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 Baxtrax 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. “Andrey Belyy, zakonchivshiy svoi bol'shoy chetyrekhnotnyi trud ‘Vospominanija o Bloke’, na dnya peresekaet v Rossiyu.”119 He would join an ever increasing flood of Russians leaving Berlin. Berberova recalls a farewell photograph taken on September 8: B. Zajcev, Xodasevie, M. Osorgin, A. Baxtrax, A. Remizov and Belyj, plus Berberova and P. Muratov. Xodasevie 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 exccruciatingly 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 Stepin 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


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 Ru’t!, 880, October 20, 1923, p. 5.

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. — воль, письменный воль 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! — Вм.123

On October 4, Cvetaeva contacts Baxtrax, 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 (перевести!) Белого в Прагу, он не должен ехать в Россию, слава Богу, что его не пустили, он должен быть в Праге, здесь ему дадут жилье (стрите нсесаира) и здесь, в конце концов, я, которая его несильно люблю и — что лучше — ему предана.124

Did Baxtrax get the message to him in time? There was more than a little confusion concerning Belyj’s intentions. “Andrey Belyy, ne poluchivshiy viz на съезд в Россию, pereselaetsya iz Berлина v Чехословакию” (Dni, 290, Oct. 14, 1923). But then two weeks later Dni recorded: “Andree Belyy uехал из Берлина в Москву, где предполагает читать лекции по вопросами искусства” (No. 302, Oct. 28, 1923).125 Belyj left Berlin on October 23 and arrived in

123 Cvetaeva, “Плениный дux”, p. 251. Cvetaeva clearly mistakes the month. Her own letter in reply to Baxtrax comes early in October. She must have received Belyj’s letter before then.
124 Mosti, 6, 1961, p. 337. See also her letter of July 29, 1923 to Baxtrax “I love B. N. [Boris Nikolaevich] 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.” Mosti, 5, 1960, p. 311.
Moscow on October 26, almost two years to the day when he had left. Baxrak recalls seeing Belyj off at the station with Kaplun-Sumskij, the publisher of Epocha.\textsuperscript{125} Years later, Berberova recounts how she was told by Vera Lur'e who described his departure in glowing terms.\textsuperscript{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, Xodasević 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 “Трех-дольники” for the Moscow Circle of Poets. On January 14 he delivered a talk “Одна из обителей царства темей” 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 – “Мацерепробразов”. 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 Штейнера” (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 темей” is a searing indictment of Berlin, its mores and its morals. There were also plans to publish a full-scale novel entitled “Герма-ния”.\textsuperscript{128}

\textsuperscript{125} BAXRAX “Po pamjati . . .”, p. 320.
\textsuperscript{127} Berberova, Kuršīv moj, p. 188.
\textsuperscript{128} See S. S. GREČIŠKIN and A. V. LAVROV, Neosuščestvlennyj 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.\textsuperscript{129} It would never return.

Belyj's death in 1934 brought remembrances and reappraisals from Cvetaeva, Osorgin, Stepun, Pasternak, and Xodasević. 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 Verlagsverände-rungen. 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 калены от бомб и войны.

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

\textsuperscript{129} D. MAKSIMOV, “O tom, kak ja videl i slyszal Andreja Belogo”, p. 172.
Zur Bedeutung des Raums in Michail Bulgakovs
Dramen „Kabala Svjatoš” (Mol’er)
und „Poslednie Dni” (Puškin)


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