом “тепленьком” месте культуры “берлинской России” (pp. 228, 232–233).

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

¹¹² *Beseda*, 1, 1923, p. 213.

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

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

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

¹¹³ ANDREJ BELYJ, *Antroposofija i D-r Gans Lejzegang*, *Beseda*, 2, 1923, pp. 378-392.

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

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

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

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

¹¹⁶ Quoted in BUGAEVA, *Letopis'*, p. 121.

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

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

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

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

Butler Library at Columbia University. Portions of them are printed in BAXRAX, “Po pamjati, po zapisjam,” in *Kontinent*, 3, 1975, pp. 315–316.

¹¹⁸ Belyj’s stay in Ahlbeck is also recalled by Vadim Andreev, “Vozvraščenie v žizn” in *Zvezda*, 6, 1969, pp. 105–107.

¹¹⁹ *Dni*, 254, Sept. 2, 1923, p. 10.

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

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

¹²² BORIS ZAJCEV, *Dalekoe*, Washington 1965, pp. 36, 37. Zajcev notes: “Berlin somehow made him cruder”.

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

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

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

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

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

¹²³ CVETAeva, “Plennyj dux”, p. 251. Cvetaeva clearly mistakes the month. Her own letter in reply to Baxrax comes early in October. She must have received Belyj’s letter before then.

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

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

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

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

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

¹²⁶ BAXRAX "Po pamjati . . .", p. 320.

¹²⁷ BERBEROVA, *Kursiv moj*, p. 188.

¹²⁸ See S. S. GREČIŠKIN and A. V. LAVROV, *Neosuščestvlenyj zamysel An-*

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

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

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

Берлин

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

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

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

¹²⁹ D. MAKSIMOV, "O tom, kak ja videl i slyšal Andreja Belogo", p. 172.

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

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

Middlebury College, Vermont U.S.A. THOMAS R. BEYER, Jr.

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

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