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**THE ROLE OF WESTERN SCHOLARS
IN THE PRESERVATION OF RUSSIAN LITERARY HERITAGE:
THE EXAMPLE OF ANDREI BELY**

**РОЛЬ ЗАПАДНЫХ УЧЕНЫХ
В СОХРАНЕНИИ РУССКОГО ЛИТЕРАТУРНОГО НАСЛЕДИЯ:
ПРИМЕР АНДРЕЯ БЕЛОГО**

Abstract:

The twentieth century, in particular the period from the 1930s to the mid 1980's, was marked by an enforced silence in the Soviet Union on several writers, some abroad, some in Russia, largely ignored in traditional Soviet scholarship. In this time, it fell to scholars abroad to preserve the memory of this important page in Russian literature. The work to celebrate the life and works of Andrei Bely is a prime example of these early efforts. The contribution has been largely forgotten as the 1980s issued in a new era of openness and cooperation between foreign scholars and their counterparts inside the former Soviet Union. Now, however, in light of new restrictions both outside and inside the Russian Federation, a new need for re-establishing and ensuring the legacy of Russian writers past and present has emerged. Perhaps we can learn from the examples of the past.

Keywords: Russian émigré literature, Andrei Bely, Soviet scholarship, example

Аннотация:

Двадцатый век, в частности период с 1930-х до середины 1980-х годов, был отмечен принудительным молчанием в Советском Союзе в отношении некоторых писателей, за границей и в России, в значительной степени игнорировавшихся в

традиционной советской науке. В это время на долю зарубежных ученых выпало сохранить память об этой важной странице русской литературы. Работы, посвященные жизни и творчеству Андрея Белого, являются ярким примером этих предыдущих усилий. Ученые вклады и усилия были в значительной степени забыты, поскольку в 1980-х годах ознаменовалась новая эра открытости и сотрудничества между иностранными учеными и их коллегами в бывшем Советском Союзе. Однако теперь, ввиду новых ограничений как за пределами, так и внутри Российской Федерации, возникла новая потребность в восстановлении и страховании наследия русских писателей прошлого и настоящего. Возможно, мы можем учиться на примерах прошлого.

Ключевые слова: Русская зарубежная литература, Андрей Белый, советская стипендия, пример.

Introduction

The First World War, the Bolshevik Revolution, and the ensuing Civil War brought major disruptions to lives of all Russians, but in particular to the literary and artistic communities. Opportunities for publishing vanished and the voices of many were effectively muted if not silenced altogether. Many fled abroad going west to and through Constantinople, Paris, Berlin, or east to Harbin. As power centers in Russia were restored increased attention and intolerance were directed at those not in sympathy with the Bolsheviks. In August of 1921 Nikolai Gumilev was arrested and executed and in 1922 a major group of liberals joined those already in the West. For a brief few years 1921 to 1923 Berlin served as an intellectual and literary center for this community. Economic and political factors led to a mass exodus of Russian writers to Paris and Prague in 1923. These centers of the Russian emigration would be replaced by New York as many departed Europe on the eve of or after World War II.

Many of the Russian writers abroad were treated with imposed silence in the Soviet Union: Ivan Bunin, Aleksei Remizov, Evgeny Zamiatin, Vladislav Khodasevich, and Vladimir Nabokov. They were celebrated by the Russian intelligentsia abroad in the 1930s, 1940s and 1950s. Their memory kept alive in the journals published in Paris and New York. Key figures included Nina Berberova [1], Roman Gul [2], Gleb Struve [3], Fedor Stepun [4] and Dmitrij Tschizewskij. As these eyewitnesses to that history grew older they passed on their enthusiasm to a newly emergent group of scholars, particularly in the United States, Great Britain, France, The Federal Republic of Germany and Italy. Dissertations and celebrated monographs kept alive the names and works of Russian writers abroad. These included Alex Shane [5], Edward Wasiolek [6], Greta Slobin [7], Andrew Field [8], and Carl and Ellendea Proffer on Nabokov [9].

Official Soviet literary outlets were also largely silent on some writers who had remained or returned to Russia, including Mikhail Bulgakov and Andrei Bely.

Literature and scholarship of Andrei Bely

The case of Bely offers a unique overview of the legacy of one Russian writer that was carefully preserved while in his homeland he was intentionally overlooked. Perhaps more than any other country Germany embraced Bely early on and has over the past 100 years offered significant contributions to Bely scholarship and indeed to the preservation not only of his memory, but also of his unique literary heritage. The first Western translation of Bely's novel, *Серебряный голубь* (1910) appeared in German translation by Lully Wiebeck as *Die silberne Tauber* in 1912—just two years after its publication, long before any other

Western translation. The first English version would appear in 1974. A similar fate met *Петербург*, translated in 1919 by Nadja Strasser and published in Munich. Several other works such as *На перевале* (*Auf der Wasserscheide*, by H[edwig] Bidder, Stuttgart: 1922); *Воспоминания о Блоке* (*Im Zeichen der Morgenröte*: Erinnerungen an Aleksandr Blok, by Svetlana Geier, Basel: Zbinden, 1974) and her *Воспоминания о Штейнере* (*Verwandeln des Lebens*: Erinnerungen an Rudolf Steiner, Basel: 1975) have all appeared in German, but not in English. Translation is, of course, but one way to preserve and honor a writer, and Bely has not fared all that well in translation. In the realm of literary scholarship and history, here too the Germans have frequently lead the way. A final and not unimportant contribution, especially in Soviet times, was the reprinting of works by Bely and no one contributed to this effort as much as Dmitrij Tschizewskij at the University of Heidelberg.

The history of Bely studies up until the 1970's, primarily the Russian contributions, is marvelously described in an article by Gleb Struve who forty five years ago opened the Andrey Bely conference at the University of Kentucky with his "Andrey Bely Redivivus" [10]. If memory does not deceive me. Struve was somewhat taken aback by the fact that two dozen scholars, mostly non-Russians, had gathered in one place in 1975. The story of these Western contributions has not to my knowledge been expressed in any systematic fashion. The bibliographical record which included documentation of Russian sources was begun by Anton Hönig (*Andrej Belyjs Romane*, 1965), at its time the first and finest bibliography. The tradition was continued in The Andrej Belyj Society Newsletter beginning in issue No. 2 (1983) and updated yearly through issue 14 (1997-1998). The Newsletter was clearly the most important contribution of the Society to Bely studies, available in its entirety online [11] and was largely the brainchild and thanks to the efforts of Olga Muller Cooke and Ronald Peterson. Today electronic access to library catalogues and other databases around the world help provide a fuller picture of Bely studies both in Russia and abroad. The catalogue of Hollis Library at Harvard University (<http://lib.harvard.edu/>) lists almost 300 works in connection with Bely. Over 100 represent scholarship and translations of Bely, primarily into English.

I have divided the study of Andrei Bely into roughly three periods. The first period extends from Bely's death in 1934 until 1960. The second can be dated from 1960 until 1987, and the third period from 1988 to the present. Bely was, of course, often at the center of polemics and critical discussions during his lifetime. But little serious study or analysis was devoted to his works with the exception of Ivanov-Razumnik's, *Summits*. A. Blok. A. Belyj (Вершины. А.Блок, А.Белый, 1923). What characterizes the early period after the author's death in 1934 is the almost complete lack of reprints of his works. The novel, *Petersburg*, was reprinted in 1935, but then not again in Russia until 1978. In 1937 an edition of *Between Two Revolutions* (*Между двух революций*) appeared. In 1940 a collection of Bely's poetry (*Стихотворения*) was published in the series *The Poet's Library* (*Библиотека поэта*). A similar effort was published in 1966 with an introduction by T. Xmel'nitskaja. The silence concerning Bely, as it was for so many other writers both inside and outside the county for almost fifty years, was all but deafening inside the Soviet Union. The *Correspondence of Aleksandr Blok and Andrei Belyj* (*Александр Блок и Андрей Белый: Переписка*, 1940) offered new insight into the lives and times of both, and provided under the cover of the more politically acceptable Aleksandr Blok, a way to publish documents related to the theoretically problematic Bely. This delicate dance of Soviet scholars around the memory of Andrei Bely is a story still to be told by those who experienced it first hand in the days of Soviet censorship.

Even as his own native Russia largely ignored Bely's contributions to Russian letters, Oleg Maslenikov in his *The Frenzied Poets* (1952) as did Renato Poggioli *The Poets of Russia, 1890-1930* (1960) kept the memory of him alive among Western scholars. Bely's theoretical work in rhythmic was being actively pursued by Kirill Taranovsky *Ruski dvodelni ritmovi* (Beograd 1953) who would later go to Harvard University. Konstantin Mochul'skii's posthumously published *Andrei Bely* (Андрей Белый, 1955) indicated the writer's stature among the émigré communities as did the publication of Nikolai Valentinov's recollections "Encounters with Andrei Bely" (Встречи с Андреем Белым) in the *New Journal* (Новый журнал, No. 45, 46, 47 in 1956 and 49 in 1957). Two German language contributions include the even earlier and curious addition to Bely studies, the Vienna doctoral dissertation by Jutta Pflanzl in 1946: "Weltbild und Kunstschau des russischen Symbolismus in der theoretischen Gestaltung durch Andrej Belyj," and Johannes Holthusen's *Andrej Belyj und Rudolf Steiner* (1956). At the end of the decade, the first published translation of Petersburg into English appeared in 1959 by John Cournos.

The 1960s saw the first major revival of interest in Bely, first in Europe and then the United States. This coincided with the unprecedented rapid growth of Russian studies precipitated in large part by Soviet achievements in space and nuclear technology. We were the Yuri Gagarin generation. The concern in the West, in particular, in the United States that Ivan was catching and preparing to surpass us (словами Н.С. Хрущева «догнать и перегнать Америку» 1957), resulted in intense interest and financial incentives in American higher education for all things Russian, providing employment to dozens of Russian native speakers. A new audience arose for Russian writers, philosophers, and historians. Suddenly there was a generalized growth in the industry of Russian literary reprints of works ignored or forbidden in the Soviet Union. Bely as well as others was well represented by Prideaux Press [12]. A leading proponent of Bely studies in Great Britain was Professor of Slavonic Studies Georgette Donchin, [13] who helped bring Bely's memoirs back to life. Other reprints appeared in series by Bradda Books and Russian Language Specialties.

Dmitrij Tschizewskij, who had spent time at Harvard in the early 1950s, returned to the University of Heidelberg and offered there a seminar on Bely. His involvement with the Wilhelm Fink Verlag led to reprints of eight of Belyj's works *Kotik Letaev* (Котик Летаев) *The Christened Chinaman* (Крещеный китаец), *Moscow* (Москва), *Masks* (Маски), *Memoirs of Blok* (Воспоминания о Блоке), *Symbolism* (Символизм), *Gogol's Craftsmanship* (Мастерство Гоголя) and *Correspondence: A. Blok—A. Bely* (Переписка: А. Блок—А. Белый) in the series *Slavische Propyläen*. Another aspect of Tschizewskij's inspiration was the appearance of Anton Höning's already mentioned work and Lily Hindleys' *Die Neologismen Andrej Belyjs* (1966). Both authors had been members of the seminars that also inspired among others Horst-Jürgen Gerigk, the noted Dostoevski and Bely scholar. The German contribution to Bely scholarship was significant and ongoing, even though language remains a barrier preventing much of this scholarship from being fully appreciated both in Russia and the English speaking countries.

The reprints were supplemented by the above-mentioned memoirs of Struve, Stepun and Berberova. Bely studies (Беловедение) in the United States owed an enormous debt to Nina Berberova who would inspire John Malmstad at Princeton to examine and then edit the still most complete critical edition of Bely's poems, first in his 1968 dissertation ("The poetry of Andrej Belyj: a variorum edition"), and then later in his three volume edition published by W. Fink in Munich (1982-1984). In the United States other doctoral dissertations, some later published as books, began to appear, such as Sam Cioran, "The Apocalyptic Symbolism of Andrej Bely" (1968), Pierre Hart, "Andrej Belyj's Petersburg and

the Myth of the City” (1969). Zoya Yurieff in 1967 would introduce the New York reprint of *The Green Meadow* (Луг зеленый). The French translation of the novel *Petersburg* by Georges Nivat appeared in 1967.

If the 1960s was the decade primarily of reprints and memoirs, the 1970s was a major turning point, a decade of dissertations and translations and the slow emergence of Soviet scholarship into the light. In 1971, Ardis published Gerald Janacek’s translation of *Kotik Letaev* (Котик Летаев). Professor Janacek, still a graduate student at the University of Michigan, was fascinated by the music of Bely’s prose and began work on a dissertation related to the novel. Janacek would spearhead the first real American Andrei Bely revival by bringing to Kentucky an international conference on Bely in 1975. The list of participants points to the growing scholarly interest and the international character of Bely scholarship at the time. Georges Nivat, the French scholar at the University of Geneva, John Elsworth and Roger Keys among others were there and the resulting compilation of papers in 1978 was one of the first in the West [14].

Translations in the decade, in particular of the novels into English, abounded, such as *The Silver Dove* (Серебрянный голубь) by George Reavey in 1974. J. Sansa also translated the novel into Czech in 1971 and into Japanese by K. Kawabata in 1977. *Petersburg* appeared in Czech, Polish, Hungarian, Slovenian, and Dutch in 1970s. Both novels had appeared in newer German translations a decade earlier: *Petersburg*, (1959) and *Die silberne Taube* (1961) both by Gisela Drohla. There was the new scholarly and annotated English translation by John Malmstad and Robert Maguire in 1978. The Malmstad-Maguire translation is in fact a primer on how to read Bely and a Symbolist novel. *Kotik Letaev*, as mentioned above, appeared in English in 1971, in French by Georges Nivat and into Italian by S. Vitale and Japanese by I. Makai all in 1973. For the most part these translation projects were undertaken by scholars and frequently accompanied by valuable notes and commentary. Janacek and Berberova collaborated on a translation of *The First Encounter* (Первое свидание, 1979). Ronald Peterson published in translation *The Complete Short Stories* (1980) to coincide with his re-publication of *Рассказы* (1979). Other languages were equally well served with earlier translations of Bely’s works into Slavic languages. There was also a translation of Mochulsky’s book on Bely into English that would join John Elsworth’s first biography of the author in English, *Andrey Bely* (1972).

The heightened interest in *Petersburg* was stoked by Nabokov’s *Strong Opinions* (1973) that had named the work as one to the four best novels of the twentieth century and sent scores of readers scrambling for the work. Nabokov’s very mixed public mentions of Bely do not account for his own dependence upon Bely’s prosodic studies for his own study and translation of *Eugene Onegin* (Евгений Онегин, 1964), or of the stylistic debt he owes to Bely for his novel, *The Gift*.

Translations of a few articles and poems also appeared in English but, of course, there were major gaps, some of which remain today [15]. One curiosity is the lack of translations of other works into English and other languages since then. The exceptions are *The Dramatic Symphony* (1987), *The Christened Chinaman* (1991), *In the Kingdom of Shadows* (2001), *Glossolalia* (2003) and the re-translation of *The Silver Dove* (2001) and *Petersburg* (2009). Such works as *Masks and Moscow under Attack* have defied English translations until *The Moscow Eccentric* in 2016. The importance of translations of Bely’s works cannot be overemphasized. In addition to winning new readers, the translations often served as an entryway for non-native speaking students of Russian literature into Bely’s workshop.

The 1970s witnessed over a dozen doctoral dissertations on Bely’s Symphonies, prose, critical theory and aesthetics in the United States alone [16]. Many of those authors would become prolific publishers of articles and books in the years to come. Just few names of those who defended

dissertations on Bely and went on to academic careers include: Carol Anschuetz, Princeton; Anton Kovac, Stanford; Thomas Beyer, University of Kansas; Alexander Woronzoff, USC; Ronald Peterson, Harvard; Vladimir Alexandrov, Princeton; Steven Cassedy, Princeton; Charlene Castellano, Cornell; Maria Carlson, Indiana University, and Olga Muller Cooke, University of London. Some of these dissertations developed into books by Alexander Woronzoff and Vladimir Alexandrov adding to the already mentioned Sam Cioran, and Anton Kovac who published his book on the Symphonies. Western scholars approached all aspects of Bely's works. A brief list with apologies to those omitted of foreign scholars would have to include John Elsworth, author for the first life and works study *Andrei Bely in English* (1972). Boris Christa, Johannes Holthusen, Ada Steinberg, Lena Szilard, Magnus Ljunggren, Tatiana Nicolescu, Dagmar Burkhardt, Maria Deppermann.

Bely was mentioned in a few works published in the Soviet Union, primarily as memoirs, *Ehrenburg People, Years, Life* (Люди, годы, жизнь, 1961). The 1970s and early 1980s would also witness the emergence of a handful of Soviet scholars who were all versed in Bely studies and began to find ways to publish on this still complicated and problematic writer for Soviet critics. In 1978 Dolgopoloov published a scholarly edition of *Petersburg*—the first Soviet publication of that novel since 1935. Joining Dolgopoloov, were Grechiskin and Lavrov. Later Piskunov would publish commentaries to Belyj's works. This history, the story of Soviet Russian Беловедение is still to be written.

In this second period (1960-1987) the majority of commentary centered on Petersburg or the poetry. (Tschizewskij's own copy of the 1922 edition in the library of the Slavisches Institut of Heidelberg) with his own insertion of all the changes in pencil attest to the scrutiny the novel was receiving. Bely's other prose works were problematic and largely inaccessible and incomprehensible to Western scholars. A bias against Anthroposophy by scholars, and a lack of interest in and willingness to speak about Bely at Dornach, Switzerland, discouraged attempts to look into the mystical or occult aspect of Bely's writings. This changed slowly with the appearance first in German and then Russian of Bely's *Memoirs of Steiner* (Воспоминания о Штейнере) published in German in 1975 as *Verwandeln des Lebens* that caused a new look at the relationship between Bely and his spiritual father figure. Swetlana Geier did Bely scholarship an invaluable service by providing the Anthroposophists with an opportunity to re-evaluate Bely and his relationship to Rudolf Steiner and the major change in attitude of Anthroposophists outside of Russian, especially in Dornach, toward Bely scholarship. I remember my own very chilly meeting there in the summer of 1974. Those who had known Asja Turgeneva were still skeptical of Russian literature scholars. Slowly the realization that Bely had not abandoned Doktor Steiner, moreover had found in him a foster father, lead to a gradual opening of the archives in Dornach. The atmosphere at least until the first part of the 1970s had been tainted, perhaps by Asja Turgeneva, Bely's first wife who lived out her days in Dornach, but also in part to the prevailing attitude that Bely had parted ways with Steiner and Anthroposophy held by those émigrés. All of this is recounted in my review article of Frau Geier's work [17]. After the appearance of *Verwandeln des Lebens* Dornach slowly opened its doors to Western scholars. Frédéric Kozlik published his dissertation as a book in a still largely ignored French work published in Frankfurt on the intersections of Bely's work and anthroposophical teachings. (*L'influence de l'anthroposophie sur l'œuvre d'Andréi Biélyi*, 1981). Here I simply have to bemoan the fact that at least in American institutions a reading knowledge of French and German is no longer expected in Slavic Ph.D. programs. Little wonder then that the contributions made in these languages rarely get reviewed in our professional journals.

To mark the 100 anniversary of Bely's birth in 1980 there was a flurry of activity. Boris Christa (Bulgarian born and educated at Cambridge—who later became chair of the

department at the New Zealand University of Queensland) released *The Andrey Belyj Centenary Papers* (1980) and headlined the effort outside of Russia where the interest was great but the production still hampered. Christa had previously published his *The Poetic World of Andrey Bely* (1977). Through the early 1980s, Bely scholarship flourished in the West—in both the United States and Europe. To mention a few notable books on: Ada Steinberg, *Word and Music in the Novels of Andrey Belyj* (1982); Magnus Ljunggren, *The Dream of Rebirth* (1982); Charlene Castellano, *Synesthesia* (1980); Steven Cassedy, *Selected Essays of Andrey Belyj* (1985); John E Malmstad, *Andrey Bely: spirit of symbolism* (1987) and John Elsworth, *Andrey Bely: A Critical Study of the Novels* (1983). With the inspiration of Nina Berberova, *The Andrej Belyj Society* was started with its set of *Bulletins*. One other major development was the re-examination of Bely's two years in Berlin, part of a general renewed interest in the topic of *die Russen in Berlin* (the title of Fritz Mieraus' groundbreaking 1987 book), and *Русский Берлин* (1983). My own decades long study of Bely in Berlin began with a grant from the Alexander von Humboldt Stiftung in 1984 and 1986, and DAAD support in 1989-1990. That research began with a conversation with Nina Berberova that lead me to uncover Vera Lourie who had been close to Bely in the Berlin years. The fall of the Berlin Wall made visiting Fritz Mierau immeasurably easier and also inspired a flurry of work devoted to the glorious Berlin years of 1921-1923. Many German colleagues worked in this area; two of the better known were Doris Libermann and Amory Burchardt of *Der Tagesspiegel*. Dr. Walter Andreesen Director of the Ost-Europa Abteilung of the Staatsbibliothek worked steadfastly to preserve the legacy of Russian Berlin. Arno Spitz of the Berlin Verlag helped to publish both *Russische Autoren und Verlage in Berlin* (1987) and *Vera Lourie: Poems* (*Вера Лурье Стихотворения*, 1987). More recently Bely's life has been recounted in Mina Poljanskaja's *Foxtrot of the White Knight: Andrei Bely in Berlin* (*Foxtrot белого рыцаря: Андрей Белый в Берлине*, 2009). It is more than a little disconcerting that this albeit journalistic text completely avoids giving recognition of the numerous German and American sources which preceded and made possible her work.

Turning our attention back to the 1980's, our Russian colleagues were not unaware of Bely, but frequently did their studies of him under the cover and protection or auspices of Aleksandr Blok, who had been warmly accepted into the Soviet canon. I was shown by Stanislav Lesnevskij an invitation to a private evening celebrating Bely's 100th anniversary in 1980—where Soviet scholars quietly remembered the writer. John Malmstad commented on this silence in his article: "Belyi: A Centenary Unobserved" [18].

Lena Szilard has published extensively on Bely in Russian, Hungarian and other languages. The 1980s also saw an emerging Italian connection—the University at Bergamo sponsoring a conference over several days in 1986 and since then serious work continues in that language.

The 1980's saw several German language studies of note: *Andrej Belyjs ästhetische Theorie des schöpferischen Bewusstseins: Symbolisierung und Krise der Kultur um die Jahrhundertwende* by Maria Deppermann (1982); *Schwarze Kuben - roter Domino: Strukturbeschreibung von Andrej Belyjs Roman "Peterburg"* by Dagmar Burkhart (1984); *Ägypten und ägyptische Mythologie: Bilder der Transition im Werk Andrej Belyjs* by Evelies Schmidt (1986) and Christa Ebert's *Symbolismus in Russland: zur Romanprosa Sologubs, Remisows, Belys* (1988). In addition to the studies on Russian Berlin already mentioned there was inclusion of Bely in *Deutsche und Deutschland in der russischen Lyrik des fruhen 20. Jahrhunderts*, edited by Lew Kopelew (1988) and Karl Schlogel's *Russische*

Emigration in Deutschland 1918 bis 1941 (1995). There was also the publication of important previously unpublished words by Bely in Russian in the West: *The Memoirs of Steiner* (Воспоминания о Штейнере, 1982), and *Why I Became a Symbolist* (Почему я стал символистом, 1982).

A line might be drawn, and I was struck by how distinctly it appears, between 1987 and 1988. If up until then Bely scholarship had been centered in the West, in 1988 Dolgoplov publishes his study of Petersburg, accompanied in the same year by reprints of Bely's prose and poetry and the first Soviet re-evaluation of Bely in *Andrei Belyj: Problems of Creativity* (Андрей Белый: Проблемы творчества, 1988).

As if let out the bottle, Bely's genie could not be restrained and dozens of Russian language reprints of the poetry, the novels, the memoirs and other critical works begin to appear in Russia. Lavrov, Piskunov, and John Malmstad—now in concert and cooperation with his Russian colleagues—prepared scholarly annotated editions of correspondence and memoirs. Here the Russians are incomparably more capable of uncovering the minutiae related to Bely and his milieu.

The 1990s could best be characterized as opening the pages of Bely to his rightful readership in his own language. A conference was held in 1992 at the Voloshin Home in Koktebel' to commemorate the new openness, and it attracted a wide array of Russian scholars, and smattering of Westerners who could make their way there. Other conferences followed and there was the inauguration and slow growth of the Andrei Belyj Apartment-Museum in Moscow. Western scholarship, while it declined from its earlier days, continued in the works of Roger Keys, *The reluctant modernist: Andrei Belyi and the development of Russian fiction, 1902 – 1914* (1996); Carmen Sippl, *Reisetexte der russischen Moderne: Andrej Belyj und Osip Mandel'stam im Kaukasus*. (1997); and Andrea Zink, *Andrej Belyjs Rezeption der Philosophie Kants, Nietzsches und der Neukantianer* and (1998).

Since the turn of the 21st century a number of key works have appeared, including Timothy Langen's *The Stony Dance* (2005), an extraordinary comprehensive and brilliant reading of Petersburg. Bely's "poem about song," *Glossolalie*, was translated into English by me and into German by Maka Kandelaki (2003) [19]. A French translation now exists and an Italian and possibly Japanese version was in the works. John Elsworth's 2000 re-translation of *The Silver Dove* into English has been hailed as brilliant, and his new bold translation of Petersburg (2009) into English appeared. Magnus Ljunggren published his *Twelve Essays on Andrej Belyj's Petersburg* (2009).

One of the key areas is the re-discovered appreciation and attempts to understand the occult influences in Bely's life and works. New works that highlight the role of the esoteric and occult in Bely such as Henrieke Stahl-Schwaetzer's *Renaissance des Rosenkruzertums*—a re-interpretation of *The Silver Dove* and Petersburg in light of initiation rituals applied to Bely himself. Concerning the works in German in particular, I must lament the lack of cross-fertilization of work in that language by either English speakers or Russian speakers. Taja Gut of the archives at the Goetheanum and his German language (*Andrej Belyj Symbolismus, Anthroposophie, Ein Weg* (1997) is largely responsible for restoring the role of Rudolf Steiner and Anthroposophy to the study of Bely and along with Dr. Walter Kugler in making the archives in Dornach, Switzerland, accessible to all scholars all.

The coming together of Russian and foreign scholars embodied in Lavrov and Malmstad was exemplified in 125th anniversary conference, that brought together some of the old and the new. Georges Nivat, John Elsworth, Aleksandr Lavrov, Stanislav

Lesnevskij, Olga Cooke, Olga Matich, Magnus Ljunggren, Nina Kaukhchishvili, Tatjana Nikolesku, Lena Szilard, and me alongside of a younger generation, led by Monika Spivak, Japanese, Italian scholars and compilers of a Bely web page. The conference itself served as an introduction of the special edition of *Russian Literature* (LVIII-I/II, 2005) devoted to Bely, whose contributors also represent a great cross section of Bely scholarship. The conference on the 130th Anniversary of Bely's birth in Moscow also assembled scholars from France, Hungary, Israel, Italy, Poland, Serbia, Slovakia, Switzerland, as well as from Germany, Russia and the United States.

The new century also brought a technical revolution to Bely studies making him even more accessible to scholars and students alike. The website of the Bely Museum in Moscow offers on line the complete texts of many first editions of Belyj's works with ambitious intentions to print his entire completed works. The site is also rich in photographs and biographical information (<http://kvartira-belogo.guru.ru/museum/index.html>). Full text versions of many of Bely's works are available at the Classic Russian Library (http://az.lib.ru/b/belyj_a/). Bely's poetry is particularly well represented at the Library of Poetry (<http://www.litera.ru/stixiya/authors/belyj.html>). The Russian Virtual Library contains both biographical and textual information, including e-texts (<https://rvb.ru/20vek/belyi/>). Monika Spivak has been noticeably present on the internet. There are online copies of my own translations into English of *The Christened Chinaman* (Крещеный китаец) (<http://community.middlebury.edu/~beyer/cc/index.htm>) and of *Glossolalie* (Глоссолалия) (<http://www.middlebury.edu/~beyer/gl/cover.html>).

All point to the resurgent interest in the works of a writer long ignored or passed over in his homeland. Andrei Bely has returned home to the Arbat. Under Monika Spivak, herself an accomplished scholar and meticulous preserver of Bely's legacy, the Bely Museum had become the center of the Bely studies, uniting in a new way Westerners and Russians—opening the doors to all and growing on the shoulders of those who came before with complete recognition of the debt to foreign scholars who had preserved the memory of Bely alive for so many years.

Conclusion

The spirit of cooperation so recently still alive, for example the German Russian project on Bely's *History of the Self Conscious* (История становления самосознющей души, Ed. Mikhail Odesskii, Monika Spivak, and Khenrike Shtal'. 2020), or the American Russian effort to bring forth the correspondence of Bely and Natasha Turgeneva-Pozzo existed right up until February of 2022 [20].

Let us hope that this spirit of openness and cooperation between Western and Russian scholars continues to help make Bely, as he himself had wanted, more accessible to others. Once saved from obscurity by dozens of us who recognized the extraordinary contributions of Bely to literature, literary theory, poetics, Western thought and the portraits of his time, that study continues and flourishes today.

The tragic events of 2022 have returned the status to one of isolation of Russian from Western scholars. History can be our guide and offer hope that even if it takes years or generations, Western scholars will once again keep alive unpublished pages of the history of Russian literature until the time comes for us to be joined again with our colleagues in the Russian Federation.

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- [11] The Andrej Belyj Society Newsletter from 1982—1998 are available electronically at <http://community.middlebury.edu/~beyer/BelyBull/index.html>.
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