



Boris Kustodiev, Portrait of Alexei Remizov, 1907.

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**A. M. Remizov: A
Short Biographical
Essay (1877-1923)**

Translated by Susan Schilling

Alexei Mikhailovich Remizov¹ was born on June 24 (July 6, New Style), 1877,² in his father's house on Bolshoi Tolmachevsky Lane in the Zamoskvoreche district of Moscow, not far from the present Tretyakovsky Art Gallery. Both his parents³ were from the merchant class. His father, Mikhail Alexeevich, was a second generation Muscovite and a man of little education, undistinguished by any special talents other than commercial ones. He owned two notions stores in Moscow. After the death of his first wife by whom he already had had five children, Mikhail Alexeevich was married for a second time to Marya Alexandrovna Naidyonova, who came from a very wealthy, distinguished family of entrepreneur-industrialists. Marya Alexandrovna was twenty years younger than he. At an early age she had been attracted by the ideas of Russian Nihilism. An educated, talented woman who greedily devoured books, she married the merchant after an early disappointment in love ("out of spite," in Alexei Remizov's words). Despite her husband's attentiveness to her, she not only did not love him, but apparently even despised him. Year after year children were born to her, five in all, of which one died. The last of them, and allegedly undesired, was Alexei. Of his brothers—Nikolai, Sergei, and Viktor—it was Sergei who became closest to Alexei. Sergei himself was not without artistic talent and followed Alexei's work. In later

years Alexei usually stayed with Sergei when he found himself in Moscow.

When Alexei was not yet two years old his mother for no apparent reason unexpectedly decided to leave her husband. She returned with the children to her brothers, to her parental home on Zemlianoi Val near the Andronikov Monastery. Alexei's father did not understand his wife's move. From that time he saw his children only on Sundays. A close relationship could no longer develop, especially for the youngest child, Alexei. Then on May 10, 1883, Mikhail Remizov died of pleurisy. Alexei himself remembered almost nothing about him except some gifts of toys and his appearance in the coffin. On the surface his father may have had no appreciable effect on his life, but his father's personality and his death while Alexei was still a child may have left traces in the deeper layers of his psyche, determining such strange traits of his character as his constant feeling of guilt, his "nonresistance" to power, his fatalism and cult of fate, and, finally, his unusual predilection for collecting toys.⁴

Remizov's unhappy childhood was in many respects predetermined by the rashness and irrationality of his mother's premeditated, loveless marriage and subsequent dissolution of the family during her children's early years. His mother's brothers, especially Nikolai Alexandrovich Naidyonov, a prominent entrepreneur and the all-powerful chairman of the Moscow Stock Exchange Committee,⁵ condemned her return as a disgrace. They took her and the children under their guardianship and settled them in an old out-building, a former dye-house workshop set apart on the back side of their lot. She was given very limited funds so that she and the children lived in comparative poverty. The Remizovs did not enjoy the usual cosiness of family life. Their mother obviously suffered from the difficulty of caring for four children, and this in addition prevented her from beginning a new life based on interests and plans of her own, for which she apparently had left her husband. Remizov always considered himself the chief cause of her distress, since it seemed that he, having been born against her wishes, had overfilled her cup of unhappiness. His mother, deeply disillusioned with life and often in a state of depression or despair, more and more frequently locked herself upstairs in her bedroom, read constantly, began to drink in secret, uttered cries, and sometimes did not come out to her children for a week; while Remizov was living in Vologda she was temporarily in a psychiatric hospital. Remizov evidently inherited from her his artistic inclinations, his predilection for literature, calligraphy, and drawing, as well as many of his "peculiarities": he himself remembered cases of boyish mischief which she taught him,⁶ which are very reminiscent of the well-known pranks he played later on his acquaintances. From his mother, a pupil of the German Peter-Paul-Schule, he learned a little German in childhood. (He later studied English and French in school.)

The Remizov boys were treated as though they were of lower birth and did not enjoy equal rights with the Naidyonovs and their children. If they

found themselves in the large Naidyonov house, they felt strange and humble and clung to the walls. This situation led in later years to a protracted and deep hatred for everything related to the Naidyonovs, especially their commercial philosophy of life to which the Remizovs could not relate.⁷ In light of their mother's psychological state on the one hand and the arrogance of their relatives who decided their fates from afar on the other, the Remizovs in childhood did not have anyone close to them from whom they could receive an upbringing in the usual sense of the word. Besides domestic disorder and school life, the main impressions which shaped the personality of the young Alexei came from the church services he attended; the Moscow monasteries, especially the Andronikov Monastery, with their colorful religious life that later entered into his work in many ways; the major church holidays of which he especially loved Easter;⁸ the world of folktales and church legends (his older brother loved to read the *Reading Menaea* aloud); the Naidyonov cotton mill with its workers' hard life which awoke in Remizov a sharp social sense; the factory yard and the workers' children with whom the Remizovs grew up; and finally Moscow street life with its eccentrics. The young Remizov was a typical street child. The Remizov children almost never went out of the city, save perhaps to the pilgrimage spots near Moscow (the Trinity-St. Sergei Monastery, Zvenigorod, and Kosino near Kuskovo); Remizov experienced spring in the countryside for the first time years later while tutoring the son of a family acquaintance in the Orlov Province. In his autobiographical book, *With Clipped Eyes*, Remizov described in detail the games and pranks of his childhood, his early childhood experiences, and his teenage moods and feelings. He developed at an early age a great interest in drawing (he even had tried, although in vain, to enter the Stroganov Commercial Art School), in calligraphy, in church singing (as a child he had a beautiful alto), and later in theater. Extreme nearsightedness that was not noticed by his teachers until he was thirteen is used to explain his early "fantastic" perception of the world (which in Remizov's reminiscences is the kernel of the childhood legend that he cultivated) and his unusual imaginative powers. Having been fitted with glasses, Remizov found the world transformed; it had become impoverished for him. It lost its fantastic quality when it acquired clear-cut contours. The boy's whole "feeling of life" was sharply changed by the glasses. Childhood fantasizing was replaced from this time on by reading. Remizov often recalled his unusual thirst for reading during his school and college years which allowed him to read through the classics of Russian and many of those of German and world literature in a comparatively short time.

In 1884 at the age of seven Remizov entered the preparatory class of the Moscow Fourth Classical Gymnasium which the famous A. Shakhmatov had just finished. He studied well; the gymnasium seemed to correspond well to his abilities and interests. In this year he wrote his first

"literary work"—a story, "The Murderer"⁹—the text of which survived until his exile to Ustysolsk, when he destroyed it along with other early writings. The following year, 1885, marked one of the fateful turning points in his life. The Naidyonovs decided to take Alexei out of the gymnasium and send him to the Alexandrovsky Commercial School (founded by his uncle, N. A. Naidyonov) as moral support for his supposedly "weak" brother Viktor. There he had to enter the first class again. Viktor, as it turned out, got along quite well without his brother; for Alexei, however, this decision literally "fractured his life."¹⁰ The course of study at the commercial school, except for languages,¹¹ was completely unrelated to his interests and inclinations. He acquired a broader education primarily on his own through constant independent reading, avidly storing up knowledge and impressions. In his later school years he was attracted to a certain degree to philosophy. An older student, P. B. Benevolensky, influenced him in his choice of books, turning his attention to contemporary Western authors, in particular, to Nietzsche and Ibsen.

On the whole Remizov, although he suffered throughout his entire life, considered his childhood the most difficult period: "It was my childhood that was the most trying, with intimidation and maltreatment. Only exile in Penza freed me from that. In the liberty I experienced in Penza I felt myself free from the torment and maltreatment of my Moscow years."¹²

In 1894 Remizov finished school with rather low grades despite the fact that he had been an excellent student. His uncle N. A. Naidyonov had demanded of the teachers that they examine him with especial strictness. In return he had a place specially prepared for his nephew in the Naidyonov Trade Bank where a promising career awaited him. It must be noted that in his youth Remizov, who was to experience all kinds of material adversities, had had before him the possibility of a completely assured future for which he had only to accommodate himself to the economic and moral values of his relatives. Thus the constant poverty that was to characterize Remizov's life, resulting in constant problems with housing and at one time even reaching the point of his being unable to feed his own child began essentially from the moment when he ignored the Naidyonovs' plans and entered Moscow University as an auditor in the autumn of 1894. This intensified his conflict with the Naidyonovs. After his arrest in 1896 his relatives completely disowned him. In the end the Naidyonovs even acquired his inheritance.

At the university Remizov did not follow a particular program of study although he had entered the Division of Natural Sciences in the Physics-Mathematics Department; he apparently had not decided which profession to train for. During the two years he was fated to spend at the university he simply continued his general education without being directed toward any particular goal. If his reminiscences can be trusted

Remizov spent entire days in the lecture halls listening in naive delight to the most diverse lectures, often by renowned scholars (such as the ornithologist M. A. Menzbir, the botanist and physiologist R. A. Timiryazev, the historian V. A. Klyuchevsky, and the economists A. I. Chuprov and I. I. Yanzhul). In his first year he attended lectures predominately on the natural sciences—botany, zoology, anatomy, and mathematics, and in his second year also those on political economy and financial law. After his short-lived intention to enter the Agricultural Institute, Remizov followed his brother Nikolai and transferred to the Law School. Working in the largely inaccessible library of the stock exchange, he began a paper on the cotton industry in Russia. At the same time he continued to read on his own. With exceptional speed he read scientific writings and especially fiction, of which the works of contemporary authors increasingly occupied him. Also at this time he began reading political and especially underground literature.

Like many of his fellow students Remizov considered it his duty to become involved in political activity. He did not seem to have any clear-cut goal in mind. His participation in a fairly powerful student protest movement directed against the social and political conditions of the time in Russia was minimal and youthfully naive, despite the fact that he was to become by accident one of the "heroes" and sacrificial victims of the movement.¹³ In later years he often emphasized his unfitnes for political activity, especially for underground work, and pointed to the lack of discernment in his early political enthusiasms. Remizov's political activity as a student was initially limited to reading underground literature, about which he quickly became somewhat knowledgeable; the Erfurt Program of German socialism was his political ideal. Despite the closeness of his views to those of the S. D. Party, however, Remizov never joined a party, as even the Penza police were to admit after his second arrest and interrogation. His first trip to the West which he took secretly during his summer vacation of 1896 was exclusively for political self-education. It was one of the most peculiar trips of a Russian traveler in Europe: stopping practically nowhere along the way (he saw Vienna and Munich only in passing), Remizov went directly to Zurich, the Russian emigre center, and for two months sat reading underground literature in the library. Then he returned directly to Moscow, taking forbidden books back in a suitcase with a false bottom.

November 18, 1896, was a black day, a new turning point in Remizov's life, which was to affect his entire future.¹⁴ Moscow students had organized a mass demonstration in memory of the Khodynka catastrophe which had occurred six months earlier. Remizov took part in the demonstration more because of his friends' persuasions than because of his own initiative. His own memories of his behavior at the demonstration differ sharply from what is recorded in police reports. While the police saw in him one of the agitators and instigators of the disorder, Remizov on his own evidence was

merely an observer who had been accidentally driven into the Manège and had become angry while resisting; this had given the police the impression of "instigation." In any case, he was arrested and placed in the Tverskaya police station where the real "agitators," who were arrested along with him and whom he did not know, considered him a provocateur. After the arrest Remizov was in a solitary cell in the Taganka Prison for five weeks. There under the propitious conditions of solitude and quiet he began to write for the first time as an adult. In the middle of December his punishment was established "by special deliberation": two years of exile in the province of Penza under police supervision; in addition—and this Remizov took as the crueler punishment—he was expelled from the university. On December 20 he was taken to the train station, and he set off for Penza with a special permit.

Remizov was lucky in his final place of exile. Governor P. D. Svyatopolk-Mirsky decided after a conversation with him to let him remain in the city of Penza, although he could have assigned him to a remote place in the province.

In Penza Remizov lived in a great variety of rooms and apartments, which he recorded in detail in an autobiographical essay "Nomad" ["Kochevnik"].¹⁵ He made friends with other exiled students and gave lessons (rather unsuccessfully due to his admitted tendency to digress). A pupil of his in Penza, Varvara Fyodorovna Tarkhova, later became the wife of his brother Sergei. In the Lermontov Library he collected some more material on the cotton industry but then gave up that project. Following the example of another exiled student, S. I. Ershov, Remizov next began to translate philosophical literature into Russian (Wilhelm Jerusalem's "Die Urteilsfunktion"¹⁶ and some chapters of Nietzsche's *Zarathustra*). Later Remizov translated Albert Rode's book on G. Hauptmann and Nietzsche in collaboration with Meyerhold,¹⁷ whom he had met through Sergei when the two of them were studying at the Music-Drama Institute of the Moscow Philharmonic Society. In the summer of 1897 the Penza People's Theater became Remizov's favorite place. His friends, Meyerhold and Arkady Pavlovich Zonov, appeared on the stage there for the first time, whereas his own attempt to take part in the performances ended in complete failure. In July 1897 and a second time several weeks later Remizov went to Moscow secretly and returned with books he had brought from Zurich. Sergei, who visited him in Penza, also brought him some forbidden literature from Moscow.¹⁸

Despite police surveillance Remizov began again in exile to become politically active. As early as the spring of 1897 he tried to initiate contacts with Penza revolutionaries (O. Teplovsky, G. Elshin, N. Rasskazov, P. Levin, and Lopukhovsky). Remizov was entrusted with political work among students. He collected literature for an underground library, drew up a charter for a workman's benefit fund, and tried to establish ties with

Marxist circles in other cities. In July 1897 he gave a talk on Chernyshevsky at a literary party. The primary goals of all these underground efforts were the creation of a "workers' union" and a strike in railroad shops—the only place, by the way, where Remizov had actual contact with workers. On the whole the more serious underground activists rather avoided Remizov, considering him not sufficiently suitable for conspiratorial work despite all his youthful enthusiasm. Clearly his friends among the exiled students did not trust his "revolutionariness." The centers of Remizov's agitation work were the beerhouse Kapernaum and the People's Theater; in the latter he tried most of all to have an influence on the political and artistic attitudes of the talented Meyerhold.

Remizov's underground "Marxist" activity in Penza did not last long. On February 24, 1898, he was searched, and on March 11 he was again arrested: the young Lopukhovsky had betrayed Remizov and Teplovsky during an interrogation in another city. A whole group of people holding the same views were arrested along with Remizov and Teplovsky. Remizov was imprisoned for several weeks in a special cell (the "Pugachev cage") in the Penza prison until the police became convinced after numerous interrogations that he had acted alone and not under the direction of the RSDRP. The "Penza Affair" was resolved by administrative decision. Altogether fifty-six people were indicted, of whom six were declared leaders and organizers of the "criminal movement." Among these was Remizov who, along with Teplovsky and Rasskazov, was apparently considered one of the principal figures by the police. While the affair was being decided in the higher echelons, Remizov was temporarily freed on July 8, 1898, although he remained under strict surveillance. This discharge, which could have discredited Remizov in the eyes of his comrades who might have considered him a provocateur, was perceived by Remizov as a special kind of mockery. In St. Petersburg several years later literary writers who sympathized with him often referred to the peculiar cruelty of the Penza police colonel who, with that same goal in mind, had even taken Remizov straight from his cell to a theatrical performance.¹⁹ In equal measure the suspicion of one of his landladies at this time that he might have stolen some of her silver spoons was insulting for him. The humiliations and injuries which Remizov experienced during his imprisonment and exile became part of the subject matter of his first stories.

In prison Remizov read a great deal, especially Shakespeare, and continued his writing pursuits. He devised the general heading *Odds and Ends* [*Shurum-Burum*] for his writings of 1896 through 1900, which apparently were mostly lyrical prose works and records of his prison impressions. The manuscript remained for most of 1902-3 with Bryusov, who decided not to publish it. In April 1904 Remizov in one of his fits of burning his work destroyed the manuscript while living in Odessa.

Meyerhold took a sample of Remizov's writing to Yalta in the winter of 1899 to show it to Chekhov, with whom he had recently become acquainted. Chekhov, however, spoke of it with little approval, as did subsequently all the major writers whom Remizov asked to look at his works.

Remizov had to wait almost two years for the final resolution of his case by the authorities. During this time he lived somewhat secluded in the back room of a sewing shop and continued to receive his same modest public allowance for living expenses. On October 8, 1899, the indictment drawn up by the public prosecutor of the Saratov court was signed, and punishment was set on May 31, 1900, by the "highest injunction": three years of exile in Ustsysolsk (now Syktyvkar, Komi ASSR) where Remizov was to be deported under guard. After that period he was forbidden for five years to reside in Moscow or St. Petersburg. The convoy left Penza on July 4, 1900.²⁰ Remizov reached Ustsysolsk after a month of riding in the prisoners' car of trains, stopping overnight at deportation prisons in Tula, Moscow-Butyrki, Yaroslavl, and Vologda, going at times on foot, and finally sailing along the Vologda, Sukhona, and Vychehga rivers on a steamboat. He was assigned along with criminals to a place in the rear section of the prisoner column. When the column marched on foot (in particular from train stations to prisons and back), he was chained to a neighbor with special manacles. On the way through Moscow he was bound to a young prostitute. In Moscow his brother Viktor succeeded in reaching the prisoners' car to give him pencils. In Vologda where the railroad ended he was allowed because of illness to continue the journey by steamboat rather than on foot. On the morning of August 1, 1900, Remizov arrived in his new place of exile.

Imprisonment and the deportation which Remizov had to endure from the age of twenty through twenty-three created some of the most lingering and deepest impressions of his life, significantly determining his creative development. They became the central motifs of a whole series of his early works (in particular, sketches that were later collected under the title *In Captivity* [*Vplenu*]). A second unusually strong impression that affected Remizov and that was to be reflected in his work was the mighty nature of the North. The virgin taiga, the exotic northern landscape with its abundance of colors, summer sunrises and sunsets, powerful winds, severe, snowy winters, the whole uniqueness and primordialness of northern nature provided the most powerful impressions of the years which he spent in Ustsysolsk. (Before that time Remizov in essence had been a city-dweller and little acquainted with nature.) Since he studied the folk mythology of the local Zyrian population while living there, nature appeared to him as animated and penetrated by the different beings of their superstitions. At this time there appeared in his works, that peculiar poetic animism which somewhat later was to be the central device of *Sunwise* [*Posolon*], perhaps his most characteristic work.

Remizov lived in a small house overlooking a ravine in a remote part of Ustsysolsk and was frequently in the woods or at the Zyrian cemetery. He began to collect books anew, read a great deal and continued to write and to rewrite what he had written earlier. To his Ustsysolsk works belong the poems in prose: "Lament of a Maiden Before Marriage" ["Plach devushki pered zamuzhestvom"], the lullaby "Det'ka, lozhis'," "String of Days" ["Verenitsa dnei"], and the lyrical chapter introductions to the novel *The Pond* [*Prud*]. There began at this time a crisis in his political consciousness; the realization that he was unsuited for revolutionary work gradually snuffed out his political activism. He studied Zyrian folklore, folk beliefs, and peculiar cosmology with especial interest; of their mythological folk beings the legendary *kikimora* attracted him in particular. The local holidays and customs, especially the appearance of the Samoyeds with their deer at Shrovetide, introduced some variety into the boredom of winter. Remizov also developed a literary-historical interest in N. I. Nadezhdin, who had been exiled to Ustsysolsk in 1836, but did not succeed in finding any materials on him.

Although there was quite a large colony of exiles in Ustsysolsk, including many Poles, Remizov at first lived in relative solitude and associated mostly with the family from whom he and two Poles rented a room. On the very first day of his stay he became acquainted with the "treasurer" of the colony, Fyodor Ivanovich Shchekoldin, an exiled social democrat, a deeply religious and honest person with whom he was subsequently linked in friendship for many years. In Ustsysolsk he also first became acquainted with his future wife, Serafima Pavlovna.

In the summer of 1901 Remizov received permission for a one month stay in Vologda for consultation with an eye doctor. Like the majority of the exiled intelligentsia who desired to go to a more cultured locality, he was drawn to the provincial capital with the hope of somehow remaining there until the end of his sentence. In Vologda following a five day trip on a steamboat he settled into a plain lodging (his "bathhouse") on Zhelvuntsovskaya Street. He did not even attempt to visit the eye doctor; instead he quickly entered into the circle of ill-assorted revolutionary intelligentsia who had created the distinctive spiritual climate of a "Northern Athens" in Vologda at the beginning of the century. Of the young scholars, philosophers, literary writers, and revolutionary terrorists who had been exiled to Vologda, Remizov became acquainted with N. A. Berdyaev, A. V. Lunacharsky, B. V. Savinkov, A. A. Bogdanov, P. E. Shchyogolev, and I. P. Kalyaev (the last lived in Yaroslavl, working as a proofreader on the newspaper *The Northern Country* [*Severnyi kraj*], but often visited Vologda). Remizov quickly became close friends with Shchyogolev, Savinkov, and Kalyaev.²¹ Despite the fact that they were his peers in age, Remizov was like a pupil in his relations with them, a pupil whose friends encouraged the development of his talents and self-esteem.

Shchyogolev, especially, plainly believed in his literary talent and became his literary mentor and moral supporter. One may assume that with the encouragement and reassurance of his Vologda friends, Remizov, whose talents as a writer had thus far been acknowledged only by Meyerhold and Zonov, finally became convinced that he was genuinely gifted. Under these favorable psychological circumstances he wrote a large part of his first major work: a novel with the title *Ogorelyshevsky Offspring* (the first version of *The Pond*).²² Shchyogolev and Savinkov also helped Remizov in practical ways: they edited his texts, formulated application letters, and personally petitioned the governor to allow him a longer stay in Vologda. This permission was obtained with the help of a formal statement from Bogdanov who testified that Remizov was psychologically upset as a result of the difficult conditions of exile in Ustysolsk.

Remizov obviously enjoyed the social life of the exiles in Vologda. He attended parties and meetings where they often read poetry, sang, and read their own works. He especially liked the distinctive atmosphere of humor, play, and "Russian" merry-making that reigned in the colony. This intentional frivolity was a result of the high intellectual level combined with the comparative youth of the colony. The atmosphere of Vologda was favorable soil for the display of those specific marks of Remizov's character and personality for which he was known later in St. Petersburg and Paris literary circles. Already in Ustysolsk and then in Vologda Remizov became noted for his boyish "naughtiness," his bent for clowning and joking that often placed his acquaintances in very awkward situations, his uncommon predilection for calligraphy and the designing of handwritten "documents" with all kinds of flourishes, and his ability to use different styles of handwriting, including the skill to counterfeit documents. The manuscripts which Remizov sent to editors were usually calligraphic masterpieces, often with skillfully stylized headings or in colored ink. To his Vologda jokes belong in particular his "obituaries" for those whose term of exile had ended. These were read at farewell parties. According to his own account, the excessive "playfulness" and frivolity of his behavior as well as his pranks and propensity for self-stylization²³ were elicited by the extreme self-confidence and spiritual superiority of Shchyogolev and his other Vologda comrades: he compensated for his feeling of inferiority with an excessive display of his own personality.²⁴

Through Shchyogolev, who was sent books and even archival materials from St. Petersburg for his scholarly work, Remizov gained his first notions about philological work and became acquainted with the plots of Russian and Eastern folktales, apocrypha, and the originals of Gogol's letters; in addition the two men were continually engaged in discussions about literature. It was Kalyaev who by reading Remizov his translation of Przybyszewski's *Sorrow* [*Tęsknota*], turned Remizov's attention to the works of this author who subsequently influenced Remizov's own work

strongly. Probably on Kalyaev's example Remizov began to occupy himself with literary translations in Vologda, which in the following years became, in addition to his own writings, his chief occupation. Przybyszewski's works, especially his poems in prose, were Remizov's main translation interests.²⁵

Kalyaev, who killed Grand Prince Sergei Alexandrovich in 1905 and was executed for it, belonged to those Vologda acquaintances whom Remizov most admired. Remizov saw in him an extremely refined and cultured person. In his reminiscences he emphasized Kalyaev's sensitivity and kindness, remembering a bouquet of white asters which Kalyaev had given him on the occasion of his first publication.²⁶ Among those who were very close to Remizov was a Dane, Aage Madelung, also a beginning writer, who lived in Vologda as an exporter of butter; he had married a Russian and had a family there. Madelung remained a close friend of Remizov and corresponded with him long after his exile ended.²⁷ Remizov for his part helped him in the formulation of his Russian stories. He and Madelung were connected by a mutual interest in the newest literature, in which they themselves dreamed of participating; they sent their works to Bryusov and tried to make contacts with the Symbolist publishing house "Skorpion." Madelung later remembered the inimitable atmosphere of Vologda with pleasure.²⁸ Of the town's inhabitants Solomon Segal was the man with whom Remizov was most closely acquainted. Segal was the owner of a watchmaker's shop where Remizov evidently worked for a while as a bookkeeper. He kept up a close friendship with Vera Grigorievna Tuchapskaya who was a translator. Remizov valued her family for its musicalness and often sang with them himself.²⁹ Remizov's old friends did not forget him in exile either: Meyerhold and Zonov arrived in Vologda in November 1901. At the direction of V. M. Sablin, Meyerhold sought coworkers for his journal, *The Lighthouse* [*Maiak*] (which later failed to appear), and turned to Remizov, Shchyogolev, and Berdyaev. His brother Sergei also visited him in Vologda, as he had earlier in Ustysolsk.

The most important Vologda meeting for Remizov, however, was that with his future wife, Serafima Pavlovna Dovgello (Dovkgelo, July 4, 1876-May 13, 1943). He had first seen her in Ustysolsk where he had briefly visited her without, however, making much of an impression. Judging by the reminiscences of contemporaries as well as Remizov's own statements, Serafima Pavlovna was an unusual individual, a person of exceptional will, highly educated (she was then a graduate of the Division of History and Philology of the Bestuzhev Courses), and a beauty who was courted by a whole series of luckless, enamored exiles. A noblewoman of ancient Lithuanian stock, she grew up in the Ukraine in the Chernigov Province on an estate, Berestovets. Against the will of her family she had begun course work after completing high school. In the tradition of "Populism" [*Narodnichestvo*] she had dedicated herself to the "revolution" and had

become an S. R. She was personally acquainted with N. K. Mikhailovsky and other prominent revolutionary activists. Arrested in St. Petersburg, she had spent eleven months in solitary confinement and then, like Remizov, had been exiled for three years to the North. She had arrived in Ustsyl'sk not long before Remizov had. In the spring of 1901 she had moved to Solvychevodsk and from there to Vologda late in the summer of 1902.

Her meeting with Remizov took place against the background of a tragic incident which had occurred in Solvychevodsk that had deeply upset her. Apparently because of her a Polish poet, Kazimierz Tyszka, who had fallen in love with her, had poisoned himself.³⁰ Having become so aware of the irrevocable and irremediable in life, she suffered such pangs of conscience that, combined with a deep depression provoked by the governor's threat to force her to return to Solvychevodsk, she tried to commit suicide. At the hospital she was saved by the doctors. A long nighttime conversation with Remizov, whom she had visited by chance on personal business, had immediately preceded the attempt at suicide.³¹ One may assume that this conversation under conditions of extreme psychic tension created an atmosphere of exceptional mutual closeness which quickly turned into an unusually powerful love after Serafima Pavlovna's rescue. Through the Minister of the Interior the Dovgello family succeeded in obtaining permission for Serafima Pavlovna to remain in Vologda (she was even allowed a month's leave at her family's estate) and thus she and Remizov were able to remain together.

The Vologda colony despite its remoteness kept up close ties with the centers of culture. There was correspondence with the most prominent literary writers, editors, scholars; books and journals were regularly received by mail (at Remizov's request Filosofov sent him *The World of Art* [*Mir iskusstva*]); and prominent literary and political personalities visited as guests. L. O. Tsederbaum (Dan) on a trip to Arzamas took with her several of Remizov's and Savinkov's early manuscripts to show to Gorky. Gorky, however, reacted negatively in a letter to Savinkov and also in one to Remizov in May 1902. Remizov apparently was hoping to have his writings printed by the publishing house Znanie. Beginning in 1902 Remizov started to send his literary works (mostly early prison sketches, early stories and lyric prose) to the editorial offices of a large number of journals and at first received only rejections. Among them was one from Korolenko, who refused to publish Remizov's story "Bebka" in *Russian Riches* [*Russkoe bogatstvo*]. Despite this lack of success he continued to write.

In September 1902 Remizov first succeeded in getting published in the Moscow newspaper, *The Courier*. On September 8 his epithalium "Lament of a Maiden before Marriage" appeared under the pseudonym "Nikolai Moldavanov" (among the exiles Remizov at that time evidently had other

nicknames), and on September 22 the free verse poems "Haze" ["Mgla"] and "Autumn Song" ["Oseniaia pesnia"]. On November 24 "Bebka" and "Cradle Song" ["Kolybel'naia pesnia"] appeared. (The latter were translated by a Latvian poet, Viktors Eglitis, and appeared in 1903 in a Riga journal;³² foreign translators became interested in Remizov again only in 1910.) The poem "Bebka" was considered unsuccessful, and *The Courier* ceased to publish Remizov. Then in 1903 A. Tyrkova placed several of Remizov's poems in Yaroslavl's *Northern Country*. More important for Remizov was the appearance of several of his works in Symbolist journals, namely "Deportation" ["Na ètape"] and "The Bear Cub" ["Medvedushka"] in *The New Path* [*Novy put*] and "Epitaph" ["Epitafiia"] and "Northern Flowers" ["Severnye tsvety"] in Bryusov's collection of the same name. With them he first came to the attention of literary circles. He was considered a "decadent." In 1902 there appeared his translation of Rode's book; and in 1904 that of Anton von Leclair's *Beiträge zu einer monistischen Erkenntnistheorie*,³³ which had been done with the help of Berdyaev and which was published by D. E. Zhukovsky. His translation of Jerusalem remained unpublished. The acceptance of artistic translations for publication turned out to be quite difficult.

In the autumn of 1902 after a considerable amount of red tape Remizov received permission for a short trip to Moscow "for a meeting with his mother." Actually he was primarily interested in a personal acquaintance with the most influential writers of the time, Bryusov and Leonid Andreev, with whom he wanted to talk on behalf of the Vologda colony. Remizov was in Moscow from October 28 until November 24, 1902, where he stayed with his brother Viktor on the Taganka. At this time he met Bryusov twice (in Bryusov's apartment and at the Moscow Art Circle together with other writers) and Andreev once. Andreev disappointed him with his conceit. Bryusov, whom Remizov had already asked by letter for books and offprints, treated him amicably and kindly, as if sincerely welcoming the appearance of new literary talent. This goodwill toward a beginning comrade was maintained by him, judging by his letters in the following years, despite a slightly contemptuous diary note alleging that "this Remizov is a somewhat confused maniac."³⁴ Also while in Moscow Remizov tried with little success to buy editions of contemporary Western authors for Vologda.

Judging by his letters from the Vologda period,³⁵ Remizov lived at this time in a peculiar emotional mood accompanied by his enthusiasm for the new artistic trends at the beginning of the century and the aestheticism of the Symbolist movement. His cult of feelings and moods which was communicated in his lyric prose of those years linked him in particular to contemporary impressionism. He considered the ability "to feel," to have sensations, and to perceive beauty an important quality of character and a sign of culture; its complete absence among the Kherson provincials he was

to meet quickly annoyed him. His cult of poetry, of poetry reading, of music, singing, of theater and of calligraphy (with manuscript titles in Art Nouveau style), and his cult of nature's beauty also linked him to contemporary trends.

On May 31, 1903, Remizov's period of exile ended, and there remained only the prohibition against his settling in the capitals. Apparently Serafima Pavlovna's exile also ended at this time. On the invitation of Meyerhold who had organized his "Cooperative of New Drama" at the Kherson theater, Remizov moved to Kherson at the end of June: he lived there in the Hotel London, and Serafima Pavlovna remained at Berestovets until their marriage. Then the young married couple moved into two rooms, and in the autumn they moved to the Burlyuks' apartment. There the Remizovs, who were destined in life to meet many important artists and writers, struck up an acquaintance with the Burlyuk brothers, whose sister, Lyudmila Davidovna, became a close friend of Serafima Pavlovna. The Remizovs were married on July 27, 1903, in Kherson against the wishes of Serafima Pavlovna's family, whom Remizov had apparently first visited in June of that year³⁶ and on whom he had made a most unfavorable impression.³⁷ In order to prevent Serafima Pavlovna's marriage to an extremely undesirable fiancé her relatives hid her birth certificate. She was married, therefore, with the documents of her older sister, skillfully corrected by Remizov himself. Remizov's strange behavior, his merchant origins (a despicable one for the Dovgello family), and his lack of a normal profession by means of which he might support a family aroused her relatives against him. Even in the future Remizov's work as a writer was not recognized by Serafima Pavlovna's family since it did not provide an adequate income. In the opinion of her relatives his work could not as a consequence be of good enough quality.³⁸ In connection with such arguments on the subject of her marriage Serafima Pavlovna gave up her own inheritance.

The mutual affection of the Remizovs as husband and wife was remarkable and became generally known in the literary circles of St. Petersburg and later Paris. Their love was often interpreted as Serafima Pavlovna's endless pity for Remizov and Remizov's endless respect for his adored wife.³⁹ Several oddities about the married couple drew attention: in front of outsiders, for example, they called each other by their first names and patronymics; Remizov addressed his wife with the familiar "you" [*ty*] only in letters, album entries and the like. In these, in book inscriptions and other salutations he spoke many times about how much he felt himself indebted to Serafima Pavlovna, to what extent she supported him in the troubles of his assuredly difficult life. All his life she was his first authority. "She was my teacher—for forty years—and my censor in literature and in life. . . . She wanted. . . to make a person of me. . . . She did everything for me: she guarded what was me within me. . . . Her love was vigilant. And all my

life I served her as I would a mother."⁴⁰ With the strength and lucidity of her strong and at times imperious character she undoubtedly served him with significant moral support. According to Remizov's acknowledgment she wielded a certain influence on the artistic form of his works.⁴¹ His dedication of almost all of his books to her was an external mark of his affection.

In Kherson the theater season of 1903 began on September 22. The job as a literary consultant for Meyerhold did not last long and soon disenchanted Remizov: on the one hand, Meyerhold loaded him down with all kinds of "outside" administrative tasks;⁴² on the other, the taste of the provincial public with which it was necessary to deal quickly frustrated all Remizov's literary and stage aspirations. Innovations which were too audacious frightened away the audience. From month to month Remizov hoped to make at last a decisive step in the renewal of staging technique about which he had dreamed in accepting Meyerhold's offer. Actually a noticeable reorganization of the naturalistic MKhAT theatrical techniques, which, in Remizov's opinion, were outdated, was successfully achieved only in the staging of Przybyszewski's *Snow*. It was performed in Remizov's translation for the first time on December 19, 1903. The selection of its repertoire marked Remizov's most important contribution to the Cooperative. Remizov often complained in letters to friends about the boredom and lack of culture in Kherson, its dearth of "musicality" and the total absence of artistic and literary interest; he also missed the diversified social life of the Vologda colony. Bryusov also emphasized in letters the uselessness of Remizov's beginning in the provinces.⁴³

Remizov's translation work developed further in Kherson. He translated from German, French, and Polish literature (the latter with the help of his wife), especially plays for Meyerhold that soon became practically his sole source of income. In 1903 he spent a great deal of energy on the translation of *Snow* which was published that year in Moscow.⁴⁴ The nondramatic works he translated included a series of poems from *Serres chaudes* by Maeterlinck, four of which appeared thanks to Minsky in the supplements to the journal *Star*.⁴⁵ At this time Remizov was also strongly attracted to the literature of "Young Poland"; he was enraptured by the journal *Chimera*, and he read and translated Jan Kasproicz and Zenon Przesmycki (Miriam) in addition to Przybyszewski. He repeatedly offered a translation of Przesmycki's article, "Japanese Engravings," to various journals until it was finally published in 1905 in *The Problems of Life* [*Voprosy zhizni*].

Remizov persisted in sending out his own works to editors despite frequent rejections. These rejections were very often explained as being due to the "oddity" of his works (and translations) that would ostensibly frighten away readers unprepared for them. Editors often requested him to write something more realistic.⁴⁶ Remizov was mainly offering his free

verse. Many of his early poems apparently never were published and are preserved only in archives.⁴⁷ His main work in free verse was the long poem, "Judas," which was written in Kherson in 1903, but was not published until 1908. Bryusov and his rival, S. A. Sokolov (Krechetov), the editor of *The Griffin* [*Grif*] collections, showed some interest in Remizov's poetry, but they selected only two or three of his poems. Bryusov obviously tried to help Remizov, and at the end of 1903 invited him to work as a correspondent for the new journal *The Scales* [*Vesy*]. In the fall Remizov again reworked *The Pond* and through Shchyogolev submitted the novel to *The New Path*, but the editorial staff as it was composed at that time was unable to make up its mind (only Filosofov and Chulkov were in favor of publishing it). His main opponent on *The New Path* was Zinaida Gippius, who rejected almost all his literary works and translations. At the Skorpion publishing house in Moscow, if Bryusov's letters are to be trusted, the owner, S. A. Polyakov, hindered the appearance of Remizov's works to an equal degree.

In 1904 Remizov remained in Kherson until the end of the theater season (February 19), and he accompanied the troupe on tour to the neighboring towns of Nikolaev and Elisavetgrad (now Kirovograd) the following two days. Then quite unexpectedly he left the Fellowship, which moved on to Tbilisi. Judging by his letters of that time Remizov wanted to rejoin the troupe in Tbilisi in the autumn. By then, however, the possibility of living in St. Petersburg had finally opened up for him. In February he had apparently considered his personal presence at the Cooperative unnecessary for the work of selecting and translating plays and had decided to settle in Odessa for a while. Meyerhold usually paid him an insignificant honorarium for the translation of plays. In addition there were deadlines for their completion which often resulted in translations of very uneven quality. Undoubtedly Meyerhold was aware of this. Remizov was to maintain close relations with the troupe by mail, especially with A. P. Zonov who deeply admired him, as well as a continuing interest in new plays, particularly foreign ones, which he might offer to Meyerhold.

The Remizovs lived in extreme poverty and constant fear of eviction in Odessa from February 23 to May 21, 1904. They had a room on Raskidailovskaya Street on the Moldavanka and lived "absolutely alone."⁴⁸ In addition to doing translations Remizov was writing the novel *The Clock* [*Chasy*]. On April 18 at a time of most difficult material conditions for the Remizovs their daughter Natasha was born. Because of their extreme need Remizov turned to Tolstoi and Ioann Kronshtadtsky with requests for help, but he did not receive any replies.

In May the Remizovs hastily left Odessa, returning to Berestovets with the baby. From there despite the injunction against it Remizov traveled alone on a circular journey to Moscow, St. Petersburg, Vologda, and back to Moscow. He tried again to initiate various personal contacts with writers

and editorial offices (in St. Petersburg he became acquainted with Filosofov, to whom he gave the manuscript for *In Captivity* for *The World of Art*), probing the possibilities of finding some kind of literary refuge. In July again traveling to Moscow he saw Bryusov for a second time. For him Remizov wrote a series of "cultural reports" in 1904-5 that appeared in *The Scales*. By chance he became acquainted with his future translator, Jean Chuzeville. The reports in *The Scales* were for the most part insignificant notes on exhibits and "evenings of contemporary music" in Odessa, Kiev, and St. Petersburg. The most interesting of them was Remizov's essay on the theatrical conception of the Cooperative of New Drama.

On June 21, 1904 Remizov moved to Kiev (possibly at first alone), hoping to find there a more active cultural life than he had in the provincial cities. He lived first at the "Menagerie" not far from the Kiev-Pechersky Monastery (Tserkovnaya Street) and then in autumn in a wretched apartment on Bezakovskaya Street. Once he was forced to run from this apartment when a fire started in the building, grasping Natasha and his manuscript for *The Clock*. In the summer he was at Berestovets for two weeks. In his memoirs Remizov often recalled the extreme gloominess and hopelessness of their situation in Kiev. Not only did the editorial offices and publishers reject him, but so did the local gymnasium where he offered his services as a teacher of penmanship. Only Serafima Pavlovna succeeded in obtaining lessons at the gymnasium; at that time it was she who fed the family. Remizov's sole joy apparently was his daughter, to whom he was unusually strongly attached. His most important meeting in Kiev was with Lev Shestov; they maintained a close friendship with each other all their lives despite the fact that before emigrating to Paris they seldom saw one another. Judging by Shestov's letters, he played the same role in Remizov's life as Shchyogolev had in Vologda, that of mentor and spiritual sponsor.

Remizov's literary position in 1904 seemed hopeless: besides the translation of Rachilde's *Le Vendeur de Soleil* only three poems appeared in *The Griffin* and three reports in *The Scales*. In July he compiled a three-hundred-forty-three page book of his works (aside from his novels), again under the title *In Captivity*, and sent it to *Skorpion*. It also remained unpublished. In letters to Madelung he spoke of his intentions to publish his books himself if there was no other way. A temporary improvement in his lot came only at the end of the year when P. D. Svyatopolk-Mirsky, who had become Minister of the Interior, removed police surveillance from Remizov and lifted the injunction against his living in the capitals. Remizov's abstention from all political activity since his exile to Ustysolsk had obviously helped. Simultaneously the possibility of finding "literary" work in St. Petersburg had opened up. The editorial staff of *The New Path* had been reorganized, and in 1905 the journal appeared under the name *The Problems of Life*. Berdyaev, who was favorably inclined towards Remizov, and the young editorial secretary, Chulkov, had joined it. On

Berdyaev's and Shestov's recommendation Chulkov offered Remizov a job as the journal's commercial manager. At the end of January 1905 the Remizovs left Kiev, spent a week in Moscow, and on the first of February finally settled in St. Petersburg. There they remained except for some trips until their emigration in 1921. The years of wandering and roaming about the Russian provinces were over.

Remizov was bookkeeper, cashier, and "budget director" for *The Problems of Life* and started this job "with a good head on his shoulders," using to the extent that he remembered it his learning from the commercial institute. In the beginning he was allotted two rooms at the editorial office (on Saperny Lane) next to Chulkov. There a Berestovets girl named Ganna, Natasha's nanny, lived with them. The contiguity of the apartment with the editorial office along with Remizov's journal responsibilities—he paid writers their fees—led to the Remizovs' amazingly rapid acquaintance with all the important literary writers of St. Petersburg in 1905. These included: Alexander Blok, who became acquainted with Remizov in March 1905 and who soon dedicated a poem, "Legend," to him, Rozanov, with whom Remizov found a common language immediately, the Merezhkovskys, Sologub, Vyacheslav Ivanov, Lidiya Ivanova (Zinoveva-Annibal), Pyast, Diaghilev, Minsky, Gershenzon, Sünnerberg, later Bely (Remizov first saw him in December at the Merezhkovskys', after which they began a short-lived but very warm correspondence), Kuzmin, Chukovsky, S. Makovsky, and Voloshin. Artists belonged to this group also: Somov, Dobuzhinsky, Roerich, Nuvel, Bakst, Benois, and Sudeikin. The Remizovs quickly entered into St. Petersburg's literary milieu, were the guests of writers and artists, visited Vyacheslav Ivanov's "Wednesdays" on occasion, had guests themselves, and took part in different literary and theatrical undertakings. Remizov often read his own works at literary evenings (the first time was on March 5 at General Parenson's charity soirée, where he read two chapters from *The Pond*).

Thin, a little hunchbacked, in glasses, and with a shaggy head of hair, Remizov soon was one of the most original figures of literary and artistic social life. Despite the peculiarity of his behavior he was evidently met with genuine liking. It would be difficult to imagine the literary scene of the Silver Age after 1905 without Remizov, even though he was still known as a writer only by a handful of friends. Of his St. Petersburg acquaintances the closest to Remizov were Rozanov (the Remizovs were his guests almost every Sunday), Kuzmin, whom he met in 1906 at a "contemporary music evening" and then saw frequently, Somov, and Bakst. Until their Paris emigration, when politics was to divide them, Zinaida Gippius and Serafima Pavlovna were friends, and Serafima Pavlovna took some part in one of the Merezhkovskys' religious circles.⁴⁹ As her extremely warm and friendly letters show, Gippius tried to influence the Remizovs' way of life out of good motives. She tried especially to awaken in them a more realistic

attitude toward the demands of practical existence, urged Remizov to obtain a more secure job than the one he had at *The Problems of Life*, gave advice about Natasha, and argued against their dealings with people who seemed to her to be "bad company" (such as Minsky's group). Later on, during the revolution and emigration, Gippius' well-intentioned guardianship related primarily to the Remizovs' political situation. Remizov and Merezhkovsky, distant from one another in views and artistic strivings, had no special liking for one another although Merezhkovsky did try to find him a job. In those years many writers were to help them by lending money (Rozanov and Voloshin), by trying to find work for them (Filosofov, Rozanov and Gershenzon), and by placing Remizov's works with publishers (Vyacheslav Ivanov, who was in fact the publisher of *Limonar'*). The Berdyaevs, M. L. Gofman, and later Ivanov-Razumnik also helped a great deal.

It is interesting to note that Remizov's various jokes and oddities in behavior did not hinder his acceptance in the St. Petersburg literary milieu at all. Evidently a certain Bohemian atmosphere reigned there that allowed for his eccentricities as had the Vologda colony. Contemporaries were to recall the peculiarity of his behavior often;⁵⁰ at the same time, however, the majority of them emphasized the high esteem in which he was held by almost all of his acquaintances. Some of his jokes include his well-known mystifications which put into circulation preposterous rumors (sometimes about the very people who had shown him great favor, such as, for example, the time when he circulated a rumor that Shestov secretly drank); his mischief as a guest (once he purposely overturned a rocking chair with Berdyaev in it); and his intentionally failing to correct ridiculous misprints at his job on the journal. People forgave him much because of his difficult past, seeing his personality as deformed because of his early prison and deportation experiences. In an album note to his wife many years later Remizov spoke critically of the insincere atmosphere in St. Petersburg to which he had had to adapt his behavior.⁵¹

Remizov was strongly attracted by the "occult" aspects of the Symbolist epoch, including the search for new kinds of experiences, the interest in spiritism, in sects, in all kinds of magic ritual, and in the mysticism of sexuality. There are references to his having participated in spiritual seances⁵² and in Minsky's pseudo-occult "rites" against which Gippius declaimed in her letters.⁵³ His strange fixation on the image of the devil seems to have arisen at this time—perhaps in connection with his participation in the literary contest of *The Golden Fleece* [*Zolotoe runo*] in 1906—and it corresponded to a certain degree to the "Satanism" of Russian Symbolism. "Demons," "the devil," and every variant of the Evil Spirit began to play almost a leading role in his artistic world. This unusual preoccupation with the devil, however, is hardly an expression of Remizov's world view (Weltanschauung); his interest in medieval and

folklore representations of the devil was evidently an aesthetic one and clearly reflected once again his predilection for play. In his personal behavior as in his artistic tastes there appeared a noticeable tendency toward grimaces, estrangement [*ostranenie*], and deformation as is evidenced in his first novels, which for this very reason aroused the criticism of "realists" such as Gorky. It is possible that Remizov perceived the devil in his medieval personification as a peculiar "estrangement" [*ostranenie*] of the human image, as later his imagination was caught by the "estrangement" of the human in the form of the ape.

The "playful" aspect of Remizov's personality along with his constant interest in the unusual, that which is "not like anything else," prompted him to start collecting such curiosities as toys, objects of folk superstition, depictions of mythological beings, pine cones, amulets, etc. He loved to decorate the walls of his work room with them or hang them on a string stretched across the room. The peculiar appearance of his apartments has been described more than once by his visitors and in the period of his fame became the subject of accounts in journals.⁵⁴ Later, apparently beginning in Berlin, he created his own private mythology around his toys in the center of which was the German Feuermännchen. For him these things "came and went themselves" as if they were alive. Often peculiarly pasted multi-colored papers served as decoration for the walls of his study. Remizov's apartment was a unique "estrangement" of conventional human living quarters. His Paris apartment in particular was often perceived by visitors as a somewhat mythical domain.

During the early St. Petersburg years Remizov's participation in Rozanov's cult of sexuality was also very characteristic of him as is evident from his reminiscences in *Kukkha* and in an unpublished variant of his memoirs, "Gonosy's Tale" (in the Paris archive). Rozanov, and later Somov, Kuzmin, Nuvel', and Bakst, along with Remizov made up a friendly group that frequently had discussions on erotic topics.⁵⁵ For some time they had planned to write a book, *On Love*, a kind of encyclopedia of Russian folk notions and advice on sex. The motif of the erotic mystery of the "Black Mass" is at the center of his song of the Khlysts [a religious sect], "On this Strange Night," which apparently was his only rhymed poem. It was written in May of 1905 and together with a French translation was printed in *The Golden Fleece*.⁵⁶ Remizov also wrote a series of erotic stories based partly on the material in the *Russian Secret Tales* which he valued very highly.

Other peculiarities of Remizov's personality are reflected in his constant interest in newspaper accounts of accidents and curiosities and in grotesque events especially in provincial life. Reports on the ridiculous aspects of Russian backwardness as well as crimes and every kind of cruelty served him as artistic material at this period of his work. Even domestic rumors of all kinds were of interest to him.

The year 1905 brought Remizov his first literary success: the editorial board of *The Problems of Life*, of which he was not a member,⁵⁷ decided to publish *The Pond*. The novel appeared in issues numbered four through eleven in 1905 almost simultaneously with Sologub's *Petty Demon* (about which Remizov spoke very inimicably all his life). There were few advocates of the literary worth of *The Pond* (these included Filosofov, Chulkov, Shestov, Shchyogolev, Rozanov, and Berdyaev). According to Remizov's declaration the publisher of the journal himself, D. E. Zhukovsky, agreed to the publication mostly out of friendship. With the fee he received for *The Pond* Remizov was at least able to pay part of his debts. On the whole the novel was considered unsuccessful. Remizov's attempt to submit it to Skorpion and later to the Griffin publishing house for publication as a separate book did not meet with success. Gorky responded to *The Pond* very sharply in a letter on July 22, 1905.⁵⁸ Remizov's literary recognition began only in 1906 when the first sketches for *Sunwise*, some apocrypha, and his best short stories became known. For the time being, especially during the second half of 1905 when the impending end of *The Problems of Life* was foreseen, the Remizovs' future again began to lack perspective. Serafima Pavlovna's temporary salary came to an end along with the journal: she had done some proofreading for the publication. In the course of a year the journal had gotten into such a hopeless economic situation that it seemed impossible to continue publishing it. It ceased publication in December 1905. Judging by Remizov's hints, his own lack of prudence was responsible for the extremely disorderly management of *The Problems of Life*.

The Remizovs had already moved from the apartment at the editorial office to an apartment on Pyataya Rozhdestvenskaya Street in August. In the summer of 1906 they moved to Kavalergardskaya Street and in September 1907 to Maly Kazachy Lane. The apartments were all cheap and shabby, in "unhealthy" neighborhoods, as Gippius criticized more than once. The house on Maly Kazachy Lane entered Russian literature as the Burkov house in Remizov's *Sisters in the Cross*. The Remizovs moved into their first "good" apartment with a telephone and central heating only after the contract with Shipovnik in September 1910.

On the insistence of friends Remizov, unwillingly acknowledging that after the closing of *The Problems of Life* it would be impossible to live on income from the translations of plays, began in the autumn of 1905 to look for a job. The tragi-comic story of his indecisive attempts to find some kind of work continued until he received a contract for the publication of his *Works*, which brought a temporary improvement in his income. Later, except for his "work" at TEO, Remizov continued to live in extreme poverty on income from literary fees and at times from the sale of handwritten books; in Paris his wife earned a bit of money teaching a university course. Even while in Petersburg he always feared that a

practical profession would not allow him the time necessary for creative work and stubbornly hoped to be able to feed himself and his family on his literary work alone—despite the warnings of Gippius and Filosofov. With the help of Filosofov's connections he tried for the first time in November 1905 to find work in the Government Inspection Office; but in a conversation with the department head he conducted himself so undiplomatically that they refused to hire him—obviously understanding very well that Remizov was much more interested in the salary than in the work connected with it. He applied unsuccessfully again in 1907. Attempts at finding work in the St. Petersburg editorial office of *The Russian Word* and at the Paramonov porcelain factory where A. V. Tyrkova had tried to get him work were also unsuccessful. Apart from insignificant literary fees Remizov had in fact during all these years only an occasional, temporary income that came from “answering advertisements”: he compiled a catalogue of recommended children's books, edited stories for a Holy Synod reader, corrected the text of a new edition of Belinsky, and the like. The most degrading of these temporary jobs was his participation in a census of St. Petersburg dogs. On Rozanov's recommendation Serafima Pavlovna was able to teach for a short time at a private gymnasium.

Remizov's material position, his unwillingness to take work “outside of literature,” and Serafima Pavlovna's exceptional interest in the cultural life of the capital and further studies in 1906-7 at the university were closely tied to an emerging family tragedy: their separation from their daughter. In the spring of 1906 the two-year-old Natasha apparently for the first time was left alone with her Berestovets relatives (Serafima Pavlovna's mother and sisters). In view of the unsettled state of their St. Petersburg life, the parents had decided to give her over temporarily to the care of her relatives, with whom her health and well-being would be more assured than in their small city apartment. When the Remizovs visited Berestovets in the summer of 1906 they did not yet feel Natasha's growing alienation from them. However, it did become more and more apparent in time. Since on the one hand their St. Petersburg position did not improve, and on the other Natasha became accustomed to life in Berestovets and closely attached to her relatives, the Remizovs did not succeed in returning the child to their care despite their serious intentions, especially because the doctor feared for the life of the grandmother, who had become morbidly attached to her granddaughter.⁵⁹ The Remizovs apparently first realized the finality of the separation in June 1907 on the occasion of their next trip to Berestovets, a time when they were quite without any money or a place to live. Later Natasha and her relatives would meet the parents with the constant concern that they might take her with them. At a more advanced age Natasha obviously blamed and possibly even despised her parents, clearly did not value the presents that they brought, and felt shy with them. In the end she explicitly refused to return to St. Petersburg. Serafima

Pavlovna was considered an egotist by her relatives, more interested in life in the capital than in the welfare of her own daughter. They accused her of indifference toward Natasha, although Remizov in his memoirs has emphasized in every possible way his wife's deep grief over the separation, and he on his part blamed the relatives for the fact that “by their blind love they had separated Natasha from her,” without trying to understand Serafima Pavlovna's complex personality and psyche.⁶⁰ Remizov himself, who in those years had become a master of the children's story, undoubtedly suffered a great deal as a result of the separation from Natasha. This is easily surmised from his exceptional tenderness to her in her first years. The Remizovs saw their daughter, who was then a pupil in Kiev, for the last time in the summer of 1917 at Berestovets. Subsequently, according to Berestovets legends, they tried unsuccessfully to convince Natasha from Berlin to travel out to them. Later her daughter's existence became a sort of tabu for Serafima Pavlovna. Among strangers she even began to deny that she had a child.

Remizov reacted with comparative indifference to the 1905 revolution: his interest in art had wholly displaced his interest in revolution. “Somehow I am tired, especially of discussions. And I have this feeling that I should like to go into the woods,” he wrote on December 30 on the occasion of a general discussion about the revolution.⁶¹ However, he persisted in sympathizing with the revolutionaries with whom he became acquainted at that time (Vera Figner, M. G. Sushchinsky, and N. A. Morozov). In December Savinkov appeared secretly at his apartment.

In 1905 besides *The Pond* and a series of translations which appeared in *The Problems of Life*, Remizov succeeded in getting published only an essay, “Theater ‘Workshop’” (in the newspaper *Our Life*), several Zyrian poems under the title “Midnight Sun” (in the “Assyrian” issue of *Northern Flowers*), and diverse lyric prose in supplements to *Our Life*. He wrote very little in that year (the stories: “Zaika,” “The Little Elephant,” “Holy Night,” and several others), least of all during the agonizing winter of 1905-6. A clear renewal of his creative work came only in 1906, when Remizov discovered a completely new aspect of literature which became extremely characteristic of him: the reworking of folktales, apocrypha, and the genre of folk customs.

The year 1906 was the year in which *Sunwise* and *Limonar'* or at least a significant portion of the works collected under these titles were written. In addition Remizov continued to write short stories. A new journal, *The Golden Fleece*, which had started publication in that year, became for him a sort of literary refuge: along with a story, “The Conflagration,” Remizov attracted attention with the appearance of the first ten lyrical “novellas” of *Sunwise* in issues seven through nine.⁶² The journal was interested in the aesthetics of all variants of folk art and turned to Remizov not only for texts, but also for objects of folk art collected by him (which were to be used

for illustrations). Remizov's growing enthusiasm for Russian folklore and folk art, in which he soon gained a reputation as an important specialist, coincided opportunely with the broadening aesthetic interest of the literary and artistic public in folk art, genres of folk poetry, ancient Russian mythology, and the aesthetics of rites and folk beliefs. Initially in literary circles and then at soirées with a wider audience Remizov experienced ever increasing success when he read his "miniatures" from *Sunwise* which used folk material in an original way. Works like "Kalechina-Malechina" or apocryphal legends like "On Herodias' Frenzy" brought him the recognition which *The Pond* had not brought. Even such a stern critic as Sologub responded favorably to "Kalechina-Malechina" (which Remizov read at Vyacheslav Ivanov's).⁶³ Later newspapers and journals began to publish Remizov's folktales and legends more frequently, especially in Christmas and Easter issues. His earlier fictional writing became known only following the success of his "folk genres"; some of his fiction, however, such as the early novels, never did find a significant circle of readers. Of the stories and short novels of his St. Petersburg period only *Sisters in the Cross*, *The Irrepressible Tambourine*, *The Fifth Pestilence*, and several short stories such as "The Devil" and in particular the "children's" stories ("Tsarevna Mymra") enjoyed general success.

In 1906 Remizov won first prize in the artistic prose category (along with Kuzmin) for his story "The Devil" in *The Golden Fleece's* contest on the theme of the devil. The chairman of the judges was Vyacheslav Ivanov. Remizov's literary name was becoming firmly established, although before the publication of *The Works*, in his own words, he mostly "went around the literary 'backyard',"⁶⁴ publishing for the most part in small collections and modest, rather cheap journals. In taking his works editors were always fearful of the strangeness of his style which might "frighten" readers away and often entreated him to remove this or that spot in a text which struck them as unseemly or tasteless. Remizov was himself well aware of his tendency toward "nonsense" that could spoil the good impression a work might otherwise make as well as of a lack of strictness and restraint in his narrative.⁶⁵ It is interesting to note that except for *Sunwise*, writing did not come easily to him despite the fact that he stuck so persistently to the writer's craft. He never was satisfied with a finished text, and at the first chance changed and rewrote it, sometimes creating a whole series of editions through his endless labor (the clearest examples, *In Captivity* and *The Pond*). He spoke of this to Madelung in April of 1906: "I am writing folktales now. As I am not working anywhere, I sit at my desk without moving. The process of writing is torturous for me. Each sentence takes a terrible lot of time. I rewrite endlessly."⁶⁶ For *The Works* in 1910 and 1911 Remizov reworked anew almost all of his writings.

For the retelling of folktales and apocrypha Remizov began in the spring of 1906 to read quickly and with evident enthusiasm corresponding

scholarly editions, the collections of the Academy of Sciences, *The Living Past* [*Zhivaia starina*], and regional and historical dictionaries. Later for clarification of individual problems or for information on literature he initiated scholarly correspondence with A. Yatsimirsky, E. Anichkov, and other philologists. Remizov undoubtedly became a true connoisseur and an important specialist in the area of old Russian literature and Russian folk poetry despite his complete lack of talent for learned work and a scientific way of thinking (it was even difficult for him to compose a stylistically neutral business letter or "unartistic" review). In his acquisition of scientific knowledge Serafima Pavlovna's university studies undoubtedly played a certain role. By the end of the first decade of the century Serafima Pavlovna had entered the St. Petersburg Archeological Institute. Through her and her textbooks Remizov became familiar with ancient manuscripts and learned to read and imitate the old Russian handwriting (semiuncial [*poluustav*] and cursive [*skoropis'*]). For the rest of his life he was passionately attracted to the written culture of Russia prior to the era of printing. The language and script of Muscovite Russia attracted him most of all ("the clerk's chancery language laced with conversational expressions"⁶⁷) and in a way became for him an object of national identification. Later he used Muscovite cursive writing for the design of his "ape" charters, congratulatory addresses, and the like.⁶⁸ The "playful" principle of stylization and imitation that was especially characteristic of his artistic individuality touched on both the external and internal recreations of the past which, as Remizov hoped, would distinctively enrich the present.

At the end of 1906 Remizov's attraction to old Russian manuscripts led to the creation of one his most original works, the erotic legend, "What Is Tobacco? Gonosy's Tale." Until its printing in February 1908, this text, which was set up on the outside to look like a book, was passed from hand to hand. It was Remizov's first handwritten book.⁶⁹ During the Yuletide season of 1906 he read the legend to Somov, Bakst, and Benois. In 1907 Somov made several illustrations for the text. The book was issued in a limited edition (twenty-five numbered copies) by the publishing house Sirius, which was organized by the young S. K. Makovsky along with some friends. The edition was not intended for sale, but was given to friends. The young art patrons around Makovsky, in part the sons of prominent politicians, had first created a publisher for Remizov's *The Pond*, which through them was issued for the first time as a book. (The novel appeared several weeks before "What Is Tobacco?" in November 1907.)

Remizov did not succeed in having published the remaining three erotic folktales which he wrote then until 1920-21. These include "Tsar Dodon," written in 1907 (also for the Yuletide season), "The Sultan's Date" ["Sultansky finik"] (1909), and "The Wondrous Harvest" (1912, a reworking of No. 31 in *Russian Secret Tales*).⁷⁰ For the text of "Tsar

Dodon” Lev Bakst created several illustrations. In 1912 Remizov had hoped for its publication in Kostroma, where I. A. Ryazanovsky was investigating the possibilities.⁷¹ In actual fact, though, “Tsar Dodon” did not appear as a separate book until March 1921 (published by Alyansky). The book appeared in an edition of 333 copies after the protests of a “peasant-worker inspection” had been overcome. A year before, Alkonost, also Alyansky’s publishing house, had published all four tales in the same number of copies and in a diminutive format under the title *Secret Tales*.

Life continued to be very difficult for the Remizovs during the years 1906-10. They were forced to borrow money from Rozanov in order to go see Natasha in the summer of 1906. There was no money for a trip abroad, about which Serafima Pavlovna had dreamed. After having her baby she had begun to have a chronic illness of the liver with bilious attacks and she needed regular treatment at health spas. Remizov himself became ill with pneumonia and stomach ulcers more than once during the Petersburg years. His own lengthy unsettled state of health had begun apparently with the stay in the apartment on Kavalergardskaya Street in August 1906. The recently built, damp building had been rented out in the first year at a lower price. Then the landlord demanded the apartment be vacated in order to find wealthier tenants. In October 1906 Remizov was summoned to civil court for failure to pay the rent. He was saved at the last moment by a new publishing house, Shipovnik, which decided to publish his folktale, “The Tiny Wrinkle” [“Morshchinka”] in its children’s library series. Remizov’s long acquaintanceship with its publisher, Grzhebin,⁷² began with this event. Grzhebin published many of his books, especially during the time of his Berlin emigration.

Contact with friends remained a source of comfort for the Remizovs, especially for Serafima Pavlovna who for a time was in a condition of extreme depression. They participated in Yuletide masquerades that had an atmosphere of wild merry-making and despite poverty their apartment always drew guests. In 1906 the young Johannes von Guenther spent several weeks with them and was introduced by Remizov to Petersburg writers.

At the end of 1906 the first separate editions of Remizov’s books began to appear: at Christmas *The Golden Fleece* published *Sunwise*. Remizov had insistently begged to add to it a supplementary volume with notes, but the publishing house would not agree to this. The exquisite bibliophile’s book, *Limonar’*, was a purely “comradely” edition which appeared through Vyacheslav Ivanov’s publishing house, Ory, in February 1907 despite the fact that Ivanov had some time earlier sharply criticized Remizov at one of his soirées for “blasphemy” (accusing him on the occasion of a reading of his legend, “About the Lord’s Passion,” of identifying with Satan gloating over the dead Christ). In 1907 *The Pond* and “The Tiny Wrinkle” appeared. The publication of the next two books,

The Devil’s Ravine [*Chortov log*] (January 1908) and *The Clock* (April 1908), was achieved by Remizov’s acquaintance A. S. Roslavlev, who convinced an elderly couple, the Saxaganskys, of the necessity of having their own publishing house (Mrs. Saxagansky herself wrote plays). For the short-lived publishing house the name EOS was devised; it ceased publication soon after Remizov’s books appeared. *The Clock* was censored for a time by the Main Department of Printed Matter because of “pornography” and “blasphemy.” There also appeared a collection of very heterogeneous content with the title *Stories* [*Rasskazy*] in November 1909 (the original title was *The Unfortunate Caravan*). If Remizov’s reminiscences can be trusted, this book was wrung out of the publishing house Progress (M. G. Strakun) by the “scandal” journalist A. I. Kotylev.

In 1907 Remizov became a dramatist when he worked on *The Devil Play*. This play was staged unsuccessfully on December 4 of that year at the Komissarzhevsky Theater and was removed from the repertoire after the fifth performance. The journal *Theater and Art* prepared an edition of three of his dramatic translations and in a separate edition his translation of Johannes Schlaf’s *Weigand*. In 1907 he also wrote short stories, new folktales and miniatures for *Sunwise*. On March 23, 1907, Remizov read “The Wrath of the Prophet Elijah” at the Literary-Artistic Society in Moscow. Kustodiev, who was drawing his portrait for *The Golden Fleece*, and Mikhail Prishvin, who had just appeared in literary circles, stood out among Remizov’s new acquaintances. Remizov met Prishvin, who was to become one of his first “disciples,” for the first time at a Women’s Medical Program Party; a friendship of many years linked the two writers.

It is interesting to note that long before any general recognition of Remizov, who was himself still a beginning writer, others had already begun to learn from him. Among the young literary people who visited him, aside from Prishvin, were Gorodetsky, A. N. Tolstoi, Gumilev, V. Kamensky, Khlebnikov. (“with whom he discussed words”⁷³), and others.

Before the move to Maly Kazachy Lane in the autumn of 1907, which became possible only after a contract had been signed with the Saxaganskys, the Remizovs were without an apartment all summer. After vacating the apartment on Kavalergardskaya Street and deciding not to rent another right away, they began a complicated summer trip through Russia at the beginning of June. They stayed in turn at Berestovets, Chernigov, the Liflandia region of Latvia (Sesswegen, now Cesvaine), Riga, Lyubotin near Kharkov, and Moscow. After returning to St. Petersburg due to a complete lack of money they had to move into a single room on Zagorodny for several weeks. In order to obtain money for the trip Remizov had pawned the gold mounting of an icon.

In June 1908 the Remizovs took a long trip through northern Russia, staying again in Vologda and Solvychevodsk. From there they went through Vyatka to Zonov’s home, in the village Karaul in the Glazovsky

district of Vyatka Province, where Zonov had long invited them to visit. They stayed in the house of Zonov's uncle, a priest. By August they were back again in the Ukraine at Zlodievko (apparently at Lundberg's) and at Berestovets. In that year Remizov wrote *A Tragedy about Judas*, a work also earmarked for the Komissarzhevsky Theater (the play, however, was not performed until 1916 in Moscow), new additions to *Sunwise*, and some stories (such as "Tsarevna Mymra"). In 1908 works belonging to the most unusual genre of Remizov's writing—his dreams—were published for the first time. Remizov continually had dreams and since the time he was in Penza he had been writing them down.⁷⁴ As a literary genre they elicited bewilderment on the one hand and clear approval on the other (approval, for example, from Shestov, Filosofov, Sologub, and apparently the Futurists). In that year Remizov performed especially frequently at literary evenings, reading in particular from *Sunwise* and *Limonar'*. On February 14 he read at an "evening of new poetry and music" in Yuriev (Tartu). After that caricatures of Remizov began to appear in literary journals and newspapers, frequently in the pose of a reader.⁷⁵ On the advice of Shakhmatov Remizov submitted an application for the academy of Sciences prize for *Sunwise* and *Limonar'*, although without success. He was connected to the scholarly world through his wife's teacher at the Archeological Institute, Professor Shlyapkin, whose dacha they visited at Beloostrov.⁷⁶

Remizov experienced one of the most difficult situations in his literary career in 1909 when he was publicly accused of plagiarism. The accusation concerned the artistic retelling of folktales from Onchukov's collection, *Northern Folktales*, in particular, "The Mouse" ["Myshonok"] and "The Sky Fell" ["Nebo palo"], which by chance in Remizov's versions differed little from the originals.⁷⁷ In an anonymous article, "Writer or Copier,"⁷⁸ a leading St. Petersburg critic, A. A. Izmailov, juxtaposed the original text and Remizov's reworking and came to the conclusion that Remizov had plagiarized. The article appeared on June 16 and was reprinted in other Russian newspapers. On June 21 in the Moscow *Word* Prishvin, the author of some of the transcriptions in Onchukov's collection, responded to it, defending Remizov and maintaining the right of an artist to use material from folk art.⁷⁹ Remizov himself was very deeply disturbed, all the more so because publishers immediately made him feel their distrust. He composed a response where he set forth the principles behind his recasting of folklore. This letter appeared—comparatively late—at the beginning of September in Moscow's *Russian News*, where the journalists S. V. Lurie and S. N. Ignatov, Prishvin's cousin, protected him.⁸⁰ However, publishers boycotted his works for an entire year. His literary reputation was restored only in 1910 when the publishers of Shipovnik included his *Sisters in the Cross* in the thirteenth volume of their anthology.

In 1909 Remizov wrote *The Irrepressible Tambourine* (based on the Kostroma stories of his friend I. A. Ryazanovsky, an ethnographer and

archeologist), part of *Olya* (under the title *The Polovetsky Camp* [*Polovetskii stan*]); the whole book apparently was going to be called *The Unvanquished Nightingale* [*Nedobityi solovei*]); and some legends. In September he began work on *Sisters in the Cross* which occupied the first half of 1910. The whole summer of 1909 he had not been able to write due to a deep crisis in artistic consciousness. In the autumn he became very ill with a stomach ulcer which troubled him all through 1910.

Already in 1908 Remizov had become acquainted with the man who in 1909 and 1910 was to play a decisive role in his literary career: Ivanov-Razumnik. A very warm personal relation developed between them in 1909. In June and July after the accusation of plagiarism the Remizovs and Ivanov-Razumnik's family took off together on a long trip along the Volga (from Rybinsk to Astrakhan and back to Tsaritsyn; from there the Remizovs went for a five week vacation to Olkhovy Bog in the Ukraine). In 1910 they spent three weeks with Ivanov-Razumnik on the Åland Islands (on the island of Wandrock). Ivanov-Razumnik, one of the best known critics of the time, was deeply convinced of Remizov's exceptional talent. He especially admired *Sisters in the Cross* whose creation he had followed from the beginning. In 1910 he became along with Kornei Chukovsky a kind of herald for Remizov in the Russian press. Remizov was indebted to him not only for his own literary fame, which grew primarily out of Ivanov-Razumnik's essays, but also for the fact that Ivanov-Razumnik as a literary consultant for the publishing house Shipovnik brought Remizov to its attention. The publication of Remizov's collected works was apparently a service rendered primarily by Ivanov-Razumnik. Their close friendship continued until the war years; politics divided them during the revolution.

An interest in Remizov's work first appeared among foreign translators in 1909. The German translator Fega Frisch established contact with him and a Czech translator, Ladislav Ryšavý, followed next in 1911. In 1913 a German translation of *Sisters in the Cross* appeared as Remizov's first foreign edition.⁸¹ He was translated into other Western languages much later, mostly in the twenties.

Among Remizov's close acquaintances in 1909, Futurists such as Elena Guro, Matyushin, Khlebnikov, who deeply admired him,⁸² Kamensky, and, later, Kruchenykh should be singled out. It was at Burlyuk's exhibition, "Triangle," in April 1910 that he first displayed his own drawings (since his youth drawing had supplemented his literary work; it rose in importance in the second half of his life). In 1911 Remizov and Guro undertook the preparation of a collection which was to have joined his works and those of the young Futurists. The project, however, soon fell apart because of a disagreement over the choice of contributors. Remizov was first published (both texts and drawings) with the Futurists in the first number of the collection entitled *The Archer* [*Strelets*] in 1915. Judging by his brother Sergei's letters, he was greatly appreciated by the Moscow faction of Futurists and avant-garde artists

(Larionov and Goncharova⁸³) with whom his brother Viktor's wife, Ida Fyodorovna Rückert, was friendly. The avant-garde aspect of Remizov's work, especially his cult of the word and his partiality for word creation brought him close to the Futurists.

In 1910 in addition to the Åland Islands Remizov stayed at Uusikirko, now Polyana, outside St. Petersburg, where he was treated in a sanatorium. In July he spent two weeks as a guest of a close acquaintance, E. Anichkov, at his estate in the province of Novgorod (Zhdan'). Attracted by Prishvin's stories about the North (Prishvin often tried to take Remizov along with him to see Russian nature) Remizov had planned a trip with him to Lapland in the spring of 1910. This plan fell through, however, as did the project for a long trip to the Altai which Remizov dreamed of later in 1913 under the influence of Shishkov.

In April 1910 Remizov was again accused of plagiarism. In the newspaper *Russia's Morning* a certain A. Khakhanov complained that Remizov had not named him as the publisher of the original for the legend "Passion of the Most Holy Mother of God" ["Strasti Presviatoi Bogoroditsy"].⁸⁴ Remizov was also grieved by two refusals from publishers: in Moscow "Musaget" refused to print a volume of his stories despite Bely's intercession; in St. Petersburg *Apollon* refused to print *The Irrepressible Tambourine*, although the short novel had at first been approved when read by the author in front of the editorial staff. A decisive change in his situation finally came about in the autumn of 1910 with the signing of a contract with Shipovnik for the publication of *Sisters in the Cross* in its anthology and an eight-volume edition of his collected works into which went a majority of the pieces written up until then. In its highly esteemed anthologies Shipovnik also printed "Petushok" (in 1911) and *The Fifth Pestilence* and some folktales (in 1912). *Sisters in the Cross* elicited a wave of positive reviews. In public opinion Remizov suddenly acquired the reputation of an outstanding writer, and his fees from Shipovnik and later Sirin finally guaranteed him comparative material well-being until approximately 1915.

The eight-volume *Works* [*Sochineniia*] came out sequentially from November 1910 to March 1912 and was soon followed by A. V. Rystenkov's monograph, *Notes on Alexei Remizov's 'Works'* [*Zametki o sochineniakh Alekseia Remizova*] (Odessa, 1913): six years after the appearance of his first published book there already existed a monograph on Remizov himself, an analysis of the works collected in *Sochineniia*. Numerous newspaper and journal articles on his work also appeared.⁸⁵ After this widespread recognition even Izmailov entered into friendly relations with Remizov and exchanged bibliographic rarities with him. In 1911 A. S. Golubkina did a wood sculpture of Remizov which is now preserved in the Tretyakov Gallery.

Besides becoming acquainted with Chukovsky (Remizov visited him

at Kuokkala), Baltrušaitis, Klyuev, Rukavishnikov, Lundberg (already one of his closest friends), and Balmont, Remizov also began to have especially close relations with Blok at this time. In the years 1911-12 the two met or spoke by telephone almost daily. Despite his clear idealization of their relations in his memoirs, Remizov sincerely considered his friendship with Blok a great blessing.

In 1911 the Remizovs' longstanding dream of a trip abroad was realized. From April 22 to June 21 (old style) they lived in Paris, then spent two weeks in Geneva and Coppet, where they met Shestov and Baltrušaitis, and after a short stop in Nuremberg, a week in Berlin. One of the objects of the trip was to consult with doctors or even, judging by Shestov's letters, to undergo an abdominal operation, which Remizov, however, could not bring himself to. As a result of his 1910 illness and continuing strenuous work Remizov was still in a state of extreme weakness and exhaustion.

In the isolation of a Paris hotel far from the fuss of St. Petersburg Remizov revised *The Pond* a second time, for the fourth volume of *Works*. To achieve that goal he sat in his hotel room and wrote for almost all of his two months stay. He also initiated contacts with foreign Slavists and became acquainted with Paul Boyer and André Mazon. Of the Russians there the Remizovs met Margarita Voloshina, L. D. Blok, and Olga Chernova. After returning to St. Petersburg the Remizovs rested at Oranienbaum and at Merreküll near Narva in August 1911. A trip to Denmark to visit Madelung about which they had long dreamt did not occur.

In 1911-12 Remizov wrote a short novel, *The Fifth Pestilence*, again using material from numerous stories supplied by Ryazanovsky about curiosities of Russian provincial life. According to Remizov the city Galich in the province of Kostroma was the prototype for the setting. Its original title was *Skulduggery* [*Dubonozhie*], and it was finished in the summer of 1912 after Remizov's return from Kostroma. At that time Remizov's early interest in philosophy was renewed; he was especially preoccupied with Heraclitus.

An acquaintance which Remizov had formed with the young Kiev millionaire and literary patron, M. I. Tereshchenko, apparently in 1911 was of great significance for him. The influential Tereshchenko, "an official for special assignments" under the director of the Imperial Theaters and later a minister in the cabinet of the Provisional Government, became a sort of patron to Remizov and supported especially his theatrical plans (for example, he obtained an unusually high fee for Remizov from the Mariinsky Theater for his libretto to the ballet "Alalei and Leila" which was never performed). In the autumn of 1912 Tereshchenko and his sisters organized their own publishing house, Sirin, with which Remizov and Blok were the most closely associated authors. The "organizational" meeting for the publishing house was held at the Remizovs' apartment. Ivanov-

Razumnik became its literary consultant. Sirin existed from 1912 until 1915 and published collections of works (Remizov's, Sologub's, and Bryusov's) and a series of separate books and anthologies. The rights to publish Remizov and Sologub had been bought from Shipovnik. Remizov's eight-volume *Works* for this reason was being sold at the end of 1912 in two almost identical editions which differed from one another only in format, title pages, and a series of bibliographic indices which were added to the Sirin edition. Before the beginning of the war Tereshchenko, Blok, Remizov, and Ivanov-Razumnik formed a rather tightly knit group of collaborators that was often mentioned in Blok's diaries and notes. They met almost daily at the publishing house on Pushkinskaya Street, where Prishvin, Sologub, and various beginning writers often dropped in. Of Remizov's books besides *Works* Tereshchenko published *Along the Roads* [*Podorozhie*,] *Badgering and Bantering* [*Dokuka i balagur'e*], and *Spring Trifles* [*Vesennye porosh'e*]. The books were also "beautiful" externally with their large stylized typeface that clearly corresponded to the aesthetic demands of the time. After the beginning of the war, unfortunately, Tereshchenko substituted military interests for his artistic ones and the publishing house was closed. The Sirin years with their unique spiritual climate, the friendship with Blok, foreign trips, comparative material prosperity, and the achievement of literary recognition were surely, after his student years, the happiest time in Remizov's life. During the war he rather quickly returned to his former impoverished state despite his celebrity.

Besides his role in Sirin Remizov also took part in 1911 and 1912 in the preparation of two new periodicals: a journal, *Behests* [*Zavety*], headed by Ivanov-Razumnik, and a newspaper, *Russian Rumor* [*Russkaia molva*]—"an un-newspaper newspaper,"⁸⁶ which first appeared December 9, 1912, under the management of A. V. Tyrkova. Remizov participated in editorial meetings along with Blok, who hoped for some counterbalance to the newspaper politics of the Merezhkovskys,⁸⁷ and he had some influence on the make-up of the newspaper. A series of his folktales and legends stylized from Old Russian appeared in the paper.

In 1912 Serafima Pavlovna graduated from the Archeological Institute and became a full member of it; for further academic qualification she began work under Shlyapkin on a topic from the history of the Russian language, but the war was soon to upset all her plans. In 1912 she traveled without her husband to the West, visiting Munich and Paris. Remizov spent several weeks in July at A. A. Rachinskaya's estate in Bobrovka (Tver Province) and in August at I. A. Ryazanovskiy's in Kostroma, which seemed to him a living museum of ancient Russian life and Russian folk culture. Also in that year the Remizovs were again guests of a miller acquaintance in Sesswegen.⁸⁸ In Bobrovka Remizov luckily survived a dangerous accident on an outing in a carriage when the horses bolted for

over a mile. The stay at Rachinskaya's laid the basis for a series of works of a completely new genre that became characteristic of Remizov especially during the war and revolution: from Rachinskaya's family archive which Remizov studied with enthusiasm he selected and published the old family letters from which in 1914 his series *Russia in Letters* [*Rossia v pis'makh*] was begun in *Behests*. Under this heading before his emigration he continued to publish various folk documents, letters, charters, inscriptions, and so on that were collected in his book *Russia in Writ* [*Rossia v pis'menakh*] in 1922. To his great disappointment a large part of this material, which he valued highly, remained unpublished.

In the summer of 1913 the Remizovs again traveled to Europe and this trip lasted exactly three months from May 9 to August 9. During that time they were in Berlin, Paris, Founex on Lake Geneva, Zürich, Nuremberg, Karlsbad, Prague, and Vienna. They returned to St. Petersburg by way of Moscow and the Trinity-St. Sergei Monastery. Catholic piety, which Remizov observed in St. Sulpice's in Paris and in St. Stephan's in Vienna, made a strong impression on him. In Founex the Remizovs stopped for their regular visit with Shestov. For most of July they took the cure in Karlsbad. Remizov had been ill for a long time during the winter of 1912-13. He was ill again after the trip (with colitis and typhus) and was long in a state of complete exhaustion.

Except for trips Remizov stayed at home from 1912 until the Revolution, seldom going out on visits and now almost never reading at literary evenings. For this reason his apartment on Tavricheskaya Street more and more became a sort of literary center. "Remizov had a real studio as artists have," recalled Prishvin. "He had a school and everyone came to him, read their stories, and he corrected them in many ways such that it was difficult to recognize what was the teacher's and what the pupil's."⁸⁹ In 1913 new names were added to the circle of young writers and admirers: Vyacheslav Shishkov, who came to Remizov on Prishvin's and Ivanov-Razumnik's recommendation, Leonid Dobronravov, a young physician and writer named Vladimir Unkovsky (in emigration he was known as the "African doctor" and he was Remizov's lifelong friend), and in succeeding years, I. S. Sokolov-Mikitov who was a neighbor on Vasilevsky Island, Pantaleimon Romanov, N. M. Kuzmin, V. V. Smirensky, and many others. Remizov's relations with Shishkov, who entertained the Remizovs with his tales about Siberia and the vastness of nature there, were especially warm. These young friends valued highly the hospitable atmosphere of the Remizovs' apartment. For his part Remizov employed them for all kinds of practical services. They obtained necessary books for him, made inquiries, put together a catalogue of his library, and in the revolutionary years helped sell his books. Apparently Remizov's acquaintance with Zamyatin, who was published in *Behests*, also began in 1913. Remizov's significant influence on contemporary Russian prose, which clearly increased from

1910 on, was also noted in critiques. According to the observation of one reviewer almost all the contributors to the wartime collection *A Cake for Orphaned Children* wrote under Remizov's influence.⁹⁰

In the spring of 1914 the Remizovs after spending a few days as guests of A. V. Tyrkova in Vergezha went off again on a long trip abroad, which, however, after the outbreak of the war turned into a hazardous adventure. Italy, Karlsbad, and Berlin were the main goals of the trip. On May 6 they arrived in Venice. Then they stayed several days in Florence and from May 12-22 they were in Rome, which produced an unusually powerful impression on them.⁹¹ Next they visited Milan, Geneva, and again Founex, where they saw Shestov. During the month from June 7 to July 5 they again took the cure at Karlsbad, and thus were in Austria on June 28 when the fateful event at Sarajevo occurred. In July they spent several more weeks in Berlin, leaving hastily on July 19 in the hopes of returning to Russia in good time. But they got stuck at Allenstein in Eastern Prussia as the border was already closed. Barely escaping internment in Germany they had to travel to St. Petersburg along with other Russian travelers by way of Stettin, the island of Rügen, Stockholm, Lulea, Haparanda, and Torneo, around the whole Gulf of Bothnia. They did not arrive in St. Petersburg until July 31.⁹² All their baggage which had been sent during their departure from Berlin was lost, including Remizov's notes from Rome. Only the first part of his short novel, *The Ditch (The Lion's Ditch)* [*Kanava (Rov l'vinyi)*] on which he had begun working in Berlin, was preserved in hand luggage.

Perhaps in connection with the impressions from this "flight" out of Germany Remizov, as a writer with "a name," upon his return to Russia with amazing speed joined in Russian war propagandizing. Like other famous writers of his time Remizov fell into crude nationalism.⁹³ He expounded a naive, extremely emotional cult of everything "Russian," even plainly identifying with the Imperial goals of tsarist Russia (the cult of Tsargrad in an unfinished book, *Hoped-for Tsargrad* [*Chaemyi Tsar'grad*], of which several chapters with illustrations by Natalya Goncharova appeared in the journal *Curved Seashore* [*Lukomor'e*] and later ended up in the Berlin book *The Grass Sward* [*Trava-murava*]). In the early war years old Russian stylization and the cultivation of Russian history in legends and "Russian letters" which were published in philanthropic wartime anthologies of 1915-16 served Remizov for the idealization of Russia and the strengthening of Russian national awareness.⁹⁴ The one-sidedness and tendentiousness of his wartime work are rather unfavorably reflected in the artistic quality of these works. His "patriotic" position was confirmed by his closeness to the journals *The Fatherland* (Grzhebin) and *Curved Seashore* (Suvorin) which published his books, *For Holy Russia* [*Za sviatuiu Rus'*] and *The Buttress* [*Ukrepa*]. He was published in *Curved Seashore* until 1917. A moderation in his chauvinistic sentiments occurred only around 1916 in connection with a

growing general weariness with the war. Serafima Pavlovna's patriotism during the war period was of a more practical nature. She became a nurse after six months of preparatory training (after returning to St. Petersburg she even entered the Women's Medical Program for a short time to fulfill a long held dream of becoming a doctor). With a group called the "Evgenievsky Commune" she left for the front apparently in 1915 and worked in an infirmary near Warsaw. But on becoming ill herself she returned rather quickly to Petrograd.

At the beginning of 1915 Sirin was closed. The Remizovs' new impoverishment, it seems, caused them to quit their favorite apartment on Tavricheskaya Street by summer.⁹⁵ They spent the summer in turn at Rachinskaya's, in Moscow, again at Uusikirko, and, finally, in Essentuki. Treatment in Essentuki where they went every summer until 1918 took the place of Karlsbad during the war. In Petrograd they lived a while in F. F. Komissarzhevsky's apartment until he demanded that they leave despite Remizov's ill health. At the end of September until June 1916 they stayed on Pesochnaya Street. Apartment problems were repeated in the summer of 1916 when the Remizovs, not wishing to pay for an apartment during the summer months, again spent their time either in traveling or as guests. In the fall they settled finally in a new apartment on Vasilevsky Island (Line 14) where they remained until 1920.

In Essentuki the Remizovs lived at the well-known sanatorium of Dr. Zernov.⁹⁶ In 1915 they met Korolenko there. On excursions they saw Pyatigorsk and Kislovodsk. As the war continued the trips to Essentuki and Berestovets on crowded trains were markedly difficult for the not very practical Remizovs. Nearly all their traveling ceased after the revolution until their departure for the West.

During the war years Remizov wrote a series of stories that were collected in the books *The Buttress* and *In a Dark Hold* [*Sredi mur'ia*], an insignificant novella, *The Pilgrim Wanderer* [*Strannitsa*], which was finished in 1915 but not published until 1918, numerous small texts and commentaries for *Russia in Writ*, and legends about St. Nikola. He also collected transcriptions of Russian "women's" folktales (for the book *Russian Women*, 1918) and reworked foreign folktales (Georgian, Armenian, Siberian, and Tibetan). *The Parables of St. Nikola*, which lay for a year at the editorial office of *The Field* [*Niva*], was published by Grzhebin in 1917 without the name of the publisher out of fear that the book might turn out to be a blunder. Remizov's fame now helped him to find publishers despite the fact that his books were not widely read. Most of his genres remained a literature for the few. In February 1916 his *Tragedy about Judas* was staged by Zonov and F. F. Komissarzhevsky in Moscow in the V. F. Komissarzhevskaya Theater under the title *The Accursed Prince* and met with some success. In contradistinction to 1907 when he was booed by the audience, Remizov this time did not attend the premiere.

In the spring of 1915 Remizov became acquainted with Esenin who had recently arrived in Petrograd, meeting him at his own apartment. In October they recited their works along with Gorodetsky at an evening affair given by the short-lived literary group *Krasa*, which also arose apparently out of the national and "Slavic" feelings of the early war years.⁹⁷ Esenin, it seems, continued to visit the Remizovs during the following year.

In 1916 the Remizovs spent a lot of time in Moscow, living with his brother Viktor on the Taganka and at D. E. Zhukovsky's apartment on Krechetnikovsky Lane. In October the writer was drafted into the army as a "militiaman, second class, 1898 levy." On account of a doctor's certificate, however, Remizov was sent to the Clinical War Hospital first for a careful medical examination. He had to spend most of November and December there. In the end his unfitness for military service was established. His wartime patriotism was gradually replaced by pacifist feelings which were reinforced by Viktor's stories of the front and his conversations with the wounded and shell-shocked patients at the hospital.⁹⁸

In 1916 after the staging of *Judas* in which Tsar Asyka of the Apes appeared and rewarded his friends with ape "signs," the systematic organization of *Obezvelvolpal* was begun—the famous Grand and Free Order of Apes [Obez'ian'ia Velikaia i Vol'naia Palata].⁹⁹ The playful element in Remizov's personality was clearly reflected in this joking order with its peculiar folktale background. In the society of apes, supposedly more cultured and more "human" than people, Remizov appointed himself to the post of secretary. He prepared and gave out calligraphic charters on members' initiation into the Order or on their elevation to the ranks of cavalier or prince. In the imaginary simian kingdom, a utopian "reverse image" of the gloomy reality of war and revolution, there was no human self-interest nor hypocrisy nor coercion of one person by another, and there were none of those limitations which in human governments are placed on people by politics. Remizov devised for *Obezvelvolpal* a "constitution" and Tsar Asyka's "manifesto" directed at the apes and at those who voluntarily joined with them. He depicted the image of Asyka¹⁰⁰ in a large drawing on a wall of his apartment on Vasilevsky Island, adding to it also the portraits of a series of simian "nobles." Judging by the photographs which have been preserved, that apartment was almost entirely decorated with "simian" drawings.¹⁰¹ Remizov accepted into *Obezvelvolpal* primarily writers, artists, and academics and assigned them different ranks according to their merits. Judging by the collection of simian charters which have been preserved, almost all the literary and cultural people of the time belonged to it, from Rozanov and Gorky to A. F. Koni and D. P. Svyatopolk-Mirsky. With his charters Remizov often expressed his thanks for services rendered to him. Revolution and emigration, in particular the special spiritual climate of the Russian colony in Berlin, brought a true blossoming

of *Obezvelvolpal*. The majority of Remizov's contemporaries regarded the order with humor and joined in the playful situation. In several respects *Obezvelvolpal* is reminiscent of Masonry: in its principle of a universal brotherhood of intelligent and good people, in its ethical ideals and in its nature as a "secret society"; and, in other respects, of the satirical, utopian tradition in European literature (Remizov himself mentioned the equine kingdom of Swift).¹⁰² On its satiric side *Obezvelvolpal* parodied later the Soviet "language of abbreviations." It is interesting to note that to the extent that Remizov's works beginning around 1915 acquired an ever greater personal and sometimes a purely "private" nature, the fantastical *Obezvelvolpal* figured in them as something commonly known with which it was not necessary to acquaint the reader beforehand.

The Remizovs spent the stormy revolutionary war years in Petrograd. There they were witnesses to the February and October Revolutions. Remizov later emphasized several times how important and how necessary it was for him to have spent this incomparable period (1917-21) in Russia.¹⁰³ His relation to the "Russian Revolution" was plainly ambivalent and contradictory. From his youth he had been convinced of the necessity of revolution, in the achievement of which he himself had unsuccessfully participated.¹⁰⁴ Undeniably he had experienced a feeling of guilt for many years about the martyrs of the revolutionary movement from which he himself had moved away. On the one hand he accepted the revolution as a necessary great turning point in Russian history. He often emphasized the "poetic" quality of the Revolution, the romanticism of its world perspective: "[The Revolution] is beautiful not as a judgment... it is beautiful as an illumination—a seminal spring whirlwind:—and as the wishes of man for man... Never has a star burned so brightly—man's dream of a free kingdom of mankind on earth, Russia in '17! But never, anywhere on earth, has a massacre resounded so cruelly."¹⁰⁵ On the other hand his extremely gentle and kind nature, about which contemporaries often spoke in their memoirs, could not resign itself to the cruelties of the revolution. In addition, his attachment to Russia's cultural traditions and historical roots was so great that his fear of the destruction and loss of these irreplaceable valuables, which he more than anyone else held dear, muted his entire interpretation of the necessity of the revolution.

On a summer night in 1917 Remizov, in a mood of boundless suffering for the past, for its continuity, and for the substance of Russian national culture, conceptualized "The Tale of the Ruin of the Russian Land ["Slovo o pogibeli russkoi zemli"] in a state of intense inspiration while visiting the Moscow Kremlin apparently for the last time. He did not write down anything at that time; he merely groped for what he had to say.¹⁰⁶ The final text of "The Tale" was written several weeks before the October Revolution and appeared, judging by Remizov's bibliographic notes, at the end of November in a literary supplement to the S.-R. newspaper *People's Will* [*Volia naroda*] (*Russia in a Word* [*Rossia v slove*] under the editorship of

Prishvin).¹⁰⁷ It became well known in January 1918 when a second volume of *The Scythians* appeared in which "The Tale" was perhaps the most outstanding work.¹⁰⁸

Remizov's perception of the necessity and greatness of the Revolution and at the same time his attachment to Russian traditions brought him closer to the Socialist-Revolutionaries, with their orientation toward the peasants, than to any other political parties or groups of 1917. Obviously he hoped mainly that with the S.-R.'s the face of the revolution would be the most "Russian." Like many of the literary people of the time he was rather willingly published by S.-R. journals and publishing houses either because of the party's traditional closeness to literature or its intention of making use of the authoritative names. In the S.-R. publishing houses which continually had to fight against limitations and bans on the part of the Bolsheviks there appeared in 1918 his *Russian Women* (published by *Skify*), "St. Nikola the Beneficent" (Kolos), and "The Pilgrim Woman" (in the S.-R. collection *Thought*; an offprint of this collection appeared in addition as a separate book). Remizov's correspondence of 1918 bears witness to numerous S.-R. publishing projects for which he had allocated works.

Remizov's name is often found in the short-lived non-Bolshevik newspapers of the revolutionary period. In some of them, at times under pseudonyms, he published satiric texts directed against the Bolsheviks. Often material from *Russia in Writ* was published. In Chulkov's journal *People's Rights* during the second half of 1917 the first chapters of *General Uprising* [*Vseobshchee vosstanie*] appeared (Remizov's "chronicle" of the revolutionary years, which subsequently appeared under the title *Russia in a Whirlwind* [*Vzvikhrennaia Rus'*]).¹⁰⁹ During the revolution Remizov continued writing short stories (such as "Immortal Life" ("Zhizn' nesmertel'naia"), 1917) and reworkings of ancient plots ("Apollon Tirsy" was written right during the February Revolution). To this period probably belongs his "philosophical" poem, "About a Fiery Fate," which was published as a separate book in 1918. After the final suppression of the S.-R. press Remizov tried to publish in private publishing houses while they were still active, especially—starting from 1919—at Alkonost, the publishing house of the young S. M. Alyansky who was closely connected to him. Alkonost published *A Siberian Cake (Folktales)* [*Sibirskiy priyanik (skazki)*], *Electron* (an expanded version of "Fiery Fate"), a reworking of the folk drama *Tsar Maximilian* which was simultaneously republished by the Government Publishing House, *Secret Tales*,¹¹⁰ and *Tsar Dodon*, and, in addition, Remizov's works in the journal *Notes of a Dreamer*. Remizov sent several items to S. A. Abramov's Moscow publishing house, Creation [*Tvorchestvo*], which were preserved in Abramov's archive apparently unpublished.¹¹¹ In light of the peculiarity of his work, which was much more suitable for a private publisher than for the publishing plans of

Gosizdat during the period of War Communism, Remizov in particular suffered from the administrative strangulation of private publishers which was carried out by the head of Petrograd's Gosizdat, I. Ionov. In the TEO Remizov republished his plays (except for *St. George*); a few things were published in Soviet journals ("*The Red Policeman*," "*A Red Sailor of the Baltic Fleet*"). A series of works he sent to the provinces where they were published in local journals (in Voronezh or in Gomel'). One of the rarest of Remizov's books, *Ė—Tibetan Rabbit Folktales* [*Ė—Zaiashnye skazki tibetskie*], appeared in 1921 in the Far Eastern Republic (Chita, published by *Skify*). Several items were published in Russia after Remizov's departure in *The St. Petersburg Collection (Peterburgskii sbornik)* of 1922, in *A Moscow Anthology (Moskovskii al'manakh)*, 1923, and in the newspaper *Russia*, where in 1924 the "Kabil" tale "Ushen" was printed). During the revolutionary years Remizov also put together handwritten books with illustrations (*The Golden Book* and *The Magic Book*). His fees during the most difficult times were often paid in foodstuffs. For a while (during the winter of 1918-19) Remizov was not able to publish anywhere at all and lived on the charity of friends.

In the spring of 1917 the Remizovs traveled for the last time to Berestovets where they remained until mid-June. From there they went on to visit Chernigov, Moscow, and Essentuki. In September on returning to Petrograd Remizov became very ill with lobar pneumonia. For a while he lay between life and death. He described his inner experiences and impressions while in his feverish state soon after his return to health under the title "Fever" ["*Ognevitsa*"].

After "The Tale of the Ruin," in connection with the political polarization of literary figures after the October Revolution when some (such as Remizov and Zamyatin) grouped themselves around the official S.-R. publication, *The People's Concern* [*Delo naroda*], while others gathered around the Left S.-R. *Banner of Labor* [*Znamia truda*] (Blok and Ivanov-Razumnik), Remizov temporarily fell under the fire of political criticism.¹¹² The contributors to *The People's Concern* carried on a struggle against the new regime as persistently as the writers of *The Banner of Labor* defended the October Revolution. Remizov was sharply criticized for the political position taken in "The Tale"; at the same time, though, the artistic significance of the text was recognized (for example, by Ivanov-Razumnik in his essay, "Two Russians," published in *The Scythians* immediately after "The Tale"). Perhaps Blok's diary note about Remizov's "reactionary characteristics" ["*chernosotenstvo*"] and comments on "The Tale" in his essay, "The Intelligentsia and the Revolution," which appeared in January 1918 in *The Banner of Labor*, are relevant here.¹¹³ Outwardly Remizov's relations with Blok remained good. In January 1918 they had that long conversation by telephone in which Blok reported that he "heard music" all the time. Sologub and Zinaida Gippius who condemned the

literary writers of *The Banner of Labor* for their collaboration with the Bolsheviks, expressed their enthusiasm for Remizov's "The Tale." After "The Tale of the Ruin" in March 1918 there followed a second tale: "A Preceptive Tale for the Russian People" ["Zapovednoe slovo Russkomu narodu"] with the leitmotif: "Woe unto you, Russian People" ["Gore tebe, russkii narod"]. "A Preceptive Tale" was printed in April in the weekly, *People's Will* and in two opposition newspapers. Remizov formulated his hatred for the established dictatorship most clearly in a note on the "triumphant ape" in *Russia in a Whirlwind*.¹¹⁴

On May 1, 1918, Remizov's employment began in the Theater Division (TEO) of the People's Commissariat of Education (after November 15, 1919, the Petrograd Theater Department, PTO). He was a member of the Repertory Section of TEO where he was entrusted with Russian drama. His job, which paid an insignificant salary, consisted of reading and reviewing contemporary plays. Remizov's reviews were written with great difficulty. Most of those which he wrote were published in the newspaper *Art Life* [*Zhizn' iskusstva*] and later ended up in the "theater" book, *Painted Mugs* [*Krashennye ryla*] (1922). In TEO during the revolutionary years Remizov again had to work with Meyerhold and Blok. Work at TEO also brought Remizov some practical benefit in freeing him from military service and donations to the Red Army.¹¹⁵

In 1918 occurred the famous search of Remizov's apartment by Red Army soldiers to which Fedin referred in his reminiscences about Gorky.¹¹⁶ Not understanding Remizov's toys and glagolitic "charters," the leader of the detachment telephoned Gorky, who vouched for Remizov and requested that he be left in peace.

Already in 1918 as a result of the difficult food situation in Petrograd the Remizovs suffered considerably. A summer trip to Kislovo (near Dorogobuzh) to the estate of Sokolov-Mikitov's parents brought some relief. There Remizov was delighted not only with the beauty of central Russian nature, but also with the presence of bread, which had become a rarity. Nearby he visited the estate of the Pogodin family which turned out to be a treasure trove of new materials for his *Russia in Writ*. After returning to Petrograd the daily struggle for food was renewed. This turned more and more into a desperate struggle for life, especially in the winter of 1918-19 when the Remizovs also ran out of money. At that time they often had dinner only once a week and had to stand in line for three or four hours for food and the most basic items. During the cruel winters of 1918-19 and 1919-20 not only hunger, but also cold, tormented the Remizovs along with a majority of Petrograd's inhabitants. According to the report of a contemporary the Remizovs heated only one room because of lack of fuel, and in this room the temperature did not get higher than forty-five degrees (F.).¹¹⁷ It was not possible for them to remove their outer garments and shoes during the day or at night. Lunacharsky, who was acquainted with

Remizov from Vologda though he did not rate him highly as a writer, helped some with firewood. The situation with the water supply was unbelievably difficult. Since their apartment on Vasilevsky Ostrov was located on the sixth floor, water often did not reach it. They had to carry water up and keep it in their apartment in all of their available utensils, in particular, in Borzhomi mineral water bottles. The neighbors who lived on the lower floors often refused to allow them to get water, fearing that their coming in would "cool off" their own apartments. Remizov used to wear whatever he happened to have around at the time, which, judging by contemporaries' accounts, usually produced an extremely odd impression.

In comparison to previous years Remizov now spent his whole day on the street to obtain the necessities of life. In view of his impracticality many friends helped out, especially Prishvin and Shishkov, who tried to get bread for the Remizovs. E. Anichkov and Olga Kolbasina-Chernova sent food from the provinces. Gorky, whom Remizov saw now and then, helped with food several times. Through Gorky in October 1920 Remizov, along with Blok, Sologub, Kuzmin, and Gumilev, received the desired "scholars' rations" (at the House of Scholars [*Dom uchenykh*]), which greatly improved his everyday living conditions. Also through Gorky as well as a Vologda acquaintance, Sarra Ravich, Remizov had received a new, heated, and much more comfortable apartment in the "Petrosovet Hotel" on Troitskaya Street in May 1920. This happy occasion coincided with Petrograd's general animation and festive mood in the spring of 1920, to which Remizov referred several times in his memoirs. All those years Remizov suffered from a severe headache, perhaps because of physical exhaustion; it was to disappear only in Berlin.

On February 15, 1919, the Cheka arrested Remizov along with some other writers. Not long before that the central committee of the S.-R. party had been arrested after its short-lived legalization, and along with it Ivanov-Razumnik, although he did not belong to it. In his notebook the Cheka found the names of Remizov, Blok, Zamyatin, Vengerov, Petrov-Vodkin, and M. K. Lemke, and decided to arrest them too. Remizov had to spend the night in the Council of Deputies building. On the following day he was summoned to Gorokhovaya Street, but in the course of interrogation the investigators were relatively quickly convinced of his innocence.¹¹⁸

During the revolutionary years Remizov again took part in literary social life. He was a member of the House of Arts [*Dom iskusstv*] which was opened on November 19, 1919; he also served on the Committee of the "House of Literary Writers"; and he read his works at literary evenings (for example, in June and October of 1920). Besides his activity in TEO he worked at the publishing house, World Literature [*Vsemirnaia literatura*] (where he edited Grabbe) and at the Institute of the Living Word. In 1920 he was also a contributor to the Products Theater [*Prodovol'stvennyi teatr*]

at the Moscow TEO (for which he wrote the children's play, *Sweets* [*Koshcheevy pupki*]). From June 1920 to July 1921 he was even a lecturer on "theory of prose" at the Red Army Comrade Tolmachov University (later Instructor's Institute), where he gave lectures on Gogol in 1921. Remizov was hardly distinguished by his ability to lecture, although according to his memoirs he had warm relations with his Red Army students; his lectures on the theory of prose, delivered to a barely educated audience, can scarcely be placed in comparison with those which at that time were given in the literary studio of the House of Arts. Work at all of these institutions promised a supplementary ration in addition to a modest salary. Thus, for example, the House of Literary Writers was attractive to guests not only for its stormy intellectual life, but also for its heated residences and the possibility it offered of obtaining food. Despite Remizov's strange vestments and other oddities, he enjoyed general respect in both "houses," especially among the literary youth. In 1920 Yury Annenkov, who had already been a close acquaintance of Remizov's for several years, drew his well-known portrait of Remizov.

In March 1921 during the Kronshtadt revolt Remizov's version of *Tsar Maximilian* was staged. Railway workers and Red Army men—Remizov's students—staged the play to accordion accompaniment at the House of Education on Ligovka. In this performance Remizov tried to join a folk genre with the contemporary principle of "mass character" in art, somehow adjusting in this way to the revolution.

The Remizovs apparently decided to leave Russia suddenly and only shortly before their actual departure. Remizov had not planned on a real—a lengthy—emigration. According to Fedin in a conversation with him Remizov once called the emigrants "lost."¹⁹ With his generally known attachment to everything Russian in mind none of his contemporaries expected that Remizov himself could emigrate. Certainly it is possible to suggest that he would not have left on his own. Undoubtedly Serafima Pavlovna had convinced him to leave and the chief motives for their decision were apparently: the political and material conditions of life in Russia, Serafima Pavlovna's religious beliefs, the precarious state of their health, especially Remizov's headaches, hope for more favorable opportunities for publishing books, and finally the possibility of crossing the border legally on the basis of Serafima Pavlovna's right through distant kinship to opt for Estonian citizenship. Remizov himself emphasized several times that he wanted medical treatment in the West. He hoped to obtain the money necessary for a stay at a sanatorium by selling his library.¹²⁰ In actual fact the money which he was expecting right away in Berlin was received only in July of 1922.

The Remizovs left Russia with the permission of the authorities (the Petrograd Cheka) and took along almost no belongings. Their books were sold gradually by Shishkov, to whom they had entrusted all their

possessions and financial affairs. Remizov gave his valuable archives (in particular the letters received by him from countless writers and artists) to the Museum of the House of Writers [*Dom literatorov*], from where they later passed to the Pushkin House [*Pushkinskii dom*]. Earlier albums with letters from the years 1902-12 he had already given through Filosofov to the Public Library. Having to part with his library, and especially with his own works, was one of the most painful of the experiences Remizov had to undergo. The manuscripts for the works written from 1918-21, along with some books, were lost. Several manuscripts, among them the unpublished short novel, *The Ditch* [*Kanava*], and some valuables were taken across the border for them on August 4, 1921, by an Estonian diplomat. However, when his baggage was checked at customs the manuscript of "The Ditch" was found and confiscated. From Berlin Remizov struggled for a long time for the return of this manuscript. He finally received it in Paris thanks to Gorky and A. Voronsky, who with great difficulty located it in Moscow at Kamenev's. From Berlin Remizov continually wrote to friends in Russia to locate and send him his own works.

On July 15, 1921, Remizov terminated his employment at PTO on account of "illness." On August 5, two days before Blok's death, the Remizovs along with some other refugees (Estonians or Russians who had lived earlier on the territory of present-day Estonia) left Petrograd in a railroad stock car. At the train station one of their closest friends, the librarian Yakov Petrovich Grebenshchikov (the prototype for the hero of Zamyatin's "Mamai") handed them an ivory box containing a symbolic handful of Russian earth dug up by him in the Tavrichesky Garden. On August 7 they crossed the border at Yamburg, and in Narva they spent two weeks in quarantine, as if in "prisoner status."¹²¹ According to Remizov's assertions, from this moment on he began to have that awareness of possessing no rights and being unwanted, an awareness which did not leave him during his entire emigration. It became especially strong in Berlin when he even tried not to speak Russian on the street because he sensed the unfriendliness of the inhabitants.

The Remizovs lived for several weeks in Reval where they attempted to get permission to enter Germany; they obtained the entry permit with the help of the Union of Russian Journalists and Writers in Germany. In a letter from Paris Zinaida Gippius had advised against traveling directly to France as it was much more expensive to live there than in Germany. After his short stay in Reval Remizov succeeded in having two books (*Noises of the City* [*Shumy goroda*] and *Fiery Russia* [*Ognennaia Rossiia*]) published by the Bibliofil Publishing House. On September 21 they arrived in Berlin where they lived at first in a pension in the suburb of Friedenau and then in an apartment in Charlottenburg (on Kirchstrasse). In his study Remizov immediately tried to create his own particular atmosphere by hanging up toys. Children often visited him and he gladly associated with them. He was not able to receive treatment for his illness, although he apparently spent a

short time in a sanatorium in the autumn of 1921.

Through a whole series of statements (in letters to friends and in interviews with journalists) it is plain how tormented Remizov was by his yearning for his homeland from the very beginning of his emigration to his very death. He advised everyone who appealed to him not to leave Russia, emphasizing that "it is impossible for a Russian writer to live without his Russian source"¹²² and that "the real Russia after all exists only there in Russia."¹²³ In the unique political climate of the Berlin colony where White emigres coexisted with Soviet authors who were temporarily in Berlin, Remizov by no means took a hostile position in relation to the "new" Russia; with obvious sympathy he described the "nests" of young Soviet literature which he considered very promising, and he kept up close relations with Soviet writers who arrived from Russia or returned there. Even if one keeps in mind that he intended to return to his homeland in the autumn of 1922 and did not wish to create political difficulties for himself, Remizov clearly was never a supporter of that irreconcilable and militant wing of emigres to which, for example, the Merezhkovskys belonged.¹²⁴ Although he did not accept the dictatorship, Remizov still saw the roots of the future in Russia. Being a witness to that all-embracing launch toward something new which had appeared in Russia during the years of the revolution, he from the very beginning apparently did not believe in the future of emigration.¹²⁵ Starting with the first months in Berlin the Remizovs attempted to maintain a middle position in the political arguments of the emigres despite countless, at times indignant, letters from Gippius, who demanded from them a stern implacable attitude toward everything "Soviet," and especially a boycott of Soviet writers and all those who sympathized with Soviet literature.

While in Berlin Remizov took an active part in the social life of the colony. He often visited the famous cafes (Pragerdiele and Landgraf), was friendly with many writers (even complained that they visited him too often), and took part in jubilee evenings (in 1922 he gave Gerhart Hauptmann a calligraphically designed congratulatory greeting from Russian writers on the occasion of his sixtieth birthday). The Remizovs belonged to the initiators of the Berlin House of Arts [*Dom iskusstv*], which was founded on November 29, 1921, in the cafe Landgraf according to the Petrograd model. Along with Bely, Minsky, and A. N. Tolstoi, Remizov belonged to the Council of the House of Arts and was a member of the editorial staff of the *Bulletin of the House of Arts*. The activities of the House of Arts and the Berlin branch of Vol'fila included the reading of scholarly and philosophical papers, the conducting of discussions, and the reading by writers from their own works, including German guests (Thomas Mann read at the House of Arts on March 19, 1922). Berlin's social life in many ways was reminiscent of Vologda: in its intellectuality, its joining of academic seriousness with almost childish merriment, its hilarity against a background of constant material worry and complete

uncertainty about the future, and finally in the mixed character of its political beliefs. The Berlin years were the heyday of *Obezvelvolpal* and of Remizov's mystifications:¹²⁶ for instance, he for some time mystified A. S. Yashchenko and his journal *The Russian Book*, which published in its booklists announcements made up by Remizov about the fate and works of writers who remained in Russia, about which he pretended to have the latest information.¹²⁷ The most successful mystification of these years, one that long interested the newspapers *The Helm* and *On the Eve*, which carefully relayed the "information" surreptitiously offered by Remizov, was his fabrication of a philosophical society called Zwovierzon, a caricature of the Berlin Vol'fila.¹²⁸ At the same time Remizov was working very intensely, and without sparing his health he put a great deal of energy into a new edition of many of his works.

Well aware that the paper shortage would make it extremely difficult to publish books in Russia, Remizov in emigration tried from the very beginning to have printed as many new and old books as possible. In 1922 highly favorable economic conditions existed for the numerous Russian publishing houses in Berlin, and Remizov succeeded in publishing no less than twenty books by eleven publishers.¹²⁹ The unbelievable number of books belonging to the years 1922-23 gave him, as far as the quantity of publications is concerned, one of the top places on bibliographic lists of emigre literature. Despite his continual complaints that no one published him, in 1922-23 he had reprinted almost everything he had written, often grouping works in a new way or changing their titles (for example, the novella *Koryavka* which was written in 1914 and had already been published under the title *Pavochka in Spring Trifles*). Only the prison stories, the *Midnight Sun*, the games from *Sunwise*, and stories from *Spring Trifles*, which in 1923 were brought together in new collections under the new titles—"Baranki," "The Bull-Cow," "Fine Little Rascals," and "The Row"—remained unreprinted. The short-lived "boom" which Remizov's books had enjoyed had already changed for the worse by the autumn of 1922 when the publishing houses began to close. During the Berlin period Remizov made contacts with German translators (A. Eliasberg, R. V. Walter, G. Hahn, K. Rosenberg, and Dm. Umansky). After the publication of the collection *Prinzessin Mymra* (1917) in Eliasberg's translation, which had acquainted German readers with Remizov's short stories and even his dreams, and also *Legenden und Geschichten* (1919, in Arthur Luther's translation), numerous translations of Remizov's works began to appear in German periodicals starting in 1922 (very often, for example, in the Prague newspaper, *Prager Presse*) and several of his books appeared separately (*Russische Frauen*, 1923; *Die goldene Kette*, 1923; *In blauem Felde*, 1924; and *Stella Maria Maris*, 1929). Later the German anthroposophists became especially interested in Remizov's work, particularly in his legends.

In the summertime the Remizovs traveled a little. Serafima Pavlovna

visited health spas in Ahlbeck, Kudowa, and Brunshaupten (near Rostock) where Remizov also rested in August of 1923. In June of the preceding year (1922) Remizov was in the town of Zerbst for a short time and in July along with his wife in Upper Bavaria, where they lived a while in Breitbrunn am Ammersee and toured Oberammergau and the monasteries of Andechs and Ettal. Remizov loved to visit "holy places" and was fascinated by foreign piety, local customs and legends. In Bavaria he was attracted to the Catholic piety as he was in Berlin to the German Christmas tradition with its fir trees and songs.

In Berlin in addition to editing his earlier books, Remizov also worked on *Russia in a Whirlwind*, *Kukkha*, and chapters of *Russia in Writ*. Dreaming all the time of returning to Russia (this hope was strengthened in 1923 when the Berlin colony was breaking up with some going to Paris and others back to their homeland), he hoped to publish *Kukkha* and *The Lion's Ditch (The Ditch)* through the Moscow publishing house Krug. The letters of young Soviet authors who turned to him for advice (Neverov and Gladkov) testify to his continuing ties with Russia. Each letter from Russia and each book sent to him made him extremely happy. In February and March of 1922 Boris Pilnyak visited him at his Charlottenburg apartment.¹³⁰ Pilnyak dedicated to him ("to the master whose apprentice I was" ["*masteru, u kotorogo ia byl podmaster'em*"]) a novella, *The Third Capital (Tret'ia stolitsa)*, which had been written at that time. During the Berlin period Remizov saw and corresponded with Gorky who invited him to work at *The Conversation (Beseda)*.

Remizov had many problems with German officials. Permission for residence was granted for a period of only three months at a time. Each time a new application was required to extend the permit as well as a long wait in the Berlin Polizeipräsidium. All of 1922 he lived in constant fear of expulsion. Indeed in January of 1923 the Remizovs actually received an order to leave Berlin within two weeks, having by accident ended up on the first list of Russian emigres being deported. Remizov turned for help to Thomas Mann, with whom he had become acquainted the previous year at the House of Arts. Mann's reply (a letter dated January 31, 1923) which supported him was given to the police.¹³¹ The officials made no decision for two months, leaving Remizov in complete uncertainty. Only at Eastertime on the intervention of the Prussian Minister of the Interior, Carl Severing, was the order changed. By that time the Remizovs, who had lost their Charlottenburg apartment after prolonged discord with their landlady, had settled in a new apartment on Lessingstrasse (in the Tiergarten).

After April 1923 the Remizovs might have lived in relative peace; however, with the closing of the publishing houses and journals during the year, their material circumstances became worse and worse. In the summer Remizov consulted with Shestov about moving to Paris though he was aware of the danger of further prolonging his emigration. In all probability Serafima Pavlovna again was the one who made the decision not to return

to the USSR, but, following the large flow of emigres, to seek a future in France. On November 5, 1923, the Remizovs left Berlin. The remaining years of their lives (thirty-four years for Remizov, only twenty for his wife)—as years of emigration they to some extent corresponded to the years of exile in their youth—the Remizovs spent in Paris.

NOTES

1. There is no detailed biography of Remizov at the moment. For the present essay on the first half of his life I have used the following materials and sources: books of autobiographical content by Remizov himself: *Kukkha*, *Vzvikhrennaia Rus'*, *Podstrizhennymi glazami*, *V rozovom bleske*, *Iveren'* (not yet published in book form), and *Peterburgskii buerak*; Remizov's own autobiographical surveys (for example, "Aleksei Remizov o sebe," *Rossiia*, 1923, no. 6, pp. 25-27, or *Nash ogonek*, 1925, no. 12, pp. 14-16, or handwritten variants in the Paris archive); numerous archival materials, especially letters (collections at the Manuscript Department of Pushkin House, the Saltykov-Shchedrin State Public Library, the Lenin State Library, the Central State Archive of Literature and Art [*TsGALI*], Prague's Památník národního písemnictví, and Remizov's personal archive which is preserved by N. V. Reznikova in Paris); reminiscences of contemporaries; and the few biographical references in the scholarly literature on him. The evidence in the sources varies significantly at times from one book to another. Some difficulties in establishing a chronological outline of the writer's life arose from the fact that Remizov himself, despite his excellent memory, occasionally erred in his dates. (For example, in autobiographical data given to Chulkov in 1911 the year of his arrest and first exile was listed correctly by Remizov as 1896 (*RO GBL*, f. 371, op. 4, no. 46, l. 11); however, in later memoirs an erroneous date, 1897, crept in.) If one keeps in mind Remizov's well-known partiality for mystifications and his striving in some later reminiscences for a simplification of the contours of his own development and the creation of a legend around himself (for example, that he was perpetually rejected, unrecognized, persecuted), then it becomes obvious that the information which is available must be used with extreme care. Wherever possible the testimony of the writer himself or of contemporaries has been checked against appropriate archival materials. For much valuable biographical information on Remizov I am indebted to N. V. Reznikova (Paris), A. V. Khrabrovitsky (Moscow), S. S. Grechishkin (Leningrad), and V. B. Sosinsky (Moscow).

2. In his autobiographical surveys, especially his later ones, Remizov liked to impart to the date of his birth a certain mystical and legendary coloring, purposely creating a legend around himself: St. John's Eve according to folk tradition is a magical and mysterious night with which Remizov connected his innate predilection for the folktale. A similar situation existed with his family name (which formerly was spelled Remezov). At every opportunity Remizov would emphasize its origin from the Yuletide bird ("*koliadnaia ptitsa*"), *remez* (a species of titmouse, *Remiz pendulinus*; Boris Unbegaun gives the same explanation in *Russian Surnames*, Oxford, 1972, p. 187). Remizov's explanation of the "folktale" nature of this titmouse derived from a Ukrainian Yuletide song printed in a book by Potebnia (A. A. Potebnia, *Ob'iasneniia malorusskikh i srodnykh narodnykh pesen*, Warsaw, 1883, p. 251). Remizov also liked to romanticize old Moscow, as he knew it in childhood, by emphasizing the folktale quality ["*skazochnost'*"] of the Kremlin, the Moscow monasteries, and the ringing of bells; at times people were also mythicized in his memoirs, as for example Alexander Blok who is seen as an almost ethereal personality.

3. N. Kodrianskaia, having interviewed Remizov himself, described in some detail his parents, ancestors and in addition the personalities and fates of his three brothers (pp. 65-76). Her book and *With Clipped Eyes* have the most information thus far on Remizov's childhood. Unfortunately her chapter entitled "Zhizn' Remizova" (in her book *Aleksei Remizov*, Paris, 1959) encompasses no more than the first twenty years of his life.

4. Sona Aronian called attention to this in the biographical part of her dissertation. She was the first to try to explain certain characteristic traits of Remizov's personality through the use of the methods of psychoanalysis. The death of a five-year-old boy's father, according to the theory of the Oedipal complex, could have the effect of satisfying a subconscious desire in the child which could lead to the general feeling of guilt that was so characteristic of Remizov. (See: Sona Aronian, "The Dream as a Literary Device in the Novels and Short Stories of Aleksei Remizov," Ph. D. Dissertation, Yale University, 1971, pp. 8-12.)

5. N. A. Naidenov later described the history of his family, their commercial and other undertakings, in a somewhat dry book: Nikolai A. Naidenov, *Vospominaniia o videnom, slyshanom i ispytannom*, 2 vols., Moscow, 1903-5. (Remizov was not mentioned in it.) N. A. Naidenov also entertained a distinctive interest in culture: he studied history and archeology, arranged scholarly soirées at his home, collected books, and was enamored of hand-written books, in particular cadastres of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. Earlier the Naidenovs had maintained contacts with notable Slavophiles and in Remizov's childhood I. E. Zabelin still visited the house on occasion. N. A. Naidenov personally took part in the compilation of *Istoriia goroda Moskvy*, which had been undertaken on his initiative. There is no doubt that Remizov's constant fascination with Russia's past and his historical erudition were affected not only by the influence of his wife but also by the Naidenov scholarly tradition. (Remizov had an almost paranormal ability "to remember," i.e., to identify with specific situations in Russian history.)

6. Cf. A. Remizov, *V rozovom bleske*, New York, 1952, p. 306.

7. The letters of Remizov's brother Sergei bear witness to this. On December 23, 1913, after learning of the Naidenov's decision to take down the old outbuilding he wrote to Remizov: "I would burn that house if I had my way. Everything that was bright has been poisoned for me to such an extent that I hate its every chair, even every tulip on the wallpaper in that house. And were all the Naidenovs . . . to vanish from the face of the earth . . . I would instantly place a candle by the Salvation Gates [*Spasskie vorota*] . . . and I would be at peace, praying in the chapel for their lost souls." (*RO IRLI*, f. 256, op. 1, ed. khr. 213, l. 6). Sergei's emotionality on the subject of the atmosphere pervading their childhood has something in common with the expressive tonality in which Remizov's partially autobiographical novel, *The Pond* [*Prud*], is written.

8. It is likely that Remizov had already lost this childhood religiosity in his youth, either during his last school years or at the university. The young propagandist of Marxist ideas during his Penza exile could scarcely be called a devout man. On the other hand, the "aesthetic," ritual side of religion, the "beauty" of Russian belief, and the psychology of the simple Russian Orthodox folk with whom he identified to a certain extent were extremely close and dear to him his whole life. His wife was a deeply religious person in the usual sense of the word. As far as Remizov's ethical norms are concerned, contemporaries unanimously emphasized the especial tenderness and kindness of his character, his readiness to help those close to him, his sympathy for others' misfortunes, and his hospitality and sociability. He was much less valued for his "jokes," which often sorely offended and wounded his acquaintances, or his ability to exploit his friends for all kinds of services.

9. Remizov speaks of the story's contents in detail in the chapter "Ne nashikh izmerenii" (A. Remizov, "Nachalo slov," *Literaturnyi sovremennik. Al'manakh*, Munich, 1954, pp. 12-13).

10. A. Remizov, *Podstrizhennymi glazami: Kniga uzlov i zakrut pamati*, Paris, 1951, p. 173.

11. At an early age Remizov had studied English in school so well that his translation of a scientific essay entitled "Atmosfericheskie osadki," which his uncle Viktor Naidenov had sent

to the newspaper without his knowledge, "appeared in *Moskovskie vedomosti* (1890). The name of the translator, however, was not printed.

12. N. Kodrianskaia, op. cit., p. 309.

13. See: P. S. Gusiatsnikov, *Revolutsionnoe studencheskoe dvizhenie v Rossii 1899-1907 gg.*, Moscow, 1971, p. 27.

14. Along with Remizov's own statements of 1911, this date has been established from police records by A. V. Khrabrovitsky (Moscow) and S. S. Grechishkin (Leningrad). The day of the big Khodynka demonstration is also mentioned by Gusiatsnikov (op. cit., p. 27).

15. Published in a series of issues of *Novoe russkoe slovo* in 1951-52.

16. Vienna-Leipzig, 1895. Remizov offered his translation several times to publishers, but no one would agree to print it. The manuscript was lost. He read about Nietzsche in *Voprosy filosofii i psikhologii* (essays by V. P. Preobrazhensky and others in 1892). He sent a translation of parts of *Zarathustra* to the Marxist journal *Zhizn'*, but without results; see: N. Kodrianskaia, op. cit., p. 149.

17. Albert Rode, *Hauptmann und Nietzsche, Ein Beitrag zum Verständnis der "Versunkenen Glocke"*, Hamburg, 1897. The translation was published by V. M. Sablin (A. Rode, *Gauptman i Nitsche, K ob "iasneniiu "Potonuvshego kolokola"*, Moscow, 1902).

18. See: *Ocherki istorii penzenskogo kraia. S drevneishikh vremen do kontsa XIX veka*, Penza, 1973, p. 301.

19. See: Andrei Belyi, *Mezhu dvukh revoliutsii*, Leningrad, 1934, p. 69; Margarita Woloschin, *Die grüne Schlange, Lebenserinnerungen*, Stuttgart, 1955, p. 176.

20. I am indebted to A. V. Khrabrovitsky for the establishment of the exact dates (H. L.).

21. Savinkov's letters to Remizov testify to his affection for Remizov, whom he was later to ask for advice about his own work (*TsGALI*, f. 420, op. 1, ed. khr. 82).

22. Remizov told the story of the creation of his novel and its four redactions on the occasion of the book's appearance in a Czech translation; see: A. R., "O raznykh knigakh", *Volia Rossii*, 1926, nos. 8-9, pp. 230-32.

23. In some contemporaries' reminiscences this tendency toward posing and self-stylization is viewed as almost the principal mark of Remizov. See: K. Fedin, *Gorky sredi nas; Kartiny literaturnoi zhizni*, Moscow, 1968, p. 113; and V. V. Smirenskii, *Aleksei Remizov: Vospominaniia*, in *RO GPB*, f. 1049, ed. khr. 3.

24. "I appeared so poor to myself! In order to cover up my poverty I began to fabricate my own self, adapting it to what in general amazed me in others." ("Chto zapisal v alb'om Serafime Pavlovne." Rewritten in book 9, Paris archive; note dated August 11, 1933.)

25. The translation of a series of poems in prose by the Polish author who was popular at that time was done with Serafima Pavlovna and is preserved in *TsGALI*, f. 420, op. 1, ed. khr. 42.

26. Remizov himself translated "Sorrow" which was published recently in *Pis'ma A. M. Remizova i V. Ia. Briusova k O. Madelungu*, compilation, preparation of the text, preface, and notes by P. Alberg Ensen and P. U. Müller, Copenhagen, 1976, pp. 79-80.

27. Commenting on his poem, "Haze" ["Mgla"], Remizov recalled Kalyaev: "This very old poem of mine was written in Vologda in 1902 during a period of friendship with Iv. Pl. Kalyaev. He truly wrote poetry and we spent many poetic evenings in my "cell" on Zhelvuntsovskaya Street" ("Al'bom: Korova verkhom na loshadi. Tsvetnik I. MCMXXI." I, 1921, *RO GPB*, f. 634, ed. khr. 8, l. 21). In March of 1906 the Remizovs visited his grave in the Shlisselburg fortress with a feeling of reverence for Kalyaev's uncompromising "revolutionariness" from which they had already moved away.

27. See: note 25.

28. See the letter from Madelung to Remizov dated June 30, 1912, *RO GPB*, f. 634, op. 1, ed. khr. 44, l. 201.

29. Remizov's interesting letters to Tuchapskaya have been preserved in *TsGALI*, f. 420, op. 1, ed. khr. 79.

30. Serafima Pavlovna felt guilty about Tyszka her whole life. She apparently considered it her duty to have published his Russian prose works which she possessed, but for the most part she received only rejections. Obviously on her initiative his works. "My Friend" ["Moia

podruga"] (*Volia Rossii*, October 1, 1922, n. 2, pp. 4-6) and "Behind Bars" ["Za reshetkoi"] (*Dni*, November 22, 1922, no. 21, pp. 9-10) were published twenty years later.

31. Remizov recalled his meeting with Serafima Pavlovna in a slightly belletristic form in his book *V rozovom bleske* (pp. 286-97).

32. "Is Alekseja Remisova," *Mahjas Weesa Mehneschraksts*, Riga, 1903, pp. 389-392.

33. Breslau, 1882; in translation: A. fon-Lekler, *K monisticheskoi gnoseologii*, St. Petersburg, 1904.

34. Valerii Briusov, *Dneviki 1891-1910*, Moscow, 1927, p. 122.

35. In particular to V. G. Tuchapskaya (see: note 29).

36. The Dovgello property was a rather neglected country estate. Remizov perceived the old house as something hostile and sinister. The Remizovs were in Berestovets almost every summer until 1917.

37. "At times Alexei Mikhailovich did not want to talk to anyone at Berestovets and would make irrelevant replies, uttering incomprehensible, meaningless phrases, or so it seemed to Serafima Pavlovna's relatives. Sitting down to work, he would sometimes cover his head with a plaid and would whisper and cry out from underneath it. At times the thought that Alexei Mikhailovich was psychologically unbalanced crept into the minds of Serafima Pavlovna's relatives." (From the manuscript of Remizov's grandson, B. B. Bunich-Remizov, "Iz vospominanii o sem'e S. P. Remizovoi-Dovkgelo," *RO IRLI*, f. 256, p. 15.)

38. *Ibid.*, p. 14.

39. That is how Zinaida Gippius characterized their marriage (a letter to Serafima Pavlovna from Bad Homburg, September 1907, Paris archive).

40. *V rozovom bleske*, pp. 308-309.

41. *Ibid.* From the Prologue, In memory of Serafima Pavlovna Remizov-Dovgello." (Unpublished early version of *V rozovom bleske*, Paris archive, I, p. 60).

42. Remizov's letters to Madelung (op. cit.), p. 14.

43. For example, in August of 1903 (*RO GPB*, f. 634, op. 1, ed. khr. 36, l. 77). Remizov maintained continuous correspondence with Bryusov starting in 1902.

44. Stanislaw Przybyszewski, *Sneg: Drama v 4-x aktakh*, Moscow, 1903.

45. Maurice Maeterlinck, *Teplitsa: Stikhotvoreniia v perevode russkikh avtorov, Besplatnye prilozheniia k zhurnalu "Zvezda"*, St. Petersburg, 1903, no. 6, pp. 142-146.

46. For example, P. Pertsov in a letter to Remizov on June 5, 1903 (*RO GPB*, f. 634, op. 1, ed. khr. 36, l. 36).

47. For example in Briusov's archives (*RO GPB* f. 386, k. 100, no. 13) and in Shchegolev's (*RO IRLI*, f. 627, op. 2, ed. khr. 69).

48. Remizov's letters to Madelung (op. cit.), p. 24.

49. This statement by Remizov is apparently relevant here: "Z. N. Gippius, 'the new church,' and Shteiner's anthroposophists wanted to separate me from Serafima Pavlovna" (April 9, 1957, N. Kodrianskaia, op. cit., p. 319). See also: Temira Pachmuss, *Zinaida Gippius: An Intellectual Profile*, Carbondale, 1971, p. 133.

50. A. Belyi, op. cit., pp. 67-69; F. Stepun, *Byvshee i nebyvsheesia*, I, New York, 1956, pp. 297-301; A. Tyrkova-Villiams, "Teni minuvshago; vstrechi s pisateliami," *Vozrozhdenie*, 1955, no. 37, pp. 89-94; N. Berberova, *Kursivmoi*, Munich, 1972 (Centrifuga, 3), pp. 303-307; G. Chulkov, *Gody stranstvii*, Moscow, 1930, pp. 170-171; and others.

51. "I recall life in St. Petersburg with a shudder: an inveigling circle of lies, games, and boasting. How much effort I expended in order not to get lost in it. One of the ways I protected myself was through mischief. . . . And it is only since the revolution that the doors seem to have been thrown open." ("Chto zapisal v al'bom Serafime Pavlovne," note from August 11, 1933; see note 24.)

52. A. Remizov, *Kukkha*, Berlin, 1923, p. 23.

53. In particular in letters from May 24, 1905, and February 23, 1907 (Paris archive). Compare also: N. E. Markov, *Voiny temnykh sil*, I, Paris, 1928, p. 146.

54. See: A., "V volshebnoe tsarstvo. A. M. Remizov i ego kolleksiia," *Ogonek*, 1911, no.

44, pp. 10-11; Petr Kozhevnikov, "Kolleksiiia A. M. Remizova. (Tvoriymi apokrif), *Utro Rossii*, September 7, 1910, no. 243, p. 2.

55. S. I. Dymshits's reports seem relevant here. She visited the Remizovs together with A. N. Tolstoi. According to her memoirs, which are very uncomplimentary and clearly misrepresent the true situation in the Remizovs' apartment, an atmosphere of obscenity reigned there. See: Iu. A. Krestinskii, *A. N. Tolstoi. Zhizn' i tvorchestvo (Kratkii ocherk)*, Moscow, 1960, p. 59.

56. *Zolotoe runo*, 1906, no. 4, pp. 42-43. Bryusov by the way apparently cautioned him against pornographic works.

57. Remizov, according to Chulkov, "while the meeting was in progress collected in an adjacent room all the galoshes of those at the meeting, placed them in a circle, and sat in the middle playing 'meeting' with the galoshes." (N. Berberova, op. cit., p. 307).

58. Remizov first met Gorky on January 3, 1906, at Vyacheslav Ivanov's. Despite the fact that Remizov from the very beginning of the formation of his aesthetic views had always polemicized against Gorky and his "realism" (in his essays as well as in letters to friends), on meeting him he was delighted with Gorky's personality. (see: *Kukkha*, p. 36).

59. B. B. Bunich-Remizov, op. cit., p. 17.

60. *V rozovom bleske*, p. 309.

61. *Kukkha*, p. 29.

62. According to Remizov's memoirs the "untranslatability" of *Sunwise* was the reason for cancellation of the French translation which up until then had accompanied all the texts in *The Golden Fleece* (cf.: A. Remizov, *Myshkina dudochka*, Paris, 1953, pp. 190-196).

63. A letter to Remizov from November 25, 1906 (*RO GPB*, f. 634, op. 1, ed. khr. 38, l. 175).

64. Unpublished version of the book *V rozovom bleske* (Paris archive), 2, p. 46.

65. "I am afraid of my absurdities. As much as I can, I write with strictness," he wrote to Bryusov on November 25, 1906, and: "I am learning to write stories, which does not come easily for me" (to Bryusov, December 4, 1908, *RO GPB*, f. 386, k. 100, no. 15, ll. 12, 16).

66. Remizov's letters to Madelung (op. cit.), p. 39.

67. *V rozovom bleske*, p. 400.

68. Regarding the "manuscript" principle in the formation of Remizov's texts, see: Antonella d'Amelia, "A. M. Remizov. L'incontro con el libro," *Ricerche slavistiche*, 17-10 (1970-1972), pp. 95-107.

69. A handwritten copy with an inscription to Somov that contains "Chto est' tabak" and "Tsar' Dodon" is in the manuscript Department of the State Public Library [*RO GPB*], f. 292, op. 1, ed. khr. 23.

70. *Russkie zavetnye skazki*, "Valaam," pp. 49-54.

71. Cf.: his letters to Somov from August 5 and 10, 1912 (*TsGALI*, f. 869, op. 1, ed. khr. 64).

72. Remizov portrayed him in a sketch, "Isaich" (A. Remizov, *Sredi mur'ia*, Moscow, 1917, pp. 57-68).

73. *Kukkha*, p. 58.

74. On the role of dreams in Remizov's work, see: S. Aronian, op. cit.

75. Vladimir Knin offered a series of examples, "Remizov v karikaturakh," *Vestnik literatury*, 1910, no. 11, pp. 300-308.

76. Diary notes of one of Shlyapkin's students about a later visit of the Remizovs have survived: E. P. Kazanovich, *Zapisi o vidennom i slyshannom*, Notebook 2, *RO GPB*, f. 326, op. 1, ed. khr. 18.

77. Published in the collection *Italii*, St. Petersburg, 1909, p. 151 and *Vsemirnaia panorama*, 1909, no. 5, p. 7.

78. "Pisatel' ili spisysvatel'. Pis'mo v redaktsiiu." *Birzhevye vedomosti*, June 16, 1909, no. 11160, p. 5.

79. M. Prishvin, "Plagiator-li A. Remizov? (Pis'mo v redaktsiiu)," *Slovo*, June 21, 1909, no. 833, p. 5.

80. A. Remizov, "Pis'mo v redaktsiiu," *Russkie vedomosti*, September 6, 1909, no. 205, p.

5; and *Zolotoe runo*, 1909, nos. 7-9, pp. 145-148.

81. A. Remisov, *Die Schwestern im Kreuz: Erzählung*, Munich-Leipzig, 1913 (with a foreword by E. Anichkov).

82. After the accusation of plagiarism against Remizov, Khlebnikov almost challenged the publisher of a Kiev newspaper that had reprinted the *Stock Exchange Gazette* article to a duel; Velimir Khlebnikov, *Neizdannnye proizvedeniia: Poemy i stikhy, Proza*, Moscow, 1940, p. 358.

83. Sergei's letter of November 1, 1913 (*RO IRLI*, f. 256, op. 1, ed. khr. 213, l. 5).

84. A. Khakhanov, "Po povodu rasskaza A. Remizova 'Strasti Presviatoi Bogoroditsy' (Pis'mo v redaktsiiu)," *Utro Rossii*, April 17, 1910, no. 125, p. 4.

85. A chapter on him was apparently written in 1911 by Chulkov for Vengerov's *Russkaia literatura XX veka*. Nonetheless Remizov did not end up in the printed edition of the multi-volume work, perhaps because Vengerov had no special liking for Remizov's writing.

86. A. Remizov, *Akhru, Povest' peterburgskaia*, Berlin, 1922, p. 20.

87. See: A. N. Frumkina and L. S. Fleishman, "A. A. Blok mezhdū 'Musagetom' i 'Sirinom' (Pis'ma k E. K. Metneru)," *Blokovskii sbornik* II, Tartu, 1972, p. 388.

88. See: the story "Ptichka" (A. Remizov, *Vesennee porosh'e*, St. Petersburg, 1915, pp. 13-20).

89. M. Prishvin, "Miatezhnyi nakaz", in the book: *Gor'kii, Sbornik statei i vospominanii o M. Gor'kom*, ed. by I. Gruzdev, Moscow-Leningrad, 1928, p. 193.

90. V. Brusianin, review of *Prianiak osirotevshim detiam, Sbornik* (Petrograd 1916) in *Sovremennyi mir*, 2, no. 10, 1916, p. 124.

91. "I will not forget Rome 'til the day I die. I walked the length and breadth of it" (a letter to V. N. Gordin, *RO GPB*, f. 124, op. 1, ed. khr. 3614, l. 12).

92. Remizov described the trip in "Polonnoe terpenie", *Ogonek*, no. 33, August 17, 1914, pp. 13-39.

93. See his books: *Za sviatuiu Rus'* and *Ukrepa, Slovo k russkoi zemle o zemle rodnoi, tainostiakh zemnykh, i sud'be* (Petrograd, 1916), and also: O. Tsekhnovits'er, *Literatura i mirovaia voina 1914-1918*, Moscow, 1938, pp. 113, 125.

94. Remizov himself prepared, apparently in collaboration with Gorodetsky, one of these collections to aid the victims of the war, especially in Poland—"Skarb. Rosyjskie pisarzy zrabowanej Polsce sióstrze naszej." Despite the fact that he conducted an extensive correspondence to collect material in 1915-16, it seems the book was never printed. Remizov also had a leading role in the selection of material for *Sbornik osirotevshim detiam* (see note 90), compiled by V. N. Gordin.

95. The continuous changing of apartments so characteristic of the Remizovs' life usually occurred at the wish of Serafima Pavlovna (see the unpublished version of the book *V rozovom bleske*, Paris archive, 1, p. 80).

96. About this visit, see: "V siian'i golubom" (*Myshkina dudochka*, pp. 179-188; and in the book *Na perelome, Tri pokoleniia odnoi moskovskoi sem'i, Semeinaia khronika Zernovykh*, ed. by N. M. Zernov, Paris, 1970, pp. 141-148).

97. See: V. A. Vdovin, "Esenin i literaturnaia grupa 'Krasa'," *Nauchnye doklady vyshei shkoly; Filogicheskoe nauki*, no. 5., 1968, p. 66; and L. Khrapovitsky (Larisa Reisner), "Krasa," *Rudin*, no. 1, 1915, p. 16.

98. "Goodness, what we didn't do during that terrible time out of highmindedness" ("Kitaets" in the book *Sredi mur'ia*, Moscow, 1917, p. 101).

99. Despite the fact that Remizov himself several times, especially in reference to anniversary dates, gave 1907 or 1908 (the year when his tragedy was written) as the date when *Obezvelvolpal* was founded, his correspondence and other archival material suggest that the systematic establishment of the "Order" occurred in 1916. Earlier he only liked to draw "ape" signs.

100. Asyka was the name of a Vogul prince who is mentioned in the Chronicle of Perm (1455).

101. *RO IRLI*, f. 255.

102. A. Remizov, *Pliashushchii demon, Tanets i slovo*, Paris, 1949, p. 57.

103. For example in *Kukkha*, p. 64.

104. The Naidyonovs, whose home Remizov visited to see his aged mother for the last time during the summer of 1917, still considered him a revolutionary and met him with extreme mistrust; they even refused to offer him refreshments.

105. A. Remizov, *Vzvikhrennaia Rus'*, Paris, 1927, p. 100. In regard to Remizov's attitude toward the revolution, cf.: V. V. Buznik, *Russkaia sovetskaia proza dvadtsatykh godov*, Leningrad, 1975, pp. 37-42.

106. *Vzvikhrennaia Rus'*, pp. 179, 226.

107. Blok may have become acquainted with "The Tale" in this publication or in the manuscript. It is reflected to a certain extent in "The Twelve" ["Dvenadtsat'"], as Sergei Hackel maintains in his book, *The Poet and the Revolution: Alexandr Blok's "The Twelve"*, Oxford, 1975, pp. 171-177.

108. Despite the fact that he collaborated on both volumes of *The Scythians*, Remizov did not play a noticeable role in the ideological alignment of the Scythians, although he was closely acquainted with all the representatives of the group. See: Stefani Hope Hoffmann, "Scythianism: A Cultural Vision in Revolutionary Russia," Ph. D. dissertation, Columbia University, 1975, p. 15.

109. D. Usov described the method by which the book was constructed, after visiting Remizov in the summer of 1917 at Essentuki, where Remizov was writing the first part of *The Chronicle* [*Vremennik*]: "The times were restive; everyone waited and talked, and rumors . . . circulating, one more absurd than the other. A. Remizov was writing all this down and even drawing in his diary; between his notes he would paste in newspaper clippings. This is how he compiled his *Chronicle*." (D. Usov, "Aleksai Remizov", *Ponedel'nik*, May 6, 1918, no. 10, p. 3.)

110. Remizov hesitated on a name for this book for a long time ("Annals" ["Skrizhali"], "The Seven Days" ["Semidnevets"], "The Russian Decameron" ["Russkii dekameron"]).

111. Despite the fact that in the literature on Remizov some of his works are often listed as unpublished, there are in fact very few works which have not been printed to date. Practically all the chapters from "The Teacher of Music" ("Uchitel' muzyki"), "Potsherdt" ["Iveren'"], "St. Petersburg Gully" ["Peterburgskii buerak"], and other folders of "unpublished" works which are preserved in archives have already appeared in newspapers and journals (this is least true of his early poetry), although not always under the same titles. The supposedly unpublished short novel *The Ditch* (Iu. Andreev, "Puti i pereput'ia Alekseia Remizova," in *Voprosy literatury*, 5 [1977] p. 237), has been published twice.

112. At first Remizov too was listed among the contributors to *Znamia truda*, although he did not publish anything in it. At the beginning of 1918 he officially left the newspaper.

113. A. Blok, *Sobranie sochinenii v vos'mi tomakh*, 7, Moscow-Leningrad, 1963, p. 314.

114. *Vzvikhrennaia Rus'*, pp. 250-251.

115. Serafima Pavlovna also was employed during this period. She worked at the Narkomindel Library and taught Russian to sailors.

116. K. Fedin, op. cit., p. 111; *Vzvikhrennaia Rus'*, p. 257; *Pliashushchii demon*, p. 58.

117. D. A., "Izdateli i pisateli v sovetskoi Rossii", *Volia Rossii*, no. 31, October 17, 1920,

p. 4.

118. *Vzvikhrennaia Rus'*, p. 274-292; Andrei Belyi, Ivanov-Razumnik, and A. Z. Shteinberg in the book *Pamiati Alexandra Bloka*, St. Petersburg, 1922 (83rd Open Meeting of the Free Philosophical Association, August 28, 1921), pp. 35-53.

119. K. Fedin, op. cit., p. 121.

120. *Kukkha*, p. 123.

121. *Ibid*, p. 66.

122. "Pisateli," *Russkaia kniga*, no. 9, 1921, p. 30.

123. A letter to S. Ya. Osipov of January 19, 1922 (*RO IRLI*, r. 1, 24/211, l. 21).

124. See: "Chto zapisal v al'bom Serafime Pavlovne," a note of January 8, 1922; see note

24.

125. Remizov's political position within the various emigre trends is clearly illuminated by his remark in a letter to his wife: "You understand, I am not a Bolshevik (it would be absurd to say that), but from the very depths of my heart I reject the non-Bolsheviks here, 'the enemies of the Bolsheviks' " (July 31, 1925, Paris archive).

126. Materials related to the Berlin period of *Obezvelvolpal* are preserved in *ROIRLI*, r. 1, 24/214.

127. See: E. Lundberg, *Zapiski pisatelia 1920-1924*, 2, Leningrad, 1930, pp. 300-303.

128. Cf.: A. Remizov, "Tsvofirzon," *Nash ogonek*, no. 22, 1925, pp. 2-5.

129. Eighty-three volumes of Remizov's printed books appeared during his life.

130. See his memoirs *Zagranitsa*, *TsGALI*, f. 1692, op. 1, ed. khr. 35.

131. *Myshkina dudochka*, p. 163.



Leonid Pasternak, Portrait of Remizov, 1923.