

Silver Age and After

Repressed Russian Poets,
Artists and Philosophers
during the Soviet Period

Roberto Echavarren

Series in Literary Studies



VERNON PRESS

Copyright © 2024 by the author.

All rights reserved. No part of this publication may be reproduced, stored in a retrieval system, or transmitted in any form or by any means, electronic, mechanical, photocopying, recording, or otherwise, without the prior permission of Vernon Art and Science Inc.
www.vernonpress.com

In the Americas:
Vernon Press
1000 N West Street, Suite 1200,
Wilmington, Delaware 19801
United States

In the rest of the world:
Vernon Press
C/Sancti Espiritu 17,
Malaga, 29006
Spain

Series in Literary Studies

Library of Congress Control Number: 2024937243

ISBN: 978-1-64889-020-8

Product and company names mentioned in this work are the trademarks of their respective owners. While every care has been taken in preparing this work, neither the authors nor Vernon Art and Science Inc. may be held responsible for any loss or damage caused or alleged to be caused directly or indirectly by the information contained in it.

Every effort has been made to trace all copyright holders, but if any have been inadvertently overlooked the publisher will be pleased to include any necessary credits in any subsequent reprint or edition.

Cover design by Vernon Press. Image by Freepik.

Dr. Roberto Echavarren has a Ph.D. from the University of Paris VIII. He has taught as a Full Professor with tenure at New York University for 20 years. Also, he has taught courses and seminars at the University of London, at the Instituto Rojas of the University of Buenos Aires, at the University of Sao Paulo, at the University of Chile, and the University of the Republic in Montevideo.

Recent publications:

Russian Nights, Autocracy and Testimony, Life in Russia during the Soviet Period as Told by Those Who Lived It, Delaware, Vernon Press, 2023.

One Against All: Lenin, His Government and Legacy, Washington-London, Academica, 2022.

El pensamiento chino, Amado Alonso International Prize of Literary Investigation, Spain, Pre-Textos, 2021.

El Estado de derecho: Foucault frente a Marx y el Marxismo (The Rule of Law: Foucault Facing Marx and Marxism), Argentina, Prometeo, 2020.

Archipiélago, Tres Novelas (Arquipelago, Three Novels), Montevideo, Penguin Random House, 2017.

Recent poetry publications:

In Spanish:

Verde escarabajo (Green Scarab), Buenos Aires, Mansalva, 2023.

Veneno de escorpión azul (Blue Scorpion's Poison), Montevideo, La Coqueta, 2021.

In Portuguese:

O monte nativo, Sao Paulo, Lumme, 2018.

Centralasia, Sao Paulo, Lumme, 2016.

In English:

The Virgin Mountain, U.S. Dialogos Books, 2017.

The Espresso between Sleep and Wakefulness, U.S., Cardboard House, 2016.

ABOUT

"I read *The Silver Age* slowly, dipping in nightly for intense bursts of poetic and critical insight. What a lovely recreation of the era, in all its shimmering, mercurial complexity! Many congratulations. You clearly understand and, more importantly, *feel* the tragic power of the lives you chronicle and of the art these lives brought to us. I deeply admire the book's form: a kind of documentary narration, travelogue, and work of criticism rolled into one — with a philosophical drama as a lagniappe!"

Boris Dralyuk

[Executive Editor, *Los Angeles Review of Books* / <https://bdralyuk.wordpress.com>

1917: Stories and Poems from the Russian Revolution (Pushkin Press, Dec. 2016)

The Penguin Book of Russian Poetry (with Robert Chandler and Irina Mashinski, Penguin Classics, 2015)

Isaac Babel's *Red Cavalry* and *Odessa Stories* (Pushkin Press, 2015 and Oct. 2016)]

Table of Contents

Foreword	ix
Prologue	xi
Introduction	xv
Acronyms of the Soviet Union Political Police	xli
Chapter 1 Nikolai Gumilyov and the Annihilation of the Russian Cultural Intelligentsia	1
Chapter 2 At the House of the Fountain: Anna Akhmatova	11
Chapter 3 The Summer Garden: Ana Akhmatova	25
Chapter 4 At Home with Alexander Blok	29
Chapter 5 At Home with Marina Tsvetaeva	51
Chapter 6 Marina Tsvetaeva and Rainer Maria Rilke	77
Chapter 7 Tsvetaeva's Death	95
Chapter 8 The Peasant Poet: Nikolai Klyuev	107
Chapter 9 Under the Horses of the Alexandrinsky	119

Chapter 10	
Meyerhold and Stanislavski	125
Chapter 11	
Meyerhold and Mayakovsky	133
Chapter 12	
<i>La Rive Gauche</i>: Ehrenburg and Gide	147
Chapter 13	
The Muses Were not Silent: Dmitri Shostakovich	167
Appendix	
<i>The Philosophers' Ship</i> : Introduction	177
<i>The Philosopher's Ship</i> : A Play	181
Bibliography	213
Index	221

Foreword

This book is aimed at a wide readership of people interested in Russian culture, scholars, students, poets, and readers who enjoy and profit from Russian literature, artistic endeavors, and thought.

I have written it through academic research and also through visiting the places, houses, museums, theatres, parks, and cultural monuments in Petersburg and Moscow, and from knowledgeable testimonies given by friends with whom one shares conversation and entertainment. I attempt to grasp the life of Russian culture through both written materials and life experiences so that *Silver Age and After* is, in part, a Russian travelogue, as Boris Dralyuk has pointed out. This information is through and through ratified by learned notes.

The Introduction presents lines of poetic, artistic and philosophical thought originating in the period known as the Silver Age, from the late nineteenth century to 1917. With hindsight, we clearly see that the authors dealt with here are the main creators of poetry, theatre, music, and thought through the Russian century. The Russian Parliament was inaugurated in 1906. These were years of remarkable economic growth and prosperity, relaxation of censorship, and liberal political life joined by a flourishing of modern Russian culture. This book analyzes the work as well as the lives of the creators, interacting with and responding to the historical and political conditions they underwent. When Lenin's dictatorship suppressed the elective Parliament, all the liberties recently acquired were lost. I chronicle the destiny of Russian creators under Soviet power when their work, as well as their lives, were suppressed.

One must bear in mind the political and economic conditions in which those lives developed under the apparatus invented by Lenin: the one-Party rule, placed above both the government and the citizens, the elimination of private property and private economic initiative, the abashment of the division of powers, the political police, and the GULAG.¹

The composer Dmitri Shostakovich declared: "I just wanted to tell what I know well—too well. And I know that when all the necessary research is completed, when all the facts are gathered, and when the necessary documents confirm them, the people who were responsible for these evil deeds will have

¹ For a more detailed account of Lenin's government I refer the reader to my book: *One Against All, Lenin and his Legacy*, Washington-London, Academica, 2022.

to answer for them, if only before their descendants. If I didn't believe in that completely, life wouldn't be worth living.”²

The crimes were not punished, but memory is another kind of punishment. One of the fundamental traits of our existence is the fact that our destinies acquire the form of our relationship with power, of our fight with or against it. The point of these lives, where their energy concentrates, lies precisely there, where they collide with power and attempt to escape from its traps.

Lenin was the creator of a new model of autocracy, the one-Party system, followed by Stalin, reproduced and adapted by Hitler, Mussolini and Putin (although, in the case of Putin, power masquerades behind a supposed democratic framework). As throughout the twentieth century, today, democracies are in danger of being overcome. On the 6th of January 2021, Trump attempted a coup that almost destroyed American democracy. In 2014, Putin invaded Crimea, and in 2022 he invaded the Ukraine. Autocracy is a clear and present reality. In Putin's Russia, censorship, particularly at this moment, is comparable to Bolshevik censorship. Just to take the case of sexual minorities: the Stalin law of 1934 punished homosexuality with five to eight years in the GULAG. Putin's laws of 2013, 2020 and 2022 made sexual minorities completely invisible, with stiff fines for any infringement of the norm. In July 2023, Putin signed legislation that bans people from officially or medically changing their gender, representing a further blow to Russian sexual minorities. It also annuls marriages in which one person has “changed gender” and bars transgender people from becoming foster or adoptive parents.

The ascent of the State of law is subject to interruptions, surprises, and corrupt attempts to subvert it. It would be easier to dismantle power if it simply watched, prohibited and punished instead of compelling people to act and speak according to its propaganda.

All translations from Russian or other languages are mine unless I quote a specific source. I worked with a native speaker of Russian, Nina Popiena. The reader will find an Index of historical names, plus a considerable Bibliography.

² Shostakovich, Dmitri, *Testimony*, edited by Solomon Volkov, New York, Harper, 1979.

Prologue

By contrast to Pushkin's and Lermontov's Golden Age, the period between 1890 and 1917 has been called the Silver Age in Russian intellectual history. Generally speaking, this refers to poets, artists and thinkers who started their careers before 1917.

I offer here a comprehensive view of the destiny of the main poets, Anna Akhmatova, Marina Tsvetaeva, Alexander Blok, Nikolai Gumilyov, Nikolai Klyuev, Vladimir Mayakovsky, the writer Isaac Babel, theater director Vsevolod Meyerhold, composer Dmitri Shostakovich, and the philosophers of the *Vekhi* group. They judged and acted with freedom despite the harsh conditions under which they lived under Lenin and Stalin. The Soviet government handled cultured intelligentsia brutally. The regime repressed thousands of writers, artists, scientists, researchers, and professors. They were either murdered or sent abroad; many died in the GULAG.

For ten years after the fall of the Soviet Union, Vitaly Shentalinski researched the archives of the Soviet political police and unearthed abundant information about literati who were victims of terror. He exposed his findings in books such as *Crime without Punishment*. Extraordinary testimonies, Nadezhda Mandelstam's *Against All Hope* and *Hope Abandoned*, or Nina Berberova's *The Italics are Mine*, add to a plural portrait of the victimized intellectuals.

Anna Andreievna Gorenko, known as Anna Akhmatova, was one of the few who, by a rare miracle, survived Stalin. She became the living link within a tradition of Russian verse stemming from Derzhavin in the eighteenth century, passing through Pushkin and Lermontov, Nekrasov, Fet and Tiutchev in the nineteenth, to the Russian Symbolists, Acmeists, Futurists, and the peasant poets in the twentieth.

Between 1906 and 1917 a relaxation of censorship had taken place in Russia. The government became a constitutional monarchy. Encouraged by the successful initiatives of Prime Minister Piotr Stolypin, there was an enormous increase in agricultural output. The rate of industrial production in 1913 was not equaled in the Soviet Union until 1930.

All the new conquests—elective government, economic expansion, freedom of the press—were abruptly erased by Lenin's dictatorship. The October coup against the Provisional Government and the dissolution of the Constituent Assembly (elected by universal vote, including women) in January 1918 opened an era of penury and terror such as the country had never known before.

Artistic autonomy was compromised. Furthermore, options not in accord with heterosexual norms were equated to disaffection with the regime.

Pushkin's political suffocation under the wing of Nicholas I was a precedent to the lot of Russian artistic creators under the aegis of Lenin and Stalin. The poets Mayakovski and Tsvetaeva were driven to suicide; Nikolai Klyuev, Nikolai Gumilyov, Osip Mandelstam, and Sergei Yesenin were murdered, as well as theater director Vsevolod Meyerhold; Alexander Blok died of extenuation. They weren't the only victims of social prophylaxis.

Just like the pair of blue pants that Tolstoy had hung from a tree in Yasnaia Poliana—"Tolstoy was sitting on a bench under a tree to which he had tied a rope, and had hung there to dry a pair of enormous blue pants... And like an immense blue sail, furious in appearance, the blue pants hanging from the rope inflated and blew," Nikolai Klyuev wrote in *The Destiny of the Northern Ducks*—and like the blue cloth Mother Sabat unfolded in a poem also by Klyuev, what capacities of joy, of enthusiasm, Tsvetaeva, Akhmatova and the others must have had in order to navigate the waters of political suspicion! Pushkin wrote: "There is no happiness on earth, but peace and freedom." Not external, but internal peace; not external, but internal freedom: autonomy of judgment.

The first to die was Nikolai Gumilyov. Arrested in the summer of 1921, shortly after the killing of the Kronstadt sailors, he was made to dig his own grave. This was part of Lenin's campaign to intimidate the cultured intelligentsia. Having executed dozens of accused writers and professors together with Gumilyov, Lenin sent the survivors to the northern lagers. A year later, he expelled many intellectuals with their families.

Some of the poets of the Silver Age were trapped inside the country. Some were denied a visa. Others stayed by their own choice. Akhmatova did not leave Russia, while others, like Marina Tsvetaeva, did—fully justified. Almost all of those who stayed in Russia perished through the 1920s and 1930s. Akhmatova survived, always with a foot inside prison, with two husbands killed by the regime (Nikolai Gumilyov was the first) and her only son imprisoned in the GULAG. Despite that, she managed to give her testimony about oppression and terror.

"Manuscripts don't burn" is a phrase in a letter by novelist and playwright Mikhail Bulgakov. It sounds like a paradox in front of the destructive furor of the political police. Through the 60s and 70s of the last century some manuscripts that hadn't "burned" started to circulate in the Soviet Union in clandestine typed copies.

The chapter "Under the Horses of the Alexandrinsky" is an introduction to the work of the two main theater directors of the Silver Age, Konstantin Stanislavski and Vsevolod Meyerhold. They were challenged by the best legacy

of Russian nineteenth-century plays, *A Month in the Country* by Ivan Turgenev and the dramas by Anton Chekhov. The play by Turgenev is clearly the source of Chekhov's rural dramas. In Stanislavski and Meyerhold's polemics about realism, Chekhov was certainly their tug of war.

In 1928, Lunacharsky left his position as Commissar of Culture. Trotsky had been deported. This changed the cultural landscape. Stalin's ascension and his declarations on "socialist realism" ended an era of relative tolerance towards the Meyerholdian avant-garde. Anyone with ties to an experimental movement was considered an enemy by Stalin. Any artist he did not like was labeled a "formalist," guilty of "cosmopolitan leftist avant-gardism." Despite this, in an attempt to remain faithful to his vision of theater as a public forum—an assembly or "soviet"—Meyerhold asked Vladimir Mayakovsky to write two plays for him. If *The Bedbug* (1928) was a critique of Bolshevik terror and Puritanism, Mayakovsky's next play for Meyerhold, *The Bathhouse* (1930),¹ focused on the government bureaucracy. It presents a caricature of the Supreme Leader, Stalin, as the utmost bureaucrat. He is called the "Principal Administrative Coordinator" of the Soviet Union. The NEP (New Economic Policy, which had partially restored the market economy between 1921 and 1928) was over and done with, to be replaced by Stalin's Five-Year Plan and forced collectivization of agriculture. Mayakovsky and Meyerhold were both brave enough to speak the truth. This hilarious sci-fi satire appealed, in a broader sense, to poetic justice—not the justice of the current overlord. They bet on the future. The author and director were heading towards disaster.

The writer Ilya Ehrenburg receives an entire chapter, although he does not belong in the company of the above-mentioned repressed writers. Vladimir Nabokov said that Ilya Ehrenburg was a journalist, not an author. I deal with him here not because of his excellence as a writer but rather for his role as a Silver Age figure who eloquently illustrated the relationship between literature and politics in Stalinist times. He was not a victim but rather an instrument of Stalin, although he was censored and in danger of being executed by his boss several times. He was friends with Marina Tsvetaeva, Boris Pasternak and Isaac Babel. He performed as "ambassador of Soviet letters" in the European continent, participated in the Spanish Civil War, and forged ties with French writers such as André Gide and André Malraux. Ehrenburg and Gide broke up when, soon after the latter visited Soviet Russia in 1936, he dared to accuse the Soviet system in his *Return from the URSS*.

¹ *The Bathhouse*, by Vladimir Mayakovsky, in *20th Century Russian Drama*, John Gassner editor, New York, Bantam, 1963. Also *Bath* [Russian] by Vladimir Mayakovsky, Audiobook.

Isaac Babel (Ehrenburg's writer friend and guest at the 1935 Congress of Paris organized by him) was arrested in May 1939.² A search was conducted at his apartment in Moscow. The NKVD officers confiscated many manuscripts, 18 notebooks and pads, separate sheets, cards, postcards, telegrams, and all his unpublished works, likely including two secret novels. He was shot in 1940.

Although not a Jew himself, the composer Dmitri Shostakovich identified with the suffering of the Holocaust. To a certain degree, he assumed a Hebrew identity; he chose to express himself as a composer in that musical language and incorporated Hebrew folkloric themes into his compositions. What he liked about that music was its ability to construct a melody that was both happy and sad at the same time. Shostakovich was attacked in *Pravda* in 1936. Stalin—who personally oversaw the film industry—believed he was irreplaceable in his role as composer of soundtracks for Soviet films, so his life was spared.

One penalty included in the brand-new Penal Code of 1922 was deportation for life with the express stipulation that returning to the country implied immediate execution. This article was put into place a few months after the killing of the Petrograd intellectuals. It was instrumental in arresting and deporting groups of persons, writers, philosophers, critics, university presidents, professors, and people who still tried to think independently.

On May 22, 1922, the Politburo established a special commission to gather information about the intellectuals to be arrested and deported.

In September, the first group of 25 families boarded a boat destined for the port of Stettin in Germany. A second boat, carrying another contingent of writers, philosophers, academics and their families, departed six weeks later for the same destination. Sixty-seven intellectuals and their families were expelled on two boats, a total of several hundred people. The philosopher Nikolai Berdyaev was among those deported. This is the subject matter of a play included in this book as an Appendix.

² Shentalinski, Vitali, *De los archivos literarios del KGB*, Madrid, Anaya, 1994, p. 39.

Introduction

This will last out a night in Russia,
when nights are longest there.

Shakespeare, *Measure for Measure*

The Revolution of 1905 had pressed toward intensive reorganization of political life in Russia. An elected Duma, or Parliament, was added as a tool of government in 1906. The Duma interacted with the Tsar's Ministers to implement policy. For the first time, the country had elections, a relative freedom of the press, and saw the birth of civil society. Prime Minister Piotr Stolypin's policy (1907-1911) helped increase agricultural production. Russia became the world's main exporter of grain. Industrial development was increasing swiftly. Russian Modernism in thought, literature and the arts was built up and brought forth in those years.

This stupendous movement was eroded, first, by WWI, a collision of competing European empires, the Austro-Hungarian Empire, the German Empire, the Russian Empire, the British Empire, colonialist France and also imperialist USA. Empire meant a politics of expansion, annexation and subordination. The invasion of Ukraine in 2022 is the latest volcanic eruption of Russia's imperial ambitions.

But before we get there, let's examine the development of poetry, artistic and philosophical practice in the period that Nikolai Berdyaev baptized the "Silver Age," dating from the last few years of the nineteenth century to 1917. The new Russian intellectual minds wanted to come to terms with European contemporary poetry, art, and thought. Most of the Silver Age poets and thinkers had their education abroad. The poets were interested in Charles Baudelaire and Paul Verlaine. The famous sonnet by Baudelaire on the *correspondences*, as well as *The Birth of Tragedy* by Nietzsche, were points of departure to Symbolist poetics.

In addition to this admiration of French and German poets and writers, the Silver Age authors considered themselves inheritors of the Russian Romantics, Alexander Pushkin and Mikhail Lermontov, plus the Post-Romantics Afanasy Fet and Fiodor Tiutchev.

The Silver Age group included some first-generation figures, such as Valery Bryusov and Vyacheslav Ivanov, just to name the ones that produced not only poetry but poetics, a reflection on their own task, and made explicit the readings that oriented their work.

Having assumed the word Symbolism to their practice, a pleiad of younger poets followed: Anna Akhmatova, Nikolai Gumilyov, Osip Mandelstam, Marina Tsvetaeva, Boris Pasternak, Nikolai Klyuev, Sergei Yesenin and Vladimir Mayakovsky.

Mikhail Kuzmin, poet and narrator, and Alexander Blok were the hinges between the older and the younger symbolists.

Marina Tsvetaeva (1892-1941) wrote a memoir, *An Evening out of This World* (*Nezhdieshni vecher*), where she recounted a gathering of the younger group of poets in Petrograd in December 1915. Upon learning of Mikhail Kuzmin's death in 1936, Tsvetaeva, exiled in Paris, wrote an account of her first and only meeting with him in Petrograd. The title alludes to the title of a verse collection Kuzmin had published in 1921, *Evenings out of This World* (*Nezhdeshnie vechera*).

In the essay *Earthly Signs*, she wrote: "Parallel to our unworthy life—there is another life: solemn, indestructible, absolute... The same words, the same movements—the same everything, for hundreds of years. Outside time, meaning outside treason. We do not remember this enough."¹ The once-religious emotion concerning life after death, the transcendent paradise of Christians, is experienced by Tsvetaeva all in all within history, within some kind of temporal haul ("for hundreds of years"); within history but strangely, also, "outside time."

For a poem to reach that property, the property of being both in history and outside time, it needs to have been written: "without treason." "Without treason" to what? To the writer's idiosyncratic diction, the way he sees things and the faculty to give impulse to an idea, a matter of rhythm. The survival of a poem, pithiness and durability, a historical perspective, depends on some sort of integrity, the integrity of the soul.

Symbolism

Valery Bryusov's (1873-1924) novel *The Fiery Angel* (1908) can be linked to the poem *The Demon* by Lermontov and to Mikhail Vrubel's (1856–1910) painting "The Seated Demon" (1890), inspired by Lermontov's poem as well. The Demon is an archetypal "fallen angel" who bridges men and female figures. Vrubel's Demon is incongruous: a feminine head over a hyper-developed masculine body, an androgynous creation, an erotic non-binary mystery, an enigma that tantalized the whole age. It brought to the fore something that was previously hidden. It had to do with corporeal intensity and was justified by Nietzsche's *The Birth of Tragedy*.

¹ Tsvetaeva, Marina, *Indicios Terrestres* (*Earthly Signs*), Spain, Meridianos, Versal, translator into Spanish Selma Ancira, p. 144.

The demon was a childhood perception to Marina Tsvetaeva, a concrete hallucination, a collage of different animal species. Something was coming out, the revelation of another side of classical culture, also a sign of the times: this Fiery Angel, this Dionysos, required from the writer a pagan emotion concerning artistic pathos.

From the vantage point of 1928, when the Silver Age period was over, poet Vladimir Khodasievich wrote:

The Symbolists didn't want to separate the writer from the person, the literary from the personal biography. Symbolism aimed to be not only an artistic school but a literary movement. It constantly strove to become a method for both art and life; that was perhaps its profound truth; its whole history flowed in constant striving towards the truth. It was a series of attempts, at times truly heroic, to find the alloy of both life and creativity, a sort of philosophical stone of art. [...] The events of everyday life [...] were never lived through as only and simply life; they immediately became part of the inner world and a part of creation. And the inverse: something that someone had written became real, a life event for everyone. [...] In this unusual life, in this 'Symbolic dimension,' they lived on several planes at once. They wanted to reach the end, the limit, and fullness and demanded the same thing from other people. [...] Their motto could have been: all or nothing. They sought a superlative degree in everything. The great error of Symbolism, its mortal sin was: having declared a cult of personality, Symbolism assigned it no tasks besides self-development. [...] How, in the name of what, and in what direction, it did not indicate, didn't want to indicate, and indeed didn't know how to. The unceasing striving to reconstruct thought, life, relationships, and even one's own very habits in accordance with the imperative of the next experience [...] was a theater of fervid improvisation. They knew that they were playing, but the playing became life. The penalties were not theatrical.²

Valery Bryusov (1873-1924)

In his essay *Key to the Mysteries* (1904), Valery Bryusov defined poetic as "those moments of ecstasy, of supersensible intuition, that offer a different comprehension of worldly phenomena, penetrating more deeply under the external covering into the core."³

² Khodasievich, Vladimir, "The End of Renata" (1928), in *Russian Silver Age Poetry, Texts and Contexts*, Syllabus, by Sibelan Forrester and Martha Kelly, Boston, 2015, pp. 485-489.

³ Ivanov, Vyacheslav, *Russian Silver Age*, p.269.

PAGES MISSING
FROM THIS FREE SAMPLE

Bibliography

General

- Arendt, Hanna, *The Origins of Totalitarianism*, New York, Harcourt Brace, 1951.
- Figes, Orlando, *A People's Tragedy, The Russian Revolution 1891-1921*, London, Jonathan Cape, 1996.
- Fitzpatrick and Slezkine, *In the Shadow of Revolution: Life Stories of Russian Women from 1917 to WWII*, Princeton University Press, 2000.
- Furet, Francois, *Le passé d'une illusion, Essai sur l'idée communiste au XXeme siecle*, Paris, Laffont, 1995.
- Grigor Suny, Donald, *The Structure of Soviet History: Essays and Documents*, Oxford University Press, 2002.
- Lewin, Moshe, *The Soviet Century*, Verso Books, *El siglo soviético*, Barcelona, Crítica, 2006.
- Pipes, Richard, *The Russian Revolution*, New York, Vintage 1991.
- _____ *Russia under the Bolshevik Regime*, New York, Vintage 1995.
- Service, Robert, *A History of Twentieth Century Russia*, 1997.

Russian Literature under the Soviet Union

- Akhmatova, Anna, *Selected Poems* (trans. D. M. Thomas); Penguin Classics, 2006.
- _____ *Poems of Akhmatova*. Ed. and trans. Stanley Kunitz, Boston, 1967.
- _____ *The Complete Poems of Anna Akhmatova* (trans. Judith Hemschemeyer; ed. Roberta Reeder); Zephyr Press, 2000.
- _____ *Final Meeting: Selected Poetry Of Anna Akhmatova*, trans.by Andrei Knellwer, 2008.
- Babel, Isaac, *1920 Diary*, Yale University Press, 1990.
- _____ *Collected Stories*, New York, Meridian, 1960.
- Bakhtin, Mikhail, *Speech Genres and Other Late Essays*, University of Texas Press, 1986.
- _____ *Le Marxisme et la philosophie du langage*, Paris, Minuit, 1977.
- Barnes, Christopher, editor, *Studies in Twentieth Century Russian Literature*, New York, Barnes and Noble, 1975.
- Berberova, Nina, *Alexandr Blok*, Barcelona, Circe, 1997.
- _____ *The Italics are Mine*, New York, Harcourt, 1969.
- Berdyaev, Nikolai, *The Russian Idea*, Boston, Beacon Press, 1962.
- _____ *Christian Existencialism*, New York, Harper, 1965.
- _____ *The Origin of Russian Communism*, Ann Arbor, University of Michigan Press, 1960.

- _____ *The Fate of Man and the Modern World*, Ann Arbor, University of Michigan Press, 1961.
- _____ *Truth and Revelation*, New York, Collier, 1962.
- _____ *The Russian Revolution*, Ann Arbor, University of Michigan Press, 1961.
- Blok, Alexandr, *Un pedante, Sobre un poeta y otros textos*, Barcelona, Barral, 1972.
- _____ *The Stranger: Selected Poetry of Alexandr Blok*, Edition Kindle
- Brodsky, Joseph, *Less than One, Selected Essays*, New York, Farrar Straus Giroux, 1986.
- Brown, Edward, *Russian Literature since the Revolution*, London, Collier-Macmillan, 1969.
- Chandler, Robert, Machinsky, Irina, and Dralyuk, editors, *The Penguin Anthology of Russian Poetry from Pushkin to Brodsky*, London, Penguin Classics, 2015.
- Chekhov, Anton, *Plays and Stories*, England, Everyman, 1937.
- Chukovskaia, Lydia, *Sofia Petrovna*, Northwestern University Press, 1994.
- _____ *To the Memory of Childhood*, Northwestern University Press, 1988.
- Efron, Ariadna, *Marina Tsvietaeva, Mi madre*, Barcelona, Circe, 2009, Paris, Editions des Syrtes, 2008.
- Ehrenburg, Ilya, vols. I and II of *Men, Years, Life: Childhood and Youth*, 1891-1917; *First Years of Revolution*, 1918-21, London, Macgibbon & Kee, 1962.
- Forrester, Sibelan, Kelly, Martha, *Russian Silver Age Poetry*, Boston, Syllabus, 2015.
- Gadet, Francois, and Pecheux, Michel, *La langue introuvable*, Paris, Maspero, 1984.
- Gide, André, *Retour from the U.R.S.S*, suivi des *Retouches*, Paris, Gallimard, 1936, 1937.
- Ignatieff, Michael, *Isaiah Berlin: A Life*, New York, Metropolitan, 1998; *Isaiah Berlin: su vida*, Spain, Taurus, 1999.
- Karlinsky, Simon, *Marina Tsvetaeva, The Woman, her World and her Poetry*, Cambridge University Press, 1985.
- Kemp-Welch, A., *Stalin and the Literary Intelligentsia 1928-1939*, New York, St. Martin Press, 1991.
- Klyuev, Nikolai, *Poems*, transl. by John Glad, Ann Arbor, Ardis, 1977.
- Kudrova, Irma, *The Death of a Poet, The Last Days of Marina Tsvetaeva*, New York, Duckworth, 2004.
- Kuzmin, Mikhail, *Selected Prose and Poetry*, trans. By Michael Green, Ann Arbor, Ardis, 1980.
- Lottman, Herbert, *The Left Bank: Writers, Artists, and Politics from the Popular Front to the Cold War*, University of Chicago Press, 1998; *La rive gauche*, Barcelona, Tusquets, 1994.
- Lemon, Lee, editor, *Russian Formalist Criticism, Four Essays*, University of Nebraska Press, 1965.
- Lunacharsky, Anatoly, *On Literature and Art*, Moscow, Progress Publishers, 1973.

- Magarshack, David, *Chekhov the Dramatist*, New York, Hill and Wang, 1960.
- Mandelstam, Nadezhda, *Mozart and Salieri*, Ann Arbor, Ardis, 1973.
- _____ *Hope against Hope*, Random House, 1964.
- _____ *Hope Abandoned*, Scribner, 1981.
- Mandelstam, Osip, *The Complete Poetry of Osip Emilevich Mandelstam*, translated by Burton Raffel and Alla Burago, State University of New York Press, 1973.
- _____ *The Prose of Ossip Mandelstam*, transl. by Clarence Brown, Princeton University Press, 1965.
- _____ *The Moscow & Voronezh Notebooks*, translated by Richard & Elizabeth McKane. Bloodaxe Books (Tarsset, Northumberland, UK) 1991.
- Mayakovsky, Vladimir, *The Bedbug and Selected Poetry*, Midland Book, 1975.
- The Golden Age of Soviet Theatre*: Vladimir Mayakovsky, Isaac Babel, Yevgueny Schwartz, Penguin, 1966.
- Meyerhold, Vsevolod, *Meyerhold on Theatre*, trans. and ed. by Edward Braun, with a critical commentary, 1969. London: Methuen and New York: Hill and Wang.
- _____ *Meyerhold Speaks/Meyerhold Rehearses* (Russian Theatre Archive), by V. Meyerhold, Alexander Gladkov, editor, and Alma Law, editor, Routledge, 1996.
- _____ *Meyerhold at Work*, Paul Schmidt, editor, Applause Theatre Book Publishers, 1996.
- Muller Cooke, Olga, editor and translator, *After Plattling*, poems by Russian prisoners of war, Berkeley University Slavic Specialties, 1966.
- Obolenski, Dmitri, editor, *The Penguin Book of Russian Verse*, 1962.
- Ossorgin, Michel, *Une rue a Moscou*, Paris, Jean Vigneau, 1947.
- Osorguin, Mikhail, Remizov, Alexei, Tsvetaeva, Marina, La librería de los escritores*, Madrid, La Central, 2007.
- Pasternak, Yevgeny, Pasternak, Yelena, Azadovski, Konstantin, editors, *Lettres, Summer 1926, Boris Pasternak, Marina Tsvetaeva, Rainer Maria Rilke*, New York, New York Review Books, 2001.
- Proffer, Carl, *The Widows of Russia*, Ann Arbor, Ardis, 1992.
- Pushkin, Alexander, *Eugene Onegin*, trans. By Walter Arndt, New York, Dutton, 1963. Other translations by Vladimir Nabokov and Douglas Hoftadtler.
- Rilke, Rainer Maria, *Duinesen Elegien, Sonette an Orpheus*, Germany, Insel, 1974.
- Robin, Régine, *Le réalisme socialiste*, Paris, Payot, 1986.
- Ruy Sánchez, Alberto, *Tristeza de la verdad, André Gide regresa de Rusia*, Mexico, Joaquín Mortiz, 1991.
- Schwartz, Boris, "Dmitri Shostakovich," in *Russian Masters*, Macmillan, 1986.
- Shapiro, Leonard, *Russian Studies*, Penguin, 1988.
- Shentalinski, Vitali, *Arrested Voices. Resurrecting the Disappeared Writers the Soviet Regime*. With an introduction by Robert Conquest, Free Press, New York 1996.

- _____. *The KGB's Literary Archive*, Introduction by Robert Conquest, The Harvill Press, London 1997. *De los archivos literarios del KGB*, Paris, Laffont, 1993, Madrid, Grupo Anaya, 1994.
- Shostakovich, Dmitri, *Testimony*, Memoirs related by Solomon Volkov, Harper, 1979.
- Slonim, Marc, *Soviet Russian Literature, Writers and Problems, 1917-1967*, Oxford University Press, 1967.
- Struve, Gleb, *Russian Literature under Lenin and Stalin*, University of Oklahoma Press, 1970.
- Tsvietaeva, Anastasia, *Mi vida con Marina 1896-1991*, Hermida Editores, Madrid, 2018.
- Tsvetaeva, Marina, *Milestones, A Bilingual Edition*, Northwestern University Press, 2003.
- _____. *Selected Poems*, trans. Elaine Feinstein, Oxford University Press, 1971;
- _____. *Selected Poems*, trans. David McDuff Bloodaxe Books, 1987.
- _____. *A Captive Spirit: Selected Prose*, London, Virago Press, 1980.
- _____. *Earthly Signs: Moscow Diaries, 1917-1922*, ed. & trans. Jamey Gambrell, Yale University Press, 2002.
- _____. *Letters: Summer 1926, Boris Pasternak, Marina Tsvetaeva, Rainer Maria Rilke*, New York Review Books, 2001; *Marina Tsvetaeva, Rainer Maria Rilke, Boris Pasternak, Cartas del verano de 1926*, Barcelona, Grijalbo, 1993.
- _____. *The Ratcatcher: A Lyrical Satire*, trans. Angela Livingstone, Northwestern University, 2000. *Cazador de ratas*, Buenos Aires, Paradiso, 2007.
- _____. *En el país del alma. Correspondencia*, Spain, La Poesía S.H. 2008.
- _____. *Tres Poemas*, Córdoba, Argentina, 2006.
- _____. *A Captive Spirit: Selected Prose*, London, Virago Press, 1980.
- _____. *Un espíritu prisionero*, Barcelona, Galaxia Gutenberg, 1999.
- _____. *Poem of the End: Selected Narrative and Lyrical Poems*, trans. Nina Kossman, Ardis/Overlook, 1998, 2004.
- _____. *El diablo*, Barcelona, Anagrama, 1991.
- _____. *Mon frere féminin, Lettre a l'Amazone*, Paris, Mercure, 1979.
- _____. *Vivre dans le feu, Confessions*, Paris, Le Livre de Poche, Laffont, 2005.
- _____. *Antología poética*, Madrid, Hiperión, 1996.
- _____. *El poeta y el tiempo*, Barcelona, Anagrama, 1990.
- Weidle, Vladimir, *Russia: Absent and Present*, Vintage, 1961.
- Zavala, José María, *En busca de Andreu Nin*, Spain, Plaza Janés, 2005.

Lenin

- Albiac, Gabriel, *Léxico Leninista*, Madrid, Ediciones Libertarias, 1991.
- Carrere d'Encause, Helene, *Lenin*, Paris, Fayard, 1998.

- Chamberlain, Lesley, *Lenin's Private War, The Voyage of the Philosophy Steamer and the Exile of the Intelligentsia*, New York, St Martin's Press, 2006.
- Gul, S.K., *Seis años con Lenin*, Montevideo, Pueblos Unidos, 1957.
- Harper, Samuel, *The Russia I Believe in*, University of Chicago Press, 1945.
- Heller, Michel, *La formation de l'homme soviétique*, Calmann-Lévy, 1985.
- Kautsky, Karl, *Terrorismo y comunismo*, Buenos Aires, Transición, 1956.
- Lenin, *Polnoe sobranie sochinenii*, 5th ed., Moscow 1958-1965.
- Meyer, Jean, *Rusia y sus imperios 1894-1991*, Mexico, Fondo de Cultura, 1997.
- Mstislavski, Sergei, *Five Days which Transformed Russia*, Indiana University Press, 1988.
- Ossendowski, Ferdinand Antoine, *Lénine*, Paris, Editions Albin Michel, 1932.
- Pousino, O. *Mon enfance en U.R.S.S.*, Paris, Calmann-Lévy, 1939.
- Rabinovich, Alexander, *The Bolsheviks Come to Power*, New York, Norton, 1958.
- Rhis Williams, Albert, *Journey into Revolution, 1917-1918*, Chicago, Quadrangle, 1969.
- Service, Robert, *Lenin, a Biography*, Harvard University Press, 2001.
- Steinberg, Isaac, *In the Workshop of the Revolution*, London, 1955.
- Trotsky, Leon, *History of the Russian Revolution*, London, Victor Gollancz, 1965.
- Volkogonov, Dmitri, *Lenin: A New Biography*, Free Press, 1994.
- Wilson, Edmund, *To the Finland Station*, New York, Doubleday, 1940.

Agrarian Policy

- Blum, Jerome, *Lord and Peasant in Russia*, New York, Atheneum, 1964.
- Koutouzoff, W. N., 'L'absorption de la propriété rurale', Paris, *Revue des Deux Mondes*, 1932.
- Laird, R. and B., *Soviet Communism and Agrarian Revolution*, England, Penguin Books, 1970.
- Pipes, Richard, *Russia under the Old Regime*, New York, Scribner, 1974.
- Robinson, Geroid Tanquary, *Rural Russia under the Old Regime*, New York, Macmillan, 1960.
- Vucinich, Wayne (ed.), *The Peasant in Nineteenth Century Russia*, Stanford University Press, 1968.
- Volin, Lazar, *A Century of Russian Agriculture*, Harvard University Press, 1970.

Anarchism in Russia

- Avrich, Paul, *The Russian Anarchists*, Princeton University Press, 1967
- Avrich, Paul, *Kronstadt 1921*, Buenos Aires, Anarres, no date.
- Berkman, Alexander, *The Bolshevik Myth*, London, Pluto Press, 1969.
- Goldman, Emma, *My Disillusionment in Russia*, New York, Crowell, Apollo Editions, 1970.
- Kropotkin, Peter, *Memoirs of a Revolutionist*, New York, Doubleday, 1962.
- Lehning, Arthur, *Marxismo y anarquismo en la Revolución Rusa*, Buenos Aires, Anarres, no date.

Maximoff, Gregory Petrovich, *The Guillotine at Work*, Massachusetts, Black Thorn Books, 1979.

Volin, *La revolución desconocida*, Mexico, Editores Mexicanos Unidos, 1984.

Stalin

Antonov-Ovseyenko, Anton, *The Time of Stain*, New York, Harper and Row, 1983.

Browne, Michael, editor, *Ferment in the Ukraine*, New York, Praeger, 1971.

Bullock, Allan, *Hitler and Stalin*, New York, Vintage, 1991.

Cohen, Steven, *Bukharin and the Bolshevik Revolution*, New York, Knopf, 1973.

Delbars, Yves, *Le Vrai Staline, El verdadero Stalin*, Barcelona, Ariel, 1955.

Deutscher, Isaac, *The Age of Permanent Revolution, A Trotsky Anthology*, USA, Dell Publishing 1964.

Gide, André, *Retour de l'URSS*, Paris, Gallimard, 1936, *Regreso de la URSS*, Barcelona, Muchnik, 1982.

Hochschild, Adam, *The Unquiet Ghost, Russians Remember Stalin*, England, Penguin, 1994.

Laqueur, Walter, *Stalin*, New York, Macmillan, 1970.

Medvedev, Roy, *Let History Judge*, New York, Knopf, 1971.

Montgomery Hyde, H., *Stalin, the History of a Dictator*, New York, Da Capo, 1971.

Paul, Allen, *Katyn*, New York, Scribner, 1991.

Radzinsky, Edward, *Stalin*, New York, Doubleday, 1996.

Rayfield, Donald, *Stalin and the Hangmen, Stalin y los verdugos*, Madrid, Santillana, 2003.

Rees, Laurence, *Behind Closed Doors*, London, Random House, 2009.

Romanov, A.I., *Nights are Longest There*, Boston, Little, Brown, 1972.

Sebag Montefiore, Simon, *Stalin, La corte del zar rojo*, Barcelona, Crítica 2004.

Siegelbaum and Sokolov (ed.), *Stalinism as a Way of Life: A Narrative in Documents*, Yale University Press, 2000.

Stalin, Joseph, *Selected Works*, Davis CA, Cardinal, 1971.

Stalin, Joseph, Zinoviev, Grigori, *El Gran Debate (1924-1926) El Socialismo en un solo país*, Córdoba, Argentina, Cuadernos de Pasado y Presente, 1972.

Sudoplatov, Pavel and Anatoli, *Special Tasks*, Little, Brown, 1994.

Trotsky, Leon, *Stalin*, Haymarket Books, 2019. Barcelona, Plaza y Janés, 1960.

_____ *Political Profiles*, London, New Park Publications. 1972

_____ *My Life*, London, Pathfinder, 1970.

Tucker, Robert, *The Great Purge Trial*, New York, Grosset and Dunlap, 1965.

_____ *Stalinism*, New York, Norton, 1977.

_____ *Stalin in Power*, New York, Norton, 1990.

Viola, Lynne, *Peasant Rebels under Stalin*, Oxford University Press, 1996.

Volkogonov, Dmitri, *Stalin, Triumph and Tragedy*, Grove Weidenfeld, 1991, Rockling,

Voslensky, Michael, *Nomenklatura*, Viena, Fritz Molden Verlag, 1980.
 Ward, Chris, *Stalin's Russia*, New York, Routledge, 1996.

Terror

Berberova, Nina, *The Italics are Mine*, New York, Harcourt Brace, 1989.
 Chentalinski, Vitali, *De los archivos literarios del KGB*, Madrid, Anaya-Muchnik, 1994.
 Conquest, Robert, *Harvest of Sorrow, Soviet Collectivization and the Terror Famine*, Oxford University Press, 1986.
 _____ *The Great Terror*, Oxford University Press, 1990.
 _____ *Stalin and the Kirov Murder*, Oxford University Press, 1989.
 Dwinger, Edwin Erich, *La Fuga entre Blancos y Rojos*, Madrid Barcelona, Espasa-Calpe, 1931.
 Figs, Orlando, *The Wisperers*, New York, Henry Holt, 2007.
 Getty, A. and Naumov, O., *The Road to Terror, Stalin and the self-destruction of the Bolsheviki*, Yale University Press 1999, 1932-1939.
 Harris, James, *The Anatomy of Terror; Political Violence under Stalin*, 2013.
 Mandelstam, Nadezhda, *Hope Against Hope*, New York, Atheneum, 1970,
Contra toda esperanza, Madrid, Alianza, 1970.
 _____ *Hope Abandoned*, New York, Atheneum, 1981.
 Ribakov, Anatoly, *Terror*, Barcelona, Ediciones BSA, 1993.
 Serge, Victor, *Memoirs of a Revolutionary*, London, Writers and Readers Publishing Cooperative, 1984.
 Shearer, David, *Policing Stalin's Socialism: Repression and Social Order in the Soviet Union, 1924-1953*, 2009.
 Shostakovich, Dmitri, *Testimony*, edited by Solomon Volkov, New York, Harper, 1979.

GULAG

Applebaum, Anne, *GULAG*, London, Random House Mondadori, 2004.
 Guinzburg, Evguenia Simonova, *Journey into the Wirlwind*, New York, Harcourt Brace, 1967.
 Shalamov, Varlam, *Relatos de Kolyma*, Barcelona, Mondadori, 1997.
 Solzhenitsyn, Aleksandr, *The GULAG Archipelago, 1918-1956*, New York, Harper Collins, 1992.

World War II

Alexievich, Svetlana, *The Unwomanly Face of War: An Oral History of Women in World War II*, Random House, 2017.
 Andreyev, Catherine, *Vlasov and the Russian Liberation Movement*, Cambridge University Press, 1987.
 Beevor, Antony, *Stalingrado*, Barcelona, Crítica, 2000.
 Bethell, Nicholas, *The Last Secret*, London, Penguin, 1995.

- Braithwaite, Rodric, *Moscow 1941*, New York, Vintage 2007.
- Marshal Chuikov, Vasili, *The Battle for Stalingrad*, New York, Holt, 1964.
- General Guderian, *Recuerdos de un soldado*, Plaza y Janés, 1967.
- Harrison Salisbury, *Marshal Zhukov's Greatest Battles*, New York, Harper and Row, 1969.
- Kerr, Walter, *The Secret of Stalingrad*, New York, Doubleday, 1978.
- Pleshakov, Constantin, *Stalin's Folly*, New York, Houghton Mifflin 2005.
- Steenberg, Sven, *Vlasov*, New York, Knopf, 1970.
- Strik-Strikfeld, Wilfried, *Against Stalin and Hitler*, London, Mac Millan, 1970.
- Thorwald, Jurgan, *The Illusion: Soviet Soldiers in Hitler's Armies*, New York, Harcourt Brace, 1975.
- Werth, Alexander, *Russia at War, 1941-1945*, New York, Dutton, 1964.
- Marshal Zhukov, *Memoirs*, New York, Delacorte Press, 1971.

Homosexuality

- Echavarren, Roberto, *One Against All, Lenin and His Legacy*, Washington-London, Academica, 2022.
- Healey, Dan, *Homosexual Desire in Revolutionary Russia*, University of Chicago Press, 2001.

Index

A

- Abakumov, Viktor, 164
Academy of Verse (of Vyacheslav Ivanov), XXI
Acmeism, XI, XII
Agranov, Yakov, 14, 56
Aikhenwald, Yuli, 179
Akhmatova, Anna, XI, XII, XVI, XXI, XXII, XXIX, XXX, 2, 11-23, 25, 26, 31, 58, 59, 77, 84, 95, 100, 118, 141, 153, 164, 167
Alcalá de Henares, 159
Alcázar de Toledo, 158
Alexander I, XXIX
Alexander II, XXXII, XXXIII, 39
Alexandrinsky Theatre, XII, 119-120, 122-124
Alliluyev, Pavel, 138
Alliluyeva, Nadezhda, 124, 137-138
All-Russian Military Union, 96
Annals of the North, 57
Andreas-Salome, Lou, 77-78
Annensky, Inokenti, 11
Antonov-Ovseyenko, Vladimir, 159-160
Apollinaire, Guillaume, 149
ARA, American Relief Association, 188
Aseev, Nikolai, 101-102, 104
Association of Soviet Writers, 21, 99, 142, 150, 153-154, 161
Astoria Hotel, 19

B

- Babel, Isaac, 141, 148, 152-154, 161-162
Baby Yar, by Shostakovich, 170
Bakunin, Mikhail, XXXII
Balmont, Konstantin, 77
Barbusse, Henri, 153
Baudelaire, Charles, XIII, XV, XXI, 100
Beketova, Alexandra, 30

- Benckendorff, Count, 48
Benes, President of
 Czechoslovakia, 95
Berberova, Nina, 3, 6, 35, 44-46
Berdyaev, Nikolai, XIV, XL, 8, 35-36, 179, 181-182, 198
Beria, Lavrenty, 23, 98, 162, 164
Berlin, Isaiah, 19-21
Bielinsky, Visarion, 50
Biely, Andrei, 45, 48, 113, 150, 188
Blok, Alexander, 29-50, 54, 77, 84, 113, 151, 167, 178, 186, 188, 204
Boehme, Jacob, 209
Boris and Gleb *pereulok*, 51, 95
Boris Godunov, 175
Breton, André, 152
Brik, Lily, 140
Bronze Knight, 3
Brutskus, Boris, 180
Bryusov, Valeri, XV-XVIII
Budionni, Semion, 153
Bulgakov, Mikhail, XII, XXXIV, 15, 139
Bulgakov, Sergei, XXXIX
Byron, Lord, 20

C

- Caldwell, Erskine, 148
Céline, Louis-Ferdinand, 148
Chatskina, Sophia, 57
Chekhov, Anton, XII-XIII, XXXIV, 119-120, 122-123, 125, 128-131, 139, 169-170, 176
Chekov, Mikhail, 130
Cherdin, XXXI
Chernishevski, Nikolai, XXXIII
Chernov, Viktor, XXXI
Chiornaia Rietka, 177
Chistopol, 101-104
Chukovskaia, Lydia, 13, 18, 103
Churchill, Randolph, 19
Clifford Barney, Natalie, 70
Conference of Scenic Directors, 143

Constituent Assembly, XII,
XXXVIII, 33-34, 36-40, 178, 198
Crevel, André, 152
Crimea, X, 43, 52, 58, 68, 73-74, 150

D

Dante, XXI
Decembrists, XXIX, XXXI
De Gourmont, Rémy, 70
Dekabristy Prospekt, 167
De Lauris, Georges, 80
Delmas, Liubov, 30
Demon, XII, XVI-XVII, XX, 51, 61,
148, 155
Denikin, Anton, 51
Derzhavin, Gavriila, XI
Don Monastery Cemetery, 146
Dos Passos, John, 158
Dostoyevski, Fiodor, XXXII, 12, 20,
151
Dzerzhinsky, Felix, 52, 174
Duma, Parliament, XV, XXXVI, 34,
109, 178

E

Efim, kitchen employee, 3
Efron, Ariadna, 96, 98
Efron, Lilia, 98
Efron, Sergei, 51, 53, 96
Ehrenburg, Ilya, XIV, 55, 79, 147-
105
Eisenstein, Sergei, 108, 124, 169
Engels, Friedrich, XL, 139, 202

F

Fadeyev, Alexander, 99
February Revolution, 37, 130, 207
Fet, Afanasi, XV
First Congress of Soviet Writers,
152
First Model Typography, 142
First Moscow Gymnasium, 148
Fleishman, Veniamin, 169-170
Franco, Francisco, 159
Frank, Semion, XXXIV-XXXV,
XXXIX, 179, 181, 205
Free Philosophy Association, 45

Frezinski, Boris, 147
Futurists, Futurism, XXII, XXV, 77,
131, 135

G

German-Soviet Nonaggression
Pact, 162
Gershenzon, Mikhail, XXXIV
Gide, André, XIII, XV, 148, 152-157,
159
Goethe, XX, 53
Golden Age, Russian, XI
Gorky, Maxim, 6, 43-44, 46, 150,
154-155, 157, 188
Gostini Dvor, 119
GOSISDAT, State Publishing
House, 99-100, 153
Great Terror, XI-XIII, XXX, 13, 15,
20, 23, 27, 96, 134-135, 154, 161,
171, 178
Grigorian, Kazimir, 177
Gronski, Ivan, 114
Griboyedov Canal, 29
Guadarrama, 158
GULAG, IX-XII, XXXI, XXXVI,
XXXVIII, 12-13, 18, 22, 59, 95,
126, 135, 165
Guild of Poets, XXI
Gumilyov, Nikolai, XI-XII, XVI,
XXI, 1-22, 45, 49, 58-59, 113,
117, 150, 186, 193, 204
Gurevich, Samuil, 98

H

Holiday, Sonia, 56, 69-70
Halpern, Salomea, 97
Heine, Heinrich, 44, 53
Hemingway, Ernest, 158
Herbart, Pierre, 157
Hitler, Adolf, X, 120, 152, 154, 162-
163, 169, 172
Holy Synod, 135
Homer, 155
House of Arts, 45
House of Poets, 6
House of Writers, 7, 45, 47
Huesca, 158
Huxley, Aldous, 152

I

Ignatieff, Michael, 19
 Israel, 165
 Ivanov, Vsievolod, 116
 Ivanov, Vyacheslav, XV, XVIII-XXI,
 XXIII, 130
 Ivan the Terrible, 124
 Izgoev, Alexander, XXXIII-XXXV,
 XXXVIII, 7
 Izvestia, 12, 114, 157, 159-160

K

Kamenev, Lev, 9, 149
 Kannegisser, Leonid, XXVIII, XXIX,
 14, 58-59, 110, 182
 Kant, Immanuel, Kantian, Neo-
 Kantians, XVIII, XXXIV-XXXVIII,
 5, 95, 197, 202
 Karlinsky, Simon, 57, 60
 Karsavin, Lev, 179
 Kataev, Valentin, 139, 162
 Kerensky, Alexander, XXVIII,
 XXXVI, 37, 124
 Kerzhenstev, Platon, 144
 Khlebnikov, Velimir, XXII
 Khodasevich, Vladimir, XVII, 3
 Kiev, 11, 149
 Kirov, Sergei, 14
 Kistyakivsky, Bohdan, XXXIV-
 XXXVIII
 Kizevetter, Lev, 179
 Klichkov, Sergei, 116
 Klyuev, Nikolai, 110-118, 194
 Koloskov, Andrei, XXVI
 Koltsov, Mikhail, 157-158, 160
 KOMINFORM, 164
 Komissarzevskaia, Vera, 143
 KOMSOMOL, 141, 152
 Kommunalka, 14, 17, 147
 Kopelev, Lev, 163-164
 Korenek, Alexander, 25
 Kovalenskaia, Nina, 127
Krasnaia Zvezdá, Red Star daily,
 163
 Kremlin, XXX, 13, 15, 37, 52, 68,
 138, 147, 153, 157, 165, 170
 Kronstadt, XII, XXIV, 4-5, 45, 158,
 190, 200, 207

Krupskaia, Nadezdha, 95, 202
 Kublitsky, General, 45
 Kuibishev, present day Samara,
 171
 Kursky, Dmitri, 1
 Kuzmin, Mikhail, XVI, XXVIII-
 XXIX, 58-59, 60, 77, 95, 110
 Kuznetsk, 152

L

Ladoga Lake, 20
 Latvia, 19
 LEF, Left Front of the Arts, 140
 Lefortovo Prison, 22
 Left Social Revolutionaries, XXIX,
 1-2, 34, 38
 Le Havre, 97
 Lenin, Vladimir Ulianov, IX-XII,
 XXIII, XXV, XXVIII, XXXII,
 XXXVIII-XXXIX, XL, 1-2, 5-9, 12,
 19, 30, 33-40, 46, 48-50, 52-53,
 58, 95-96, 108, 110, 113, 117,
 123-124, 130, 134, 137, 141, 148-
 150, 152, 178-179, 186-188, 191-
 193, 195, 198, 200-204, 207, 210
 Leningrad Conservatory, 169
 Leningrad Museum of Dramatic
 Arts from the Time of the
 Blockade, 167
 Leningradskaia Hotel, 107
 Lenin Library, 51, 178
 Leopardi, Giacomo, 12, verses by
 Leopardi, 204
 Leveka, Elizaveta, 122
 London, 19-20, 71, 179
 Losski, Nikolai, 179
 Lubyanka, Headquarters of the
 political police, XL, 62
 Lunacharsky, Anatoli, XIII, XL, 35,
 68, 130, 133-134, 178
 Lermontov, Mikhail, XI, XV-XVI,
 XX, 148, 151, 178, 205-206

M

Machiavelli, 7
 Malraux, André, XIII, 148, 152-154,
 158, 161, 163
 Manaseina, Natalia, 74

Mandelstam, Osip, XI-XII, XVI, XXI-XXIV, XXVIII-XXXI, 2, 11-16, 20, 23, 55, 58-59, 60, 95, 113-114, 116, 118, 149-150, 153, 178, 206
 Mann, Heinrich, 152
 Mann, Thomas, 152
 Manuilov, Viktor, XXVII
 Marx, Karl, XXXV, XXXIX, XL, 45, 96, 139, 156, 158, 202
 Mayakovsky, Vladimir, XI, XIII, XVI, XXI-XXII, XXV-XXVI, 15, 77, 101, 133-146
 Mekhlis, Lev, 160
 Mendeleev, Dmitri, 30
 Mendeleeva, Liubov, 45-46
 Menuhin, Yehudi, 52
 Mercader, Ramón, 179
 Merkurieva, V.A., 99
 Meyerhold, Vsevolod, XI-XIII, XVIII, XIX-XX, XXV, 110, 119, 123-146
 Mikhailov Military Academy, XXIII
 Miliukov, Pavel, XXXVI, XXXVIII
 Miller, Yevgeni, 96
 Mironov, Sergei, 117
 Modigliani, Amadeo, 11, 19, 149
 Moliere, 123, 130
 Molotov, Polina, 137
 Molotov, Viacheslav, 144
 Montefiore, Simon, 138
 Mordova, 105
 Moscow Art Theatre, 124, 129

N

Nabokov, Vladimir, XIII, 148
 Narodnaya Volya, XXXII-XXXIII, 178
 Nechaev, Sergei, XXXI-XXXII
 Negrin, Juan, 159
 Nekrasov, Nikolai, XI, 185, 188, 207-209
 NEP, New Economic Policy, XIII, 134, 142, 174
 Neva River, 6, 25-27, 30, 32, 46, 119, 169, 182
 Nevsky Prospekt, 19, 119
New Russian Thought, 7
 Nicholas I, XII, XXIX

Nicholas II, XXXIX
 Nietzsche, Friedrich, XV-XVI, XVIII-XIX, XXI, XXIV, 5, 14-15, 77, 95, 202
 Nin, Andreu, 159
 Nomenklatura, 14
 Norilsk, 18

O

Oberburgermeisten Haken, ship, 179
 Odessa, 5, 79
 Olonets, 110, 113
 Oprichnina, 124
 Orlov, Alexander, 159-160
 Orlov, Vladimir, 19
 Ortega, Antonio, 159
 Orthodox Church, XIX, XXXIV, 34-35, 54-55, 135, 151, 192
 Orwell, George, 158
 Osorgin, Mikhail, 177-210
 Ostrovsky, Alexander, 119, 122
 Ovid, XXIV, 66

P

Pan-Russian Committee of Aid to the Starving, 181, 188
 Paracuellos del Jarama, 158
 Paris Commune, 48-49
 Parnok, Sophia, 55-57, 59-60, 68-70, 74-75, 82
 Pasternak, Boris, XIII, XVI, 12-13, 16-17, 69, 77-80, 85-86, 99-100, 150, 152-154, 165
 Pasternak, Leonid, 79
 Paz, Magdeleine, 153
 Peredelkino, 162
 Penal Code of 1922, XIV, 1, 7, 114, 191
 Perlzweig, Viktor, XXVIII
 Peter the Great, 25, 115, 147, 151, 200
 Petrograd, XIV, XVI, XXIV, XXVIII, 2, 5-8, 14, 33-34, 38, 41, 44-46, 49, 57-60, 110, 127, 149, 179, 182, 187, 194, 201, 203-204
 Picasso, 165
 Pilniak, Boris, 15

Pimenov, Nikolai, 119
 Pisarev, Dmitri, XXXIII, XXXV, 50
 Plato, 5, 95, 182, 202-203
 Pobedonostsev, Konstantin, 135
 Poet's Workshop, XXI
 Polish-Russian War of 1920, 153
 Popular Front, 159, 164
 Popular Socialists, XXVIII
 Poskrebishev, Alexander, 15, 17, 164
 Potresov, A. N., 7
 POUM, 158-159
Pravda, XIV, 5, 38, 95, 140, 142, 144, 157, 160, 171, 175, 179
 Pravduhin, Valerian, XXVII
 Preusen, ship, 179
 Priestley, John, 152
 Priyanka River, 29, 44
 Proust, Marcel, 80
 Provisional Government, XI, XXVIII, XXXIX, 34, 37, 124
 Punin, Nikolai, 12, 15-17, 22
 Pushkin, Alexander, XI-XII, XV, XX, XXIV, XXIX, XXXI, XXXIII-XXXIV, 11-12, 16, 47-50, 55, 70-72, 77, 111, 120, 151, 174-175, 178, 186, 200

R

RAAP, Association of Proletarian Writers, 140
 Raich, Zinaida, 144
 Rasputin, 52
 Red Army, XXIV, 33, 131, 138, 156
 Red Guard, XXVIII, 33-37, 161
 Red Terror, XI-XIII, XIX, XXIV, XXXI-XXXIII, 1-2, 7-9, 14, 36, 41, 47, 50, 54, 58, 134, 178, 180, 204, 206
 Reiss, Ignace, 96
 Remizov, Alexei, 130
Requiem, by Anna Akhmatova, XXIX
 Repin, Ilya, 124
 Rilke, Rainer Maria, 69, 77-93
 Rimbaud, Arthur, 149
 Riutin, Martemian, 139
 Rivera, Diego, 149
 Romanovski, Stanislav, 103

Rosenberg, Marcel, 158
 Rossi, Carlo, 119
 Rousseau, Le Douanier, 108
 Rozanov, Vasily, 36, 54, 57
 Rule of Law, XXXVI
 Rumiantsev Museum, Russian Museum of Moscow, 51, 53
 Russell, Bertrand, 152

S

Sabashnikova, Margarita, XX
 Sadofiev, Ilya, XXVII
 Saker, Iakov, 57
 Sakhalin Ostrov, 176
 Saks or Zaks, Genrik, 52
 Saint-Exupéry, Antoine, 103
 Saint Nicholas of Mira, 103
 Samara, previously Kuibishev, 1, 171
 Sedov, Lev, 96
 Senate Square, 3
 Serge, Victor, 153
 Sevastopol, 11
 Shakespeare, William, xv, 50, 61, 155
 Shakhmatovo, 30
 Schiller, 53
 Schopenhauer, Arthur, 5, 73, 180
 Shentalinski, Vitaly, 113
 Sherazade, 23
 Shil, S.N., 77
 Shostakovich, Dmitri, IX, XI, XXIV-XXV, 142, 169-176
 Silver Age, Russian, IX, XI-XIII, XV, XVII, XIX, XXXIV, 14, 20, 36, 50, 58, 114, 119, 126, 148, 179-180
 Simic, Charles, 105
 Smolensk, 78
 Sologub's wife, 46, 186
 Solomonova, Evgenia, 161-162
 Solovyov, Polixena, 74
 Solovyov, Vladimir, 36, 70, 73-74, 81, 86, 95
 Sorokin, Pitrim, 180
 SOVNARKOM, 36
 Spanish Civil War, XIII, 96, 160
 Spanish Communist Party, 158
 Stakovich, Andrei, 56

Stalin, Josif, X-XV, XXIX-XXXI, XL, 2, 9, 13-18, 20-22, 27, 96-97, 100-101, 108, 114, 120, 124, 131-142, 144, 147-148, 150-165, 170-175, 178
 Stanislavski, Konstantin, XII, XIII, 119, 127-131, 143-144
 Stéphane, Georges, 156
 Stettin, XIV, 8, 179, 205, 207, 210
 Stogova, Inna Ierazimova, 11
 Stolypin, Piotr, XI, XV
 Struve, Peter, XXXIV
 Symbolism, XVI-XVII, XIX
 Scythians, 41, 43

T

Tairov, Alexander, 131, 143
 Tairov Kamerni Theatre, 131, 143
 Tagantsev, V.N., affair, 5-6, 14, 204
 Tagore, Rabindranath, 12
 Tashkent, 18
 Tbilisi, 177
 Tchaikovsky, Piotr, 70, 72, 171
 Tenishev School, 194
 Teskova, Anna, 97
The Dreamers Notebooks, 45
The Economist, 7
The Revolutionary Cause, daily of Leningrad, 7
The Voronezh Notebooks, XXXI
Thought, Misl, 7
 Titian, 155
 Tiutchev, Fiodor, XI, 15
 Tolstoy, Alexis (1817-1875), 124
 Tolstoy, Alexis (1883-1945), 124
 Tolstoy, Lev, XII, XXXIV, 5, 78, 95, 110, 151
 Treniov, Konstantin, 102
 Tretiakov Gallery, 51, 124
 Trotsky, Lev, XIII, XXIV, XL, 33, 35, 41, 96, 98, 117, 130-131, 133, 135, 144, 149, 158-159, 161, 173, 179
 Tsar Paul, 25
 Tsuberbiller, Olga, 75
 Tsvetaeva, Anastasia, 17, 53, 95
 Tsvetaeva, Marina, XI-XIII, XVI-XVII, XX, XXIV-XXV, XXVIII, 17, 51-106, 110, 149-150, 153, 165

Turgeneva, Asia, 188
 Turgenev, Ivan, XXXIII-XXXIV, 20, 120-122, 151, 183

U

Ukraine, 11, 44, 52
 Union of Artists, 6
 Union of Friends of the Soviet Motherland, 96
 Union of Salvation of Russia, 117
 Union of Soviet Socialist Writers, 21, 98-99, 150
 Uritsky, Moisei, XXVIII-XXIX
 Ustinov, Georgy, XXVIII

V

Vakhtangov, Yevgeni, 13
 Vakhtangov Theatre, 13
 Vasiliev, Pavel, 114, 116
 Vasilyevsky Ostrov, 30
 Verhaeren, Emile, 130
 Verlaine, Paul, XV, XVIII, XXI, 149
 Vekhi, XI, XXXIII-XXXIX
 Virgil, 155
 Vlasik, General, 139
 Voloshin, Maximilian, XX, 55, 68, 77
 Von Ribbentrop, Joachim, 162
 Voronezh, 13, 116
 Voronina, E.M., 78
 Voronina, Nina, 167
 Voroshilov, Kliment, 138
 Voroshilov Street, 101
 Vtoraiia Rechka, XXXI
 Verlaine, Paul, XV, XVIII, XXI, 149
Vekhi, Landmarks, XI, XXXIII-XXXIX

W

Wagner, Richard, XVIII
Wandering Dog, pub, XXI
 White Guard, 4, 99, 101-102
 Wilde, Oscar, 57, 73
 Wolf, Virginia, 152
 Wolkenstein, Vladimir, 68
 World Literature Project, 43
 Wrangel, Piotr, 51

Writer's House, 2, 7

Y

Yagoda, Genrik, 12, 15-16, 114,
154, 156
Yanova, Varvara, 127
Yasnaia Poliana, XII
Yegorova, Galya, 138-139
Yelabuga, 101-103
Yenukidze, Abel, 13, 138-139
Yermilov, Vladimir, 140, 142
Yesenin, Sergei, XII, XXVI-XXVIII,
XXX, 15, 58, 110-111, 114, 150
Yezhov, Nikolai, 27, 98, 161-162
Yurkun, Yuri, XXIX
Yusupov, Felix, 52

Z

Zhdanov, Andrei, 21
Zelinsky, Kornely, 100
Zinoviev, Grigori, XXVIII, 58
Zinovieva-Annibal, Lydia, XVIII,
XX
Zoshchenko, Mikhail, 140