ZEITSCHRIFT
FÜR SLAVISCHES
PHILOLOGIE

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Band L · Heft 1

HEIDELBERG 1990
CARL WINTER · UNIVERSITÄTSVERLAG
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 Klavdija Vasileva, Rudolf Steiner and conditions in Berlin for his departure.

There are several references as early as 1920 for Belyj's desire to go abroad and rejoin Asja in Dornach. 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 Tomaševskij in 1933, he wrote: “this ‘distant monastery’ doesn’t exist anywhere: we must build it inside of ourselves.” (A. V. Lavrov, “B. B. Tomaševskij v perepiske s Andreem Belym”. In: Pulkinskiy Dom: Stat’i, Dokumenty, Leningrad 1982, p. 239. The concept of “shadow” for the emigration is often repeated. See V. Šklovskij, Sentimental’noe putesestvie, Moscow 1929, p. 332 “And know I live among the emigres, and I myself am turning into a shadow among shadows” [v ten’ sredi tenej].

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

A biographical note on Belyj printed in Russkaja Kniga, 1, 1921, p. 19 asserts: “Permission to travel abroad was not received.” For some time there was a question of the official status of Belyj’s and Asja’s relationship. Asja in a letter to N. V. Vol’skij declared: “We actually – purely a formality – were married civilly in Bern in 1914 in order to not scandalize the unfriendly peasant population in Switzerland. I didn’t want a marriage at all – and certainly not a church one.” p. 65 in “K biografii Andreja Belogo: A. Belyj i A. A. Turgeneva” by Gleb Struve in Annali dell’Istituto Universitario Orientale, Sezione Slava, 13, Napoli, 1970, p. 65. Both John Malmstad and Ron Peterson have noted that Boris Bugaieff and Anna Turgeneieff had their marriage officially registered with the Zivilstandsamt of Bern on March 23, 1914. Cf. Band 1914 Seite 78 Nr. 157 Eherrегист des Zivilstandsdepartements 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 resolute: “вот и стукнуло мне его смертью: пробудись или умри: начинись или кончишь. И смерть Блока 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 Блоке. …Андрей Белый в тот день возник передо мной не только как

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

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

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

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

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

11 L’ja Erenburg in an article of 1921 mentions “the sick B. N. Belyj”. “Audessus 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 oktyabr’skogo pereverota. In: Russkaja Kniga, 1, January 1921, 3.
14 Belyj had been summoned from Switzerland to Russia in the summer of 1918 for induction into the armed forces. First the war, then the events of 1917 and following prevented his departure abroad and return to Asia. In his letter to her from Kowno dated November 11–12, 1921 Belyj recalls: “Don’t forget, that simultaneously, I tirelessly sought to leave. I wasn’t permitted in February
ing an active schedule of lectures, meetings and negotiations for
the publication of his works.15 He departed Russia on October 20, 1921
and after a few hours in Riga, where he was granted only a transit
visa, he travelled on to the city of Kowno (Kaunas) where he gave
two lectures on poetry and one on Tolstoj.16 From Kowno, where he
was still awaiting a visa and the necessary permission to travel to
Germany, he wrote to Asja. Time was running out and Belyj desper-
ately wanted to make his way to “Ты, Доктор, Дорнах.” (Letter to
Asja, p. 301).17

1920; then in August 1920 I was turned down a second time, ... Then Blok
died, they shot Gumilev, and – they were ashamed; the young people began to
shout: ‘let Belyj go abroad, or he’ll die, like Blok.’” (p. 306). In "Zavodu" 5,
1967, pp. 296-309. This is the complete version of the letter which KODASE
-edit for "Sovremennye Zapiski", 55, 1934. For an overview of Belyj’s state of
mind and desire to leave Russia see A. V. LAVROV, Materialy Andreja Beloga v
Rukopisnom otdele Puškinskogo Doma. In: Ežegodnik Rukopisnogo otdele Puš
kinskogo Doma na 1979 god, Leningrad 1981, pp. 58-68. JOHN MALMSTAD in his
he, like many others who left Russia at the time, had been granted an exit
visa for reasons of health.”

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

On September 6, 1921 Belyj returned to Moscow and gave his diary and notes
to Ivanov-Razumnik for safe-keeping. On September 26 he spoke in Moscow
In October Belyj tried to arrange his professional affairs. Most important was to
obtain a release from his contractual obligations with Grožbin: See Ežegodnik . .
na 1979, pp. 66-67.

Also in October, Belyj organized a chapter of Vol’f’sia in Moscow based on
the original group in Petersburg and on October 9 gave a lecture there on “Dosto-
evskij and Tolstoj.” On October 16 Belyj met with the Anthroposophical Circle
in Moscow and the Group Kuznecy (See L. Skorino, p. 236). On October 17 he
read from his “Pervoe sviešanje” at a special meeting of the Union of Writers in
Moscow and was hosted at a farewell dinner by the All Russian Union of
Writers.

18 S. S. Grečškin, A. A. Lavrov, O stixovedeschkom nasledii Andreja Belogo.

19 The Doctor, of course, is Rudolf Steiner and Dornach is the village in Swit-
zerland where Steiner had located his Anthroposophical colony. A note in Rus-
skaja Kniga, 5, May 1921, p. 20 had noted that Andrej Belyj “Is preparing to
travel to Switzerland.”

Belyj’s departure was motivated not so much by a desire to leave
as it was a need to see and speak with Asja. “Мол милая, милая,
mila, милая деточка! Боже мой, до чего я соскучился по Тебе ...
...” Belyj writes in February of 1920.18 Their relationship is differ-
ent to define, but they had been bound together uniquely by mysti-
cal and spiritual experiences. “Создала не радость, вопрос – тот
единий, который стоит перед каждым: ‘Кат жить?’”19 Belyj has de-
scribed how in 1912 the two had experienced a mystical together-
ness 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 rela-
tionship with Asja. He refers to her with tenderness (albeit pater-
nalistic – she was ten years his junior) and harbored the conviction
that a face to face meeting and sharing of their souls would restore
the unity between the two. His own expectations were in sharp con-
trast to those of Asja. In her own mind the relationship had already
ended before Belyj’s departure in the summer of 1916.

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

‘Бугаев болен,’ — сказал мне Рудольф Штеинер, по поводу этого письма. — ‘Я рад был бы пригласить его сюда, но это не пойдет ему на пользу. Мы тут живем на пороховой бочке (это было за несколько месяцев до пожара в Гетеануме, А. Т.) Постарайтесь отговорить его, я 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


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

Little remains of their physical presence. The Russian cemetery at Wittestrasse (Русская Православная Церковь св. Равноапостольных царей Константина и Елены) guards peacefully the remains of the few hundred Russians who perished in the city after 1917 including the grave of V. D. Nabokov. Most of
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. Volkmann notes that Berlin had fifty five periodicals in 1922 and forty seven in 1923. He also finds 471 Russian language books published in the city in 1922 and 667 in 1923. 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:

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

26 Quoted from Publishers Weekly in Novosti Literaturnoi, I, August 1922, p. 39.
skaya typograficheskoye technike, razrabotannost metodov mezhdunarodnoy torgovli, liberalizm germanskogo zakonodatelstva i zakona o presse, – vse eti, i mnogie druzhie, usloviya sposobstvovali tomu, chto Berlini doly neblye komnendno k «tretyey (umstvenoye) stoliciy» Rossii. Zakony ekonomicheskoye konkuren- cii en edinnom rynke pervyek k tomu, chto malo po malu pochti vse russkiye knigoizdavateli v drugikh stranakh, krome Germanii, doljny byli prerkrit volo deyatelnost ili perenesti pechatnoe knigi v Germanii.29

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

Первым реальным прикосновением к искусству считаю те че- вера далекого прошлого, когда мать моя играла сонаты Бетхо- вена и прельжоп Шопена; первым прикосновением к поэзии – чте- ние вслух для меня моей гувернантки (немной) стихов Уланда, Гете и сказки Андерсена. Музыка, Ундльд, Гете и Андерсен пребудили во мне непрекращающуюся любовь к искусству, любовь, которую, повинуясь какой-то детской стыдливостью, я долгое время скрывал тщательным образом. Может быть, то обстоятельство, что пребуждение во мне эстетических эмоций связано с Андерсеном и Уландум, и отразилось в последствии на характер моей юношеской симфонии ("Северная Симфония"), выдерж- нанной в старогерманских тонах. Может быть, оттого живо во мне и по сужу любовь к старой Германии (да и к Германии вообще), к германской музыке (Бетховен, Шуман, Вагнер), живописи (Дюрер, Вольфгут, Грюнвальд, Штритгель), поэзии (Гете, романики, Ницше), философии (Кант, Лейбниц, Шеллинг, Шопенграуэр, Риккер и опять-таки Ницше), науке (Гельмгольц, Оствальд, Вундт, Деисен и др.) и мистике (Эккарт, Беме и из нынешних – Рудольф Штейнер). Все, что люблю я на Западе, невольно как-то связано для меня с Германией.30

30 Andrei Belyi, “Avtobiografiiskoje spravka” in S. A. Vengerov, Russkaya Literatura XX veka, 2, III, pp. 9-10. For an overview of Belyi’s thoughts on

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

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


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

32 A. Belyj, Pochemu ja stal simvolistom, Ann Arbor 1982, pp. 112-113. It was in a discussion with Frederik Kozlik that I realized the true impact of this coincidental meeting. Kozlik’s monumental work is a valuable resource for scholars of the Belyj – Steiner connection: L’influence de l’anthroposophie sur l’oeuvre d’André Bíeli, Frankfurt 1981.
the inflated expectations set the tone for the personal crises that Belyj would experience in Berlin.33

For the Germans Belyj (Boris Nikolaevich 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 Беляй.”34 The first few evenings Belyj spent at the residence of Evgenij Lundberg, director of the Сифи 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 was plain to see. A look at the Sunday issue of Голос России (No. 825, November 27, 1921) highlights the restaurant “Алерверди” 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 “Alexander” restaurant at Behrenstraße 57 offered an orchestra of balalaikists. There were Russian chocolates, coffee, papirozy, 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 Chekov’s “Три сестры”. There was also a public reading by Aleksey Tolstoj of his new play, “Любовь – книга золотая”, and by Lev Šestov on “Достоевский.”35

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

33 V. Xодасевиč in “Andrey Belyj”, Nekropolis, Paris 1976, pp. 88–89. Repeated by Močult’ski, Xodasеvič makes much of Belyj’s remark that “Finally at some sort of meeting, in Berlin, Belyj saw Steiner. He rushed up to him – and heard the emphatically prosaic question, delivered in a paternalistic condescending tone: ‘Na, wie geht’s?’ Belyj understood that there was nothing to talk about, and answered with contemptuous rage. ‘Schwierigkeiten mit dem Wohnungsamt!’”

Xodasеvič, 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 “Vospominaniia o Stejnere” and “Poemu ja stal simvolistom” came to light in the past few years and were not general knowledge in the Russian emigre community which continued to speak of Belyj’s alienation from Steiner. While the conflict was no doubt real, it was not permanent nor very long-lived as events of 1923 will show. At any rate, contacts did take place during the days following Belyj’s arrival in Berlin, and the result was to shatter Belyj’s dreams and leave his personal life in shambles.

34 In gathering information on this period I have relied heavily on the daily Russian language newspapers printed in Berlin. Рul’ provides valuable information on events between 1921 and 1922. Накануне began publishing in March 1922. Голос России ceases publication in October 1922, but is quickly replaced by Dni.

35 See Голос Росии, 822, Nov. 24, 1921, p. 3.
36 E. Lундберг, Записки писателя, 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. \textit{(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 “Ранок к 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 \textit{Эпопея} (GR, 834, Dec. 8, 1921, p. 3). On December 5, there was a meeting of Vol’fīla to elect new members attended by I. V. Gessen, the editor of \textit{Rul’} and director of the Committee for Aid to Russian Writers, and A. Jaščenko, editor of \textit{Русскій Ратуша}, the valuable bibliographical journal of the Russian emigration (GR, 836, Dec. 10, 1921, p. 3). A number of open Vol’fīla meetings was also announced. Belyj’s first public lecture for the House of the Arts had been scheduled for that evening of the fifth, but had been postponed. On December 10, the House held its regular Saturday meeting with readings scheduled by Tolstoj, Remizov and Minsky. On Monday, December 12, there was a closed meeting of Vol’fīla. On December 14, Belyj finally delivered his earlier promised lecture on “Современная культура в России” at the Logenhaus (Kleiststraße 10).

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

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

Belyj points to those who “эмигрировали в абстрактную сферу безживленных принципов, 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 видавшая перед собой як гроба и смерти, не убоянная ни гробов современности, ни гробов, ей скользящих издалека. Это — культура сходящей к России Вечности” (p. 6).

38 Ultimately Belyj would publish several works with Gelikon, including the journal \textit{Эпопея}, and the publisher, A. G. Višnjak, would be one of Belyj’s most faithful supporters.
39 “The Raccoons Diary” is quoted in \textit{Клавдия Николаевна Бугаева, Андрей Белый. Летописи земли и творчества in GPB Saltykov Schedrin F 60 ed. xt. 107. They have been extensively cited by John Malmsud in his introduction to \textit{Bugaeva’s Vospominanija o Belom,} Berkeley 1981. Scholars have repeatedly referred to the diary indirectly through Klavdij Nikolaevna. The actual “Rakkurs” is preserved in CGALL. In a letter to me of March 6, 1986, the Director of the Central Literary Archives, N. B. Volkova wrote: “This material entered the archives with the note of the author ‘For personal use.’ This means, that the diary notes, contained in the cited manuscript, bear an extremely personal character and therefore cannot be provided for examination and research.” I am grateful to Professor Maria Carlson for sharing with me her notes for the Berlin period in Belyj’s life.
40 These are presumably excerpts from “Преступление Николая Летаева.” See the review of \textit{Эпопея by Marietta Šaginjan in Letopis’ doma literatorov,} 1, Nov 1, 1921, pp. 2–3.
41 As one of the organizers and a key figure in both the House of the Arts and Vol’fīla, 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.

If not with love and adulation, then with curiosity and eager anticipation, Berlin crowds waited to hear him. On December 15 in the Philharmonic Hall along with Ol'ga Knipper of the Moscow Art Theater, Remizov and Tolstoj, Belyj was featured at an evening organized by the Russian Social Committee where he was scheduled to read from Эпопея and share his impressions about Russia. (GR, 839, Dec. 14, 1921, p. 3). On December 17, another meeting was held at the House of the Arts to choose officers of the literary, artistic and musical section. On the 18th Belyj was scheduled to give an address to the YMCA in the Cafe Abazis am Knie on "Проблема культуры." (Rul', 329, Dec. 16, 1921, p. 5). Belyj read at the House of the Arts on the 24th from his "Первое свидание" (GR, 852, Dec. 30, 1921, p. 3), on the 26th he was scheduled to deliver the Vol'fila lecture "Вечный 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 Gelikon somewhat prematurely announced that Belyj's "Путевые заметки", 1 and 2 as well as "Записки чудака" were in print and would soon be on sale. Another milestone was the completion of the first installment of his "Воспоминания о Блоке" which would appear in the journal Эпопея that Belyj would edit. In spite of this activity, Belyj was not happy. His diary for the month speaks of "Угрюмость... ужас отчаяния".

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

Сердце сжимается болью: у меня трагедия: Ася ушла от меня; Штейнер - разочаровывает... Với боли стискиваю зубы; и... рь времени Ася, Штейнер, движение, - все: незаметно мне вынесли эту утрату... когда я снашл Штейнера, то... мне казалось Штейнер - разъединенная "Вольфштейн". Берегите "Вольфштейн".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 (Passanerstraße 3 bei Boraus) . . . 1) 'On Poetic Meaning' the manuscript remained in Russia, 2) 'Four 'Crisis' (Crisis of Life, Crisis of Thought, Crisis of Culture, Crisis of Consciousness); the first three crises appeared as separate booklets; 3) work on 'Tolstoj' (breviary): a Latvian editor took the work for a Latvian edition; after taking it he disappeared with it (I did not have a copy, - in the conditions of Russian life I could not permit myself the luxury of copying what had been written), 4) 'Notes of an Eccentric' a poveet (a part of it has been published in 'Zapiski meštatelej'), 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 'Epopeja', and I am also working on the first volume of 'Epopeja', the first part of which 'The Christened Chinaman' is printed in No. 4 of 'Zapiski meštatelej'.'
rived from Russia, were scheduled to read there on February 17. Kusikov would publish poems in Belyj's Znones, but would play an even more painful role in the Belyj-Asja relationship. The February 24 meeting was devoted primarily to a musical program.46 Belyj's own literary and artistic output continued alongside of his busy personal schedule. An ad for the forthcoming Znones 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 и on the 26th he publishes "Блок в юности: Из воспоминаний о нем Андрея Белого" (GR, 902, p. 5). Finally the first issue of the Бюллетени Дома Искусств Берлина appears with a number of items relating to Belyj. Published by Minskij, Remizov and Sumskij-Kaplun, this nineteen-page brochure was modeled on the Petrograd version. Issue I–II was dated February 17, 1922. The first article contains a request from the Committee for the Preservation of the Memory of Blok "that all manuscripts, letters, other materials be turned over for the establishment of the Dom-Muzej imeni A. Bloka." The next article is a report of Belyj's speech at Vol'fjina on August 28 (Much of this material was taken verbatim from the journal of the Dom Literaturov). Other articles concerned the founding of Vol'fjina 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 тень" first published with the title "Ace". Composed before Asja's arrival in Berlin, the poem also appeared in Belyj's "После Развалки". 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

46 K. Bugaeva’s notes indicate that Belyj read both poetry and from “Кре́шёне́й кита́ео” at the House of the Arts in February.
hard times to come. Belyj was particularly active during the month which was rich with cultural and social events. In fact, in the next few months Belyj would ascend to a professional peak and descend into a personal nadir. Asja arrived in Berlin, but little is known about her activities. On March 1 Vol'f'dia 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 "чего-то" of intellectual and spiritual rebirth.49 Two articles in March recalled his work with the Proletkult.50 He also published the poem "Бессоница" which had been written in the hospital in 1921 (GR, 914, March 12, 1922, p. 5). In addition, Belyj was busy with preparations for the republication of his significantly revised version of "Песенник".51

On March 10, there was a public meeting at the Philharmonic Hall, Bernburger Straße 22–23. This activity was sponsored by the Russian Social Committee to Aid the Starving Population of Russia. Belyj, along with Gessen and V. D. Nabokov, was one of the primary speakers. Belyj was both eloquent and convincing (GR, 914, March 12, 1922, p. 3). Testimony to his power of persuasion was a note printed a few days later "от неизвестной были присланы через детей 100 марок и 2 золотых цепочки при письме, где говориться, что 'после речи Андрея Белого все наше золотое украшение нажется печатью черного духа' и жертвуется на голодных." (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 Dostoevsky’s story "Bobok" in which "dux" (scent, smell) is juxtaposed to "Dux" (the Spirit). Belyj also published an article "О душе Rossi и о 'dux' v Rossi" in Novaja Rossiya, 2, 1922, pp. 145–147.


51 The subject of Belyj’s major revision of “Peterburg” has been the source of much scholarship and speculation, beginning with Ivanov-Razumnik’s “Вершина” written in March-April, 1923. More recently the question of texts has been examined by L. Dolopołov in “Roman A. Belogo ‘Peterburg’” in Peterburg, Moscow 1981, and in his book, Andrej Belyj i ego roman “Peterburg”, Leningrad 1988.

Starvation in Russia served as a common cause uniting various political factions in the emigre community. Worldwide attention was focused on the problem and a week later on Sunday, March 19, the House of the Arts organized a concert ball at the Brüdervereinshaus (Kurfürstenstraße 115–116) to aid the hungry. Among those scheduled to appear were Belyj, Remizov, and the poet Kusikov (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 Tolstoy 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 monarch. 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, “Peterburg”, and his metric studies in “Simvolizm”, was clearly influenced by his style and yet here and elsewhere he seemed determined to understated any influence which Belyj might have had upon him.