

**BEYOND SYMBOLISM
AND SURREALISM**

ALEXEI REMIZOV'S SYNTHETIC ART

JULIA FRIEDMAN

FOREWORD BY AVRIL PYMAN

Beyond Symbolism and Surrealism sheds light on the oeuvre of Alexei Remizov (1877–1957), a great modernist eccentric who has remained largely unknown to Western audiences. Although his original prose garnered him early acclaim and has since entered the Russian literary canon, Remizov's artistic capacity was fully realized only after his experimentation with words and images culminated in a writing process that relies as much on drawing as it does on language.

During the 1930s and '40s, Remizov produced hundreds of handmade albums that combine text with collages and illustrations in watercolor and india ink. In these albums, the medieval tradition of illuminated manuscripts fuses with major European avant-garde movements of the twentieth century. A participant in Russian symbolism, an intellectual ally of many futurists, and, during his émigré years, a collaborator with the French surrealists, Remizov was unique in his ability to combine symbolist mysticism, futurist disruptiveness, and surrealist introspection.

This book is the first to assemble the geographically scattered examples of Remizov's graphic work, much of which is in private collections, and to examine its dynamic interplay between text and image. Friedman introduces his oneiric and synesthetic brand of storytelling and shows how these albums reveal a singular narrative governing Remizov's own life—a story of love and loss mirrored in his words and drawings and retold in this pioneering study of his art.

FRONTISPICE. *Momies en Russie (Mummies in Russia)*, Alexei Remizov, 1941. India ink on paper, 145 x 266 mm. Houghton Library, Harvard University.

Northwestern University Press
www.nupress.northwestern.edu

Copyright © 2010 by Northwestern University Press. Published 2010. All rights reserved.
Printed in the United States of America

10 9 8 7 6 5 4 3 2 1

Library of Congress Cataloging-in-Publication Data

Friedman, Julia P.

Beyond symbolism and surrealism : Alexei Remizov's synthetic art / Julia Friedman.

P. cm.

Includes bibliographical references and index.

ISBN 978-0-8103-2617-6 (cloth : alk. paper)

1. Remizov, Aleksei, 1872-1957—Criticism and interpretation. 2. Modernism (Art).

3. Symbolism (Art movement).

I. Title.

N6999.R43F75 2010

745.670947—dc22

2010014987

∞ The paper used in this publication meets the minimum requirements of the American National Standard for Information Sciences—Permanence of Paper for Printed Library Materials, ANSI Z39.48-1992.

To my parents

In me everything sounds and draws,
what is said I translate into drawing.

—LETTER TO N. KODRIANSKAIA, JUNE 7, 1952

CONTENTS

| | |
|--|-------|
| List of Illustrations | xi |
| Foreword by Avril Pyman | xv |
| Acknowledgments | xix |
| Introduction | xxiii |
| <i>Chapter 1</i> The Lure of the Margin | 3 |
| <i>Chapter 2</i> A Modernist Scribe? Remizov's Illustrated Albums as Avant-Garde Books | 25 |
| <i>Chapter 3</i> Revisiting the Symbolist Past: Synesthesia and Synthesis in <i>Maroun</i> | 49 |
| <i>Chapter 4</i> <i>Solomoniiia</i> : From Pious to Lubricious | 67 |
| <i>Chapter 5</i> <i>Solomoniiia</i> : The Tale of a Reluctant Wife | 93 |
| <i>Chapter 6</i> Shamanism and the Missing Text | 113 |
| Conclusion: The Journey of a "Writer-Draftsman" | 147 |
| Appendix: Catalog of Extant Albums in Private Collections | 155 |
| Notes | 173 |
| Bibliography | 217 |
| Index | 227 |

ILLUSTRATIONS

Color Plates

Gallery follows page 48.

- PLATE 1. *Alive to Me, Dead Flowers* (*Zhivye mne mertvye tsvety*), Alexei Remizov, 1943
- PLATE 2. *Maroun*, Alexei Remizov, 1938
- PLATE 3. Two untitled collages, *Maroun*, Alexei Remizov, 1938
- PLATE 4. "St. Feodora," *Solomonie*, Alexei Remizov, 1935
- PLATE 5. "The First Night," *Solomonie*, Alexei Remizov, 1935
- PLATE 6. "The Tenth Night," *Solomonie*, Alexei Remizov, 1935
- PLATE 7. Collage with inscription, *Solomonie*, Alexei Remizov, 1935
- PLATE 8. "The Universe Is an Act of Pleasure" ("L'univers est un acte de volupté"), *Solomonie*, Alexei Remizov, 1935
- PLATE 9. *Siberian Tale* (*Sibirskii skaz*), Alexei Remizov, 1940
- PLATE 10. *Siberian Tale* (*Sibirskii skaz*), Alexei Remizov, 1940
- PLATE 11. *Siberian Tale* (*Sibirskii skaz*), Alexei Remizov, 1940
- PLATE 12. *Siberian Tale* (*Sibirskii skaz*), Alexei Remizov, 1940
- PLATE 13. *Siberian Tale* (*Sibirskii skaz*), Alexei Remizov, 1940
- PLATE 14. *Siberian Tale* (*Sibirskii skaz*), Alexei Remizov, 1940
- PLATE 15. Remizov's color illustration for "The Devil and the Tears" ("Le diable et les larmes"), *Tales from the Fourth Dimension* (*Récits de la quatrième dimension* [sic]), Alexei Remizov, 1937

Figures

Frontispiece

Mummies en Russie (Mummies in Russia), Alexei Remizov, 1941

Introduction

- A1 *The Legend of Solomon and Kitoverast (Legenda o Solomone i Kitoveraste)*, Alexei Remizov, 1937 xxv
- A2 Photograph of Remizov with his calligraphic signature from *Maroun*, Alexei Remizov, 1938 xxxii

Chapter 1

- 1.1 *The Sorobinsk Fair (Sorobinskaiia iarmarka)*, Alexei Remizov, 1935 8
- 1.2 Dream drawing from *Tales from the Fourth Dimension (Récits de la quatrième dimension [sic])*, Alexei Remizov, 1937 10
- 1.3 Dream drawing from *Tales from the Fourth Dimension (Récits de la quatrième dimension [sic])*, Alexei Remizov, 1937 11
- 1.4A *Flower of the Pear-Emperor-Tree (Blüthe des Kaiser-Birn-Baumes)*, Adolf Wölflii, 1911 14
- 1.4B Dream drawing from *Tales from the Fourth Dimension (Récits de la quatrième dimension [sic])*, Alexei Remizov, 1937 15
- 1.5 Photograph of Alexei Remizov, Paris, 1925 18
- 1.6 Photograph of Alexei Remizov, Paris, 1939 23

Chapter 2

- 2.1 First inscription, *Tales from the Fourth Dimension (Récits de la quatrième dimension [sic])*, Alexei Remizov, 1937 31
- 2.2 Second inscription, *Tales from the Fourth Dimension (Récits de la quatrième dimension [sic])*, Alexei Remizov, 1937 32
- 2.3 "The Geese and the Swans" ("Les oies et les cygnes"), *Tales from the Fourth Dimension (Récits de la quatrième dimension [sic])*, Alexei Remizov, 1937 33
- 2.4 "I Cannot Go Away" ("Je ne puis m'en aller"), *Tales from the Fourth Dimension (Récits de la quatrième dimension [sic])*, Alexei Remizov, 1937 35

- 2.5 Russian and French texts of *Maroun*, Alexei Remizov, 1938 36-37
- 2.6 Dream drawing from *Tales from the Fourth Dimension (Récits de la quatrième dimension [sic])*, Alexei Remizov, 1937 46

Chapter 3

- 3.1 Untitled watercolor drawings from *Maroun*, Alexei Remizov, 1938 51
- 3.2 Untitled portrait of A. Blok, Alexei Remizov, 1941 60

Chapter 4

- 4.1 *Solomoniiia*, Alexei Remizov, 1934 77
- 4.2 Foreword and characters from *Solomoniiia*, Alexei Remizov, 1934 78
- 4.3 "Priest Iakov" from *Solomoniiia*, Alexei Remizov, 1934 79
- 4.4 Inscription (*zapis'*) from *Solomoniiia*, Alexei Remizov, 1934 80
- 4.5 *Solomoniiia* tortured by the demons, from *Solomoniiia*, Alexei Remizov, 1935 and 1934 82
- 4.6 *Solomoniiia* with the Saints Prokopii and Ioann, from *Solomoniiia*, Alexei Remizov, 1935 and 1934 83
- 4.7 *Solomoniiia* flanked by the forces of good and evil, from *Solomoniiia*, Alexei Remizov, 1935 and 1934 84
- 4.8 "The First Night" and "The Tenth Night," from *Solomoniiia*, Alexei Remizov, 1934 86

Chapter 5

- 5.1 "The First Night," from *Solomoniiia*, 1934 95
- 5.2 Photograph of Serafima Pavlovna Remizova-Dovgello, 1904 105

Chapter 6

- 6.1 Owl (Spitsyn 1906), Karagas shaman's costume (Anokhin 1924), and *sulde* image (Spitsyn 1906) 116-17
- 6.2 Altai drums (Anokhin 1924) 118
- 6.3 Ground spirits (Bogoraz 1913) 119

| | | |
|-------|--|-----|
| 6.4 | <i>Siberian Tale (Sibirskii skaz)</i> , Alexei Remizov, 1940 | 120 |
| 6.5 | Schematic drawing of Teleut shaman drum | 121 |
| 6.6 | Bird figurines: <i>gagaras</i> (Anuchin 1914) | 122 |
| 6.7A | <i>Siberian Tale (Sibirskii skaz)</i> , Alexei Remizov, 1940 | 123 |
| 6.7B | Hare figurine (Spitsyn 1906) | 123 |
| 6.8 | Bear with prey (Spitsyn 1906; Anuchin 1899) | 124 |
| 6.9 | Plaque with bear (Spitsyn 1906) | 124 |
| 6.10A | <i>Siberian Tale (Sibirskii skaz)</i> , Alexei Remizov, 1940 | 125 |
| 6.10B | Ancient copper frog (Anuchin 1899) | 125 |
| 6.10C | Frog (Spitsyn 1906) | 125 |
| 6.11 | Duck figurine (Spitsyn 1906) | 126 |
| 6.12 | Charm string (Bogoraz 1904–9) | 127 |
| 6.13 | Bronze figure (Spitsyn 1906) | 128 |
| 6.14 | Photograph of Alexei Remizov, Berlin, 1923 | 133 |
| 6.15 | Page from a graphic diary, Alexei Remizov, 1939 | 136 |
| 6.16 | Page from <i>Siberian Tale (Sibirskii skaz)</i> , Alexei Remizov, 1940 | 139 |
| 6.17 | Illustration for Remizov's "The Devil and the Tears" ("Le diable et les larmes"), Vasily Kandinsky, circa 1923 | 142 |
| 6.18 | Illustration for "The Devil and the Tears" ("Le diable et les larmes"), <i>Tales from the Fourth Dimension (Récits de la quatrième dimension [sic])</i> , Alexei Remizov, 1937 | 144 |

Conclusion

| | | |
|----|--|-----|
| B1 | Photograph of Alexei Remizov, 1939 | 148 |
| B2 | Image from <i>From Gogol (Iz Gogolia)</i> , Alexei Remizov, 1952 | 151 |
| B3 | Inscription fragment from <i>Alive to Me, Dead Flowers (Zbivye mne mertveye tsvety)</i> , Alexei Remizov, 1943 | 152 |

FOREWORD

Avril Pyman

Alexei Remizov (1877–1957) can scarcely be said to have enjoyed an international reputation during his lifetime or indeed to have been adequately valued by Soviet or Russian émigré readers. Yet he was a careful steward of his own heritage and, since his death, his archives have yielded a stream of publications in Russia, France, the United States, and Italy, featuring new works, letters, and variants of genuine importance for the history of literature and, indeed, of the cultural scene of his times. Dr. Friedman has paid full and scholarly homage to her predecessors, so I do not need to elaborate the course of this posthumous rediscovery of an extraordinary artist whose work is distinguished by a mutual dependence of text and image that has been compared to William Blake's. Suffice it to say that we have here the first monograph to record and reproduce pages from the handcrafted albums still in private collections and to explore in detail the significance of this interplay of literature and art. What I can do is add a personal view of Remizov himself, whom I knew in his last years when I was studying Russian and things Russian in Paris before and after reading for a degree in the subject at Cambridge.

He was very small, bent, with a face all planes and angles—a mobile face, alive with mischief and compassion. Remizov lived cocooned in his own world and not only after, as an old man, he became virtually blind with the shuffling step and uncertain hands of one for whom every moment was fraught with imminent peril: a fall in an empty flat, a matchbox flaring in his face as he lit one of his innumerable Gauloises, a lost slipper. On the contrary, he had been spinning the cocoon ever since he could remember. Stunted and slightly hunchbacked from a childhood fall, broken-nosed and myopic, the underprivileged child of a mother who had committed the unpardonable solecism of leaving her husband and returning with a clutch of sons to seek shelter and support from her own parents' wealthy Moscow merchant family, Remizov was always a loner, a psychological outsider, a chronic poor relation. He retold old tales and wove new fictions about himself and his friends, increasingly, as time went by, men and women of the theater, art, and literature,

fantastical enough in their own right but homely and domesticated in his world . . . and he drew. As a child, because he was nearsighted, he did not see the objects children were at that time encouraged to draw in class with proper regard for shading and perspective but drew what he called "ex-objects," emanations of things seen, which emerged now in blots and bold lines, now in filigree detail: quirky, humorous, suggestive, and, to his schoolmasters, downright subversive. As he grew up, he became rather worried when well-intentioned aficionados of fashionable psychology exclaimed how good it must be for him to get these monsters out of his subconscious onto paper. He did not see them as monsters. To Remizov, his ex-objects were part of a wonderful world of poetry, folklore, and dream, a world as free of fig-leaf propriety as it was of intentional indecency, a world without taboos. Often, as he was drawn into the study of ancient manuscripts and paleography (his wife's specialty), he would accompany the images with exquisite calligraphic legends. To him, this was akin to the work of the medieval scribe, one of his own personae in the elaborate, life-creating games he instituted with his contemporaries. These games and these legends led him out of the often truly "monstrous" that surrounded him, into the larger world of art, unbounded by time and space, free from the stuffy poverty and sordid pornography of the underworld he was granted such ample opportunity to observe at first hand.

For, in life, Remizov continued to be a misfit. Arrested as a young man by the tsarist police for his interest in subversive literature, his tiny stature made a living hell of the shackled, forced march into exile; in exile, his patent lack of political commitment and wayward imagination led to ostracism as a foreign body among the political exiles, a possible stool pigeon. After his release without right of residence in the capital cities, a period of trailing around the provinces as repertory adviser to the young Meyerhold and his troupe, though it opened a door on contemporary European theater, was beset by discomfort and frustration. A clandestine visit to Brusov's *The Balance* in Moscow resulted in rejection of his work by the avant-garde to which he felt it belonged as "too Russian," "like a patch of brocade on our smooth gray worsted." When the ban on the capitals was lifted and Bertiaev and Bulgakov, companions in exile who had also been beset by doubts as to revolution as panacea, made Remizov treasurer of their St. Petersburg journal *Questions of Life*, his position was again that of a poor relation on the periphery of literature, though he met everyone: the Merezhkovskys, Rozanov, Bely, Blok, Viacheslav Ivanov, Lev Shestov, Somov and his friends from *The World of Art*. All were luminaries of the avant-garde and neopopulist theater—and all took on a special "more real" life in Remizov's meta-autobiographical writings. Where else could one glimpse the stately Bertiaev going over the top of the swing in Rozanov's back garden and Andrei Bely "so startled he swallowed a date"? However much they enjoyed Remizov's

company, however, the elite did not take him seriously as a creative artist. He was subjected to another period of ostracism, this time for plagiarism, because he retold old tales in the old language. Zinaida Hippis was always trying to find him "a real job"; Blok saw him as he had once described himself, an eternal outcast, shivering in the hard frost with a woman's shawl wrapped around himself and his baby daughter outside a burning house. Serafima Pavlovna, the wife whom he dearly loved and of whom Dr. Friedman has pertinent things to say in the chapter on the biographical subtext of *Solomonii*, broke his heart for the first time when she rejected their daughter, who was to be brought up by her own family from the old nobility of the Ukraine, and for the second time when she rejected revolutionary Russia, insisting on emigration in 1921. In Russia, Remizov's fate might well have been as dour as that of so many of his contemporaries, but he left behind a ballet scenario and a play unstaged, an unfinished *Collected Works*, and, together with his native tongue, a slowly growing readership and following of young writers among the so-called neo-realists such as Zamiatin, Pilniak, and Platonov. In Russian Berlin, he was still comparatively active as a writer, but in Paris there ensued a desolate period when his only earnings seem to have come from *benefice* readings to an in-part still comparatively well-heeled émigré society and the private sale of screens and albums. This was hard indeed to bear, the loss of reputation in the world of art compounded by the scattering of his unique artifacts. He once asked me to trace the screens he had sold to Tereshchenko in the 1930s. I failed to do so.

Yet Remizov continued to spin his cocoon and to lay the foundations for the present revival of interest in the art that he knew to be his raison d'être. In this he was helped by a few friends. Natalia Kodrianskaia published his letters and recollections of his talk; and Natalia Reznikova translated his autobiography *With Clipped Eyes* (*Podstrizhennymi glazami*) into French as *Les Yeux tondus*, the 1951 publication of which by Gallimard earned him paradoxical recognition with the French elite. It was a great solace when, horrified by the old artist's stark poverty and loneliness at the end of the war after his wife's death, Reznikova and her sisters and their husbands Daniil Reznikoff, Vladimir Sossinsky, and Vadim Andreev began to publish a string of beautiful books under the imprint of their shoestring press, Opleshnik, which promised to perpetuate at least in part that combination of word and image that had now become Remizov's stock-in-trade.

How pleased Remizov would have been with Julia Friedman's labor of love in locating and describing so many albums now in private collections; with her combination of the rigorous scholarship of the art historian, the intuitive grace of a Russian native speaker who loves her own literature, and the cosmopolitan conceptual perspective of one who has lived and studied in Russia, the United States, France, England, and now the Far East, with which Remizov himself

always felt a mysterious rapport. It is with great pleasure and a lively sense of gratitude to fate, which first decreed that my path should cross with Remizov's sixty years ago in 1948 before I went up to University to study Russian, that I complete the task of introducing this truly professional book about the liminal world between literature and art of which he is the extraordinary author.

ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

This monograph has been in the works for a very long time, and I can hardly give appropriate credit to everyone who inspired, encouraged, and enabled its progress. I am greatly indebted to all the people named below and to others whose names are hidden behind the generic labels of "colleagues" and "support staff." Their generous help made this project possible.

Beyond Symbolism and Surrealism came into being against the odds. It is based on geographically scattered and fragile source material that frequently changed hands or even disappeared at particularly inopportune moments, and until very recently, there has not been a coherent model for the kind of interdisciplinary interpretation that Remizov's albums demand. Creating such a model became a secondary purpose of my work, but my primary goal has always been to present and to document the enthralling art that inspired me some fifteen years ago to look for flexible ways of "reading" Remizov's illustrated albums without subjecting them to the interpretive limitations of any particular discipline.

My work on Remizov's graphic art began in graduate school at Brown University and benefited from the help of professors in several different departments there. The early stages of writing were made possible by a Salomon Dissertation Fellowship. I want to express my deepest gratitude to my doctoral dissertation readers Tom Gleason and Gerald Janecek (University of Kentucky–Lexington) who offered me so much support, knowledge, and advice. Professor Gleason had the patience and the sense of humor necessary to see this work from its inception to its completion in book form. His confidence in the project and its author kept me going through the hardest of times. The late Kermit Champa was my dissertation advisor. I had always trusted Professor Champa's unfailing critical eye and was thrilled when he welcomed my interest in Remizov's synthetic and synesthetic art and let me take all the time I needed to do the necessary background work. Professor Champa's untimely death in July 2004 was a very difficult moment for all who were enriched by his talents as a scholar and teacher, and I will continue to miss his challenging and

kind mentorship, I would like to thank Hervé Vanel for stepping in with grace and understanding as my dissertation director. Alexander Levitsky kindly offered to be an additional reader, and I thank him for that. Friend and fellow graduate student Amanda Burden helped me to keep the length of the dissertation in check. Over many years, Adam Weiner set an example for me with his love of literature, his merciless editing, and his high expectations—without Adam this monograph would not have been written.

One of the main challenges throughout this project was locating and studying the primary materials. Most of the illustrated albums are in private collections, so the willingness of collectors and dealers to share the works in their care was crucial to the success of this project. I would like to thank Alexander Andreev, René Guerra, Jaïne de Fabrès, and Joseph, Zinaïda, and Alexandra Lempert for trusting me to catalog, photograph, and study their albums. I am especially grateful to Yegor Reznikoff, who not only allowed me to work extensively with his collection over the years but also contributed missing biographical and textual references as well as photographs from his family archive. Professor Reznikoff's determination to preserve Remizov's accomplishments as contributions that transcend his Russian heritage will, I hope, result in the recognition of his full significance in France, where Remizov spent over three decades of his life.

A substantial part of the primary source research for this work was carried out in the university libraries that preserve Remizov's graphic legacy: the Amherst Center for Russian Culture (Amherst College), the Houghton Rare Books Library (Harvard University), the Cambridge University Library, Ros-siskaia Natsional'naia Biblioteka (St. Petersburg), Pushkinskii Dom (IRLI, St. Petersburg), the Syracuse University Library, and the library of l'École nationale des langues orientales vivantes in Paris. I worked with secondary sources in the Hay Library (Brown University), the Bakhtmeteff Archive (Columbia University), the Helsinki Slavonic Library, the Rockefeller Library (Brown University), the Syracuse University Library, and the Theatre Library (Teatral'naia Biblioteka) in St. Petersburg. I want to thank the staff of these libraries and archives for being helpful and accommodating beyond the call of professional duty. Professor Stanley Rabinowitz enabled my access to the rich holdings of the Amherst Center for Russian Culture where he is the director; I would like to take this opportunity to thank him for his enthusiasm and hospitality.

The scholars of Remizov's literature helped me to see Remizov—writer and person—more clearly. H. Sinany's bibliography of Remizov's publications has been indispensable for me and did not leave my desk for many years. Alla Mikhailovna Gracheva's tireless work on Remizov's oeuvre is inspiring. Writings by E. R. Obatnina and many others were of much help at different stages of my involvement with the project. I feel particularly indebted to An-

tonella D'Amelia, Olga Raevsky-Hughes, Greta Slobin, and Avril Pyman for their insightful studies and for the willingness with which they shared their knowledge of Remizov's artistic and personal life. Greta Slobin's monograph on Remizov's early literary output, *Remizov's Fictions, 1900–1921* (DeKalb: Northern Illinois University, 1991) is still the key study of the subject, with its pendant, a work that would address Remizov's literary output after 1940, yet to be written. I am also grateful to Greta Slobin for her compassion with my own plight of writing a monograph on Remizov's albums and for all the advice she so generously dispensed.

Throughout the years I was fortunate to have many opportunities to share the results of my research with colleagues through conference presentations, roundtables, and e-mail correspondence. Earlier versions of chapter 3 appeared in the *Slavic and East European Journal* 47 (no. 3, Fall 2003) and in *Aleksei Remizov: Issledovaniia i materialy*, edited by Alla M. Gracheva and Antonella d'Amelia (St. Petersburg and Salerno: Russian Academy of Sciences/Institute of Russian Literature, 2003); parts of the conclusion were printed in the volume *Elective Affinities: Word & Image Interactions* 6, edited by Catriona McLeod, Véronique Plesch, and Charlotte Schoell-Glass (Amsterdam: Rodopi, 2009). Nikita Nankov commented on what later became the second chapter. Conversations with Debra Schaffer and Charlotte Schoell-Glass helped me place Remizov's verbal/visual experimentation into the larger, European context. I wish to thank them and the referees of the above papers for the input and corrections that prompted me to rework and in some cases to reconceptualize my arguments. It is my hope that this feedback from colleagues in literary studies, art history, history, anthropology, and linguistics (not to mention theoretical physics) helped me to allow the primary material in the book to speak for itself.

As I was reworking my dissertation into a book, I was fortunate to benefit from the professional expertise and personal kindness of my colleagues from Europe and the U.S.: Rosamund Bartlett, Sergio Bessa, David Bethea, John Bowl, Andrew Eastham, Rolf Hellebust, John Milner, Alestair Renfrew, Eric Robertson, Didier Schulmann, Vernon Shetley, Kelly Stelle, Judith Tolnic-Champa, and Sarah Wilson. Eric Robertson's outstanding monograph on the Alsatian painter, poet, and sculptor Jean Arp (Yale University Press, 2006) encouraged the final stages of my own interdisciplinary efforts on behalf of Remizov. I also would like to thank all those whose personal scholarly expertise and teaching led me through my studies and, eventually, toward this project: Sonya Hansard-Weiner, Jane Hutchison, Robert Scholes, and Andrew Weiner. My debt to Avril Pyman is immense. As have many other students of the Russian Silver Age, I have benefited from her serious and engaging writings on the subject. When I moved to Durham in the U.K. and finally had a chance to meet Dr. Pyman in person, my book manuscript was for the most part finished,

and I was facing the daunting and tedious process of editing it. Avril Pymán's intellectual curiosity, wit, and encyclopedic knowledge of Russian modernism enlivened the task, making it nothing but pleasant.

Among the people whose help was crucial at the very last stages of this project are the photographers, curators, and support staff who provided the images for the book: Yelena Chugunova (RGALI), Craig Easson, Mary Haegert (Houghton Library), Lauren Hill (Amherst Center for Russian Culture), Valentina Loginova (IRLI Museum), Vincent Monod (Collection de l'art Brut), Hervé Velasquez (Musée national d'art moderne—Centre Georges Pompidou), LG Williams and Maria Zhukovskaia (MAE). The anonymous manuscript reviewers assigned by the Press challenged me with their insightful comments, lending a healthy dose of outside perspective. Eric Huntington offered last-stage editing advice. I am most grateful to the Northwestern University Press editors Henry Carrigan and Jenny Gavacs for their patience, goodwill, and very hard work. Anne Gendler (the managing editor) and Elizabeth Levenson (the copy editor) made sure the text would look its best, and Marianne Jankowski is responsible for the beautiful and content-appropriate design of this book.

Finally, I want to thank my parents, Dr. Isabella Derazhne and Dr. Pavel Fridman, for their unwavering moral and financial support and their trust in me. I dedicate this work to them and through them to the rest of my family, whose books, written and unwritten, paved the way for mine. Damien, thank you for reminding me that it was time to part with the text and move on. You and Sasha never let me forget about the important things in life.

INTRODUCTION

Alexei Remizov feared normalcy. He believed that a true artist is able to escape its confines with the help of a metaphorical "ladder." The symbolist poet Alexander Blok's ladder was his ability "to hear the music" of his time; Fyodor Dostoevsky was an epileptic; Edgar Allan Poe and E. T. A. Hoffmann drank.¹ Remizov spent many years searching for a way to evoke the artistic quality ever present in dreams—his own ladder out of normalcy. Some time in the midtwenties he illustrated this concept in a self-caricature that subsequently became his signature image: it shows Remizov as a petty demon, climbing a ladder in the midst of horned, winged, and tailed monsters² (figure 11). The chapters of this book assess various artistic ladders used by Remizov: subjective games with time and space (chapter 2), synesthesia (chapter 3), supernatural possession (chapters 4 and 5), and, finally, shamanism (chapter 6). These have a number of rungs in common—in particular, the goal of synthesis, or at least that of the interchangeability of word and image—a natural direction for the kind of mythopoetics that comes out of Remizov's stylistic evolution (chapter 1).

Unable to fit his creative élan entirely within the bounds of the visual or literary, Remizov experimented with graphic art, eventually inventing a new genre of handwritten, illustrated albums that mix india-ink and watercolor drawings with collages and texts. While over a period of some fifty years Remizov worked in a variety of visual genres and attained impressive proficiency in many, only the albums allowed him to fulfill his capacity for both drawing and writing.³ Between 1932 and 1949 he made hundreds of them, mostly for sale.⁴ The albums defy the standard classification of works into verbal or visual; their author ceases to be exclusively a writer, but remains more than a graphic artist. And although Remizov called these objects "illustrated albums," most of their images do not illustrate in any conventional sense, entering instead into more complex relationships with the text, at times even supplanting it as the vehicle of the narrative. The albums from the early thirties consist of calligraphic texts and pasted-in india-ink and colored pencil drawings,

many dating from the 1920s. From the midthirties onward Remizov began to incorporate watercolors and paper collages glued from scraps of colored paper and foil, with decorative overdrawing in india ink. The postwar albums' appearance changed considerably, as the text gave way to pictographic drawings that assumed a dual semantic function.

Remizov's later favoring of the visual, expressed by his move toward a virtually complete substitution of image for text in the postwar albums, culminated during his last decade, when he would regularly draw the stories before writing out their texts.² Given Remizov's staggering visual output (by 1937, after just five years of album production, he already counted over two thousand drawings), one wonders about the impetus behind such intense involvement with an artistic medium other than his primary one. A contemporary and correspondent, the Russian religious philosopher Ivan Il'in inadvertently offers some clues into the writer's gargantuan graphic efforts. In an insightful essay about Remizov's "creative act," Il'in claims that the author based his literary images on his dreams—whether nocturnal or diurnal.³ Remizov, in his view, "transposed" these dream images onto the printed page without much critical alteration, showing his "docility" and "acquiescence" to their power, and thus compromising his "authorial will" (306–7). Il'in contrasts this apparent "servility" to imagination (the stuff of content) with the total "masterly" control Remizov exercised over his writing (the stuff of form), as he tirelessly revised his texts with the precision of a "stern jeweler" (320–21). Leaving aside the philosopher's contentious conclusions, I would like to emphasize the rift he so perceptively identifies between Remizov's often fantastical content and his always meticulous writing style. According to Il'in, the only exception to the "willful formalism" of Remizov's style is his literary enactment of the holy fool persona (*literaturnoe iurodstvovanie*), a guise the writer assumed willingly and frequently. This element of play and subversion is key in helping us understand why a writer who took his vocation very seriously would expend so much creative energy on another art form. As evidenced from his (in)famous self-presentation as the scribe of the Ape Tsar Asyka, a figment of his creative imagination, Remizov's drawing flourished as a playful function of life-creation (*zbiznetvorchestvo*). Vladislav Khodasevich described *zbiznetvorchestvo* as a byproduct of the symbolists' reluctance to distinguish the boundaries between the events of real life and actual creation, and their search for "the philosopher's stone of art," the "amalgamation of life and creation."⁴

The visual medium offered Remizov a new mode of expression, unburdened by the gravitas of his enviable writer work ethic. Exterior to his will to "sort . . . [and] . . . thread" his words,⁵ and his explicit rejection of automatic writing as art,⁶ it provided just the right formal outlet for his unrestrained content. When Remizov made his official entrance onto the fine arts scene in Nikolaï

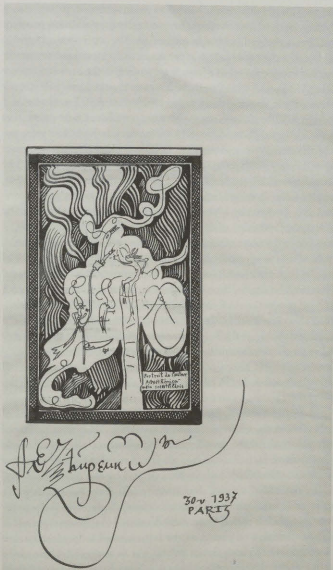


FIGURE 1 *The Legend of Solomon and Kitovrast (Legenda o Solomone i Kitovraste)*, Alexei Remizov, 1937. India ink on paper, 112 x 73 mm. Guerra Collection. Copyright René Guerra.

Kul'bin's 1910 Triangle exhibition, he did so as an amateur, an ingenué, a writer dabbling in visual arts. As such, he was under no obligation to effect professional, "masterly," and "willful formalism." On the contrary, the outsider, neoprimitivist ethos then fashionable in the visual arts tempted the newcomer to surrender his expressive will to a "compliant surfing in the ocean of fantasy and dreaming,"¹¹ to preserve and to foster his natural artlessness.¹² Remizov's early experiences with drawing charters on behalf of the Ape Tsar Asyka, and with providing childlike illustrations for his texts, gave him a taste of creation free from any presumed demand for technical mastery. In just a few years the hardships of the Revolution and the Civil War would lead Remizov to resort to drawing as the only viable means of uninhibited artistic expression,¹³ and by 1928, he would communicate his narrative in visual form prior to writing it out, letting loose his fantastic images before setting his dream into the "verbal icon-cover" (*slovesnaia riza*) cast by a "stern jeweler."¹⁴ When circumstances finally led Remizov to the production of illustrated albums, this practice of drawing as an indispensable initial stage of the creative process gradually solidified into a parallel mode of artistic operation. By the time he arrived at the pictographs of the early 1950s, Remizov's search for the best way to express his dream-infused thoughts was over: he was functioning both as a graphic artist and as a writer. This later period of conscious self-identification as a writer-draftsman (*pisatel'-risoval'shchik*) or writer-artist (*pisatel'-khubozhbnik*) is outside the scope of the present investigation. My goal here is to trace and analyze Remizov's discovery of drawing as an art form optimally suited to the "stream of images pouring out of the unconscious"¹⁵ that was his *content*. The albums I examine are all from the tumultuous period of Remizov's transition between media, during the second half of the 1930s.

This book is also a case study of a modernist who provided a model of synthetic art without the accompaniment of the almost ubiquitous fanfare of a manifesto or substantial theoretical grounding of any sort. Remizov simply extended his creative means across two art forms without surrendering any of the significance that words had for him. Moved by the "inner necessity" of expression,¹⁶ he added a visual dimension to his work. Recognizing this dimension as an integral part of Remizov's oeuvre allows us to deepen our understanding of his role within Russian modernism. He then emerges not as an eccentric wordsmith who passed on the intricacies of colloquial narrative (*skaz*) to a generation of young Soviet writers, but as a successful heir to the long Russian tradition of attempts to synthesize the verbal and the visual, from the medieval period to futurism. What is more, after the death of Vladimir Mayakovsky in 1930, Remizov was the only remaining Russian artist to persist in the symbolist and futurist quest for syncretism, and in the ambition to dismantle Gutenberg's legacy through alternative, nontypographic methods of

book-making. Gerald Janeczek ends his comprehensive study on the innovative printing practices of the Russian avant-garde at 1930, the year of Mayakovsky's death (Janeczek 1984, 3). Remizov practiced his unique genre, which combined features of medieval codices, the writer's illustrated manuscript, the graphic novel, and the artist's book (*livre d'artiste*), from the 1930s through the early 1950s. This fact alters our current understanding of the scope of Russian avant-garde book experimentation and defers its end-date by another two decades.

Above and beyond their art-historical significance, his albums are time capsules waiting to be unlocked. The extent of Remizov's ties with major twentieth-century cultural figures is remarkable; with their wealth of references, the albums serve as a primary source, full of new detail about the modernist writer and his acquaintances.¹⁷ Entering the busy St. Petersburg art scene in 1905, Remizov soon found a place among the symbolists, establishing himself at the forefront of literary experimentation.¹⁸ In the next decade he came into close contact with a group of young futurists—David Burliuk, Elena Guro, Vasily Kamensky, Velimir Khlebnikov, and Alexei Kruchonykh—who shared his interest in linguistics and primitive art. During his exile, which began in 1921, he not only remained at the center of the Russian artistic community, but also was able to transcend its necessarily limited boundaries.¹⁹ Plentiful translations of his prose had already prepared his move into the larger, European aesthetic arena, allowing Remizov to join the *Sturm* circle in Berlin and, later, that of the *Nouvelle Revue Française* in Paris.²⁰ Among his friends and acquaintances of the émigré years were the existentialist thinker Lev Shestov; the artists Ivan Puni, Mstislav Dobuzhinsky, Mikhail Larionov, Vasily Kandinsky, Kurt Schwitters, and Pablo Picasso; and the fellow scribes André Breton, Paul Éluard, and René Char. Because of the impressive chronological and thematic reach of Remizov's art, which spans a period of some fifty years and the space of three countries, his illustrated albums are laden with particulars of considerable interest to students of modernist culture, art historians, and literary scholars. What I offer in this book is only the first of the detailed, genuinely interdisciplinary investigations that the majority of the albums still await.

Why has so much time elapsed since Remizov's death in 1957 without a comprehensive examination of these albums?²¹ The most obvious explanation is their inaccessibility. Produced in editions of one, the albums have followed the tendency of old manuscripts to disappear into private hands, with all the consequent difficulties of access.²² As the original collectors passed away and the albums changed owners, fewer and fewer people were even aware of their existence. When the poet Alexis Rannit and Avril Pyman, a scholar of Russian symbolism who knew Remizov personally, published the first illustrated critical introductions to his graphic work (in 1979 and 1980, respectively),²³ the albums were unknown even to researchers of Russian book culture.²⁴

The situation improved somewhat after 1985, when the Mead Art Museum at Amherst College displayed a dozen of Remizov's illustrated albums from the Thomas P. Whitney Collection. The Pushkin House literary institute in St. Petersburg followed suit in 1992, with an anniversary retrospective of his graphics and artifacts.²⁵ The catalogs that accompanied these two exhibitions included survey articles on Remizov's graphic art written by Greta Slobin and A. M. Gracheva, specialists in his fiction.²⁶ Thanks to the Amherst catalog, which also contained multiple color reproductions from the 1930s albums, as well as to several pioneering articles tackling Remizov's calligraphic-synthetic paradigm, by the mid-1990s his graphic work was no longer the best-kept secret in the field.²⁷ Yet there are still no close readings of his seminal illustrated albums from the 1930s, and, as far as I am aware, Gracheva's essay on Remizov's 1948 album *The Circle of Happiness* (*Krug sčast'ia*) is the only in-depth study of the later material.²⁸

I believe that the main reason for such a dearth, aside from the remaining difficulties of access, is the intrinsic liminality of the illustrated albums, which lie just beyond the purview of both the history of art and Russian literary studies. Too textually oriented for art historians, Remizov's illustrated albums have been for the most part ignored by literary scholars, who, until recently, have avoided launching themselves into art-historical projects. For the student of literature, Remizov is an important Russian writer whose daring stylistic innovations place him alongside such influential symbolists as Alexander Blok, Fyodor Sologub, and Andrei Bely. Although several Slavists have occupied themselves with related topics such as Remizov's violations of stylistic norms in his books,²⁹ his self-mythologizing,³⁰ and even his relationship with the French surrealists,³¹ his visual art remains on the periphery of literary scholarship and is cited mainly for illustrative purposes. Yet this very reason for the lack of work on Remizov's visual art—its verbal/visual liminality—suggests a possible approach to it.³² By accepting his art's liminal character we can examine the albums for what they are—remarkable objects of visual and literary culture that exist on the boundary between eccentric behavior and universal art.

This book has three objectives. First, using the methodology of art history and literary studies, I will introduce Remizov's illustrated albums to an audience that up until now has had very few opportunities to appreciate them. Easily rising above the typical dilettantism of writers who also draw, Remizov invested his albums with a creative intensity usually reserved for the primary means of expression. The albums' impressive pictorial skill makes for memorable aesthetic encounters; the pages of the finest of these albums display coloristic subtlety worthy of medieval miniatures, combined with linear precision in the best tradition of twentieth-century graphics. This view

is supported by the reaction of Remizov's artist-peers, who bought, collected, and published his drawings.³³

Second, this volume aims to provide a new theoretical framework for evaluating Remizov's writings. By keeping in mind the continuum of his artistic activities, his striving for synthetism, and his intentionally liminal self-identification as a writer-draftsman, we can gain a deeper insight into his fiction—into its germination and evolution. Some of Remizov's texts first appeared as albums, such as *Tales from the Fourth Dimension* (*Récits de la quatrième dimension* [sic]), 1937. Others changed considerably through their presentation in the albums: *Solomoniiia*, in three versions, the first from 1934 and two more from 1935; and *Maroun*, 1938. In the case of the writings that also exist in visual versions, only when readers of texts become viewers of images are the contours of the artist's dream reality fully laid bare.

Third, on a more general level, I hope that this case study will advance our understanding of the type of art that emerges out of modernism's propensity for crossing boundaries, relocating centers, and emphasizing the liminal. The illustrated albums reveal a delicate mechanism behind Remizov's characteristically modernist bifurcation, and their study may ultimately suggest new ways to approach works by other artists of this period.

I begin with a biographical introduction (chapter 1) that relates the threshold character of Remizov's illustrated albums to the circumstances of his life. There I examine his lifelong quest to perfect the role of an eccentric, an inhabitant of a peripheral space, and reveal his strategies for situating himself between two art forms in his album work. Remizov's artistic surroundings in Russia and abroad, the early life experiences that led to this dual expression, and the modernist games of his adulthood suggest that the marginal quality of the illustrated albums reflects their maker's own geographical, temporal, and social liminality. The very fact that the genre of the illustrated album came into being while Remizov, a Russian writer, was living in France is symptomatic of the generally transcultural quality in his work.

Chapter 2 takes up the subject of Remizov's formation as an author of the illustrated album whose graphic style developed through his involvement with the art of book-making. When he began to produce the illustrated albums in the early thirties, Remizov did so on the heels of typographic experimentation by symbolist aesthetes and futurist book innovators motivated by a shared anti-Gutenberg sentiment. Remizov, who was well versed in both calligraphy and paleography, used a number of medieval formal elements and practices in order to make his albums comparable to the manuscripts of past centuries. But while this may suggest a strictly bibliophile motivation behind his album-making,

the involuted nature of Remizov's albums, and his construction of a mythical alter ego as a manuscript scribe in his fiction, point to the modernist nature of his project, a project that should rightfully be seen in the context of Russian avant-garde book experimentation.

The metonymical relationship between the arts is the subject of the third chapter, where I show how Remizov carries the synesthetic principle from content to form in the 1938 album *Maroun*, dedicated to the memory of his friend Alexander Blok. This case study demonstrates the possibility of an organic connection between the verbal and visual arts. I argue that by combining different art forms in *Maroun*, Remizov resolved a riddle that occupied his symbolist colleagues a quarter of a century before and was intermittently tackled by futurist poets and artists.

The fourth chapter examines the evolution of Remizov's 1928 tale *Solomoniiia*, treated in six conventional print publications and three illustrated albums over a period of more than twenty years. To create the desired focus for each illustrated album, Remizov transformed his mesmerizing tale of phallic possession through variations in the albums' format. For instance, the explicitly erotic tone of a 1935 album version with French text makes it an intentional contribution to the surrealists' investigation of hysteria and libertinism. The following, fifth, chapter explains how Remizov infused the seventeenth-century narrative "The Tale About the Possessed Woman Solomoniiia" ("Povest' o besnovatoi zhene Solomoniia") with autobiographical detail, making it into his own metafictional "Solomoniiia," a text that ponders the balance of guilt and love in his marriage to Serafima Pavlovna Remizova-Dovgello. Establishing the autobiographical core of the story is particularly important because it allows us to reconsider its place among the texts that compose the seminal late cycle "Legends Through the Ages" ("Legendy v vekakh").

Using the example of the 1940 album *Siberian Tale* (*Sibirskii skaz*), the last chapter focuses on Remizov's absorption of the mythopoetics and imagery of shamanism into his life and art. The album exemplifies his archetypal reliance on multiple frames of reference, an extension of the album's formal and contextual liminality. And while *Siberian Tale* came into existence against the background of the futurist and surrealist interest in ethnography, its ample use of regional mythologies allows it to escape the restrictive but common contemporaneous fixation on the metaphors of shamanism. This chapter also reconstructs an attempted late-1930s collaboration between Remizov and Kandinsky that was linked to *Siberian Tale* thematically, through shamanism. A different album that resulted from this project, the 1937 *Tales from the Fourth Dimension* mentioned previously, compiles the fifteen Remizov tales inspired by Siberian shamanism that Kandinsky had already illustrated, although never

published, in the early 1920s. Characteristically, *Tales* is also based on multiple frames of reference: the oneiric encoding of the album's ink and watercolor drawings owes as much to surrealist discourse on dream illustration as to Kandinsky's informed adaptation of Siberian folklore. The psychological effect of Remizov's ensuing (and somewhat one-sided) competition with one of the greatest painters of the century cannot be overestimated—it completely changed Remizov's subsequent drawing practice, leading him to acknowledge his own ability as a visual artist.

The conclusion describes the text-to-image dynamic revealed by a chronological overview of the extant albums. This dynamic, I argue, elucidates the role of the 1930s illustrated albums as a threshold in Remizov's oeuvre. To borrow Remizov's own metaphor, my book is intended to serve as a ladder from which we may gain a vantage point on his symbolic crossing of this threshold into the world of genuinely synthetic art.

OVERLEAF: FIGURE A2 Photograph of Remizov with his calligraphic signature from *Maroun*, Alexei Remizov, 1938. Houghton Library, Harvard University.



Joseph Beuys

BEYOND SYMBOLISM AND SURREALISM

Chapter 1

THE LURE OF THE MARGIN

The twentieth century's artistic diaspora put an end to the rule of hermetic literary traditions. The ranks of geographically bicultural writers such as Italo Svevo, Jean Arp (Hans Arp), and Franz Kafka were joined by others whose modernist experience was forged by their mixed cultural and linguistic environment. Among them were the Dominican-English novelist Jean Rhys and the young Russian émigré writers of the so-called unnoticed generation (including the hardly unnoticed Sirin/Nabokov).¹ Although Remizov never straddled the language interface, writing only in Russian, the more general idiom of modernist liminality certainly applies to him. This introductory chapter explains the liminal character of Remizov's illustrated albums, and presents his lifelong quest to be, and be seen as, an eccentric who occupied an appropriately peripheral space. I use the word "liminality" in order to designate both the threshold and marginal character of his art, its deviation from accepted norms and structures.² At some level Remizov's games in life and art fit Victor Turner's influential definition of a "liminal entity," which is "neither here nor there [but] betwixt and between the positions assigned and arrayed by law, custom, convention, and ceremonial."³ But were Turner's idea of liminality as the engine that creates new paradigms to prove applicable here, then Remizov's insistence on remaining "betwixt and between" genres, styles, and cultures would signal his desire to extend the borders of the accepted, thus

moving toward a culturally more centrist position.⁴ Such an aspiration would not accord with Remizov's marginal, "microscopic" vision of the world. I would argue that his brand of liminality represents something more akin to Mikhail Bakhtin's carnivalesque, a field "where new combinations of cultural givens could be playfully tested."⁵

"Betwixt and between" was Remizov's chosen space; even his autobiographical protagonist has been identified as "existentially peripheral" and therefore liminal.⁶ The crossing of boundaries is truly the operative metaphor for Remizov's life and art—a metaphor that realized itself with cruel literalness when in August 1921 he crossed the Soviet border into what turned out to be permanent exile. After a brief stay in the Estonian town of Revel (now Tallinn) he first moved to Berlin, and then, in 1923, to Paris. Remizov undoubtedly saw this reluctant emigration from Russia as detrimental to his career as a writer, just as he also linked it to the birth of his album-making:

In the last years 1931–49, when I had no hope left of seeing my works prepared for publication, and it turned out that there was "no place" for me in Russian periodicals . . . I decided to use my calligraphy: I began to make handwritten illustrated albums—in a single copy. And in the course of eighteen years of work: four hundred and thirty albums; and in them about three thousand drawings. . . . One hundred eighty-five albums were dispersed, "this way or that."⁷

While between 1931 and 1949 Remizov placed a fair number of his short stories in periodicals (both in Russian and in translation), the only book published during these eighteen years, *Book of the Dove* (*Golubinaia kniga*; Hamburg: Khudozhestennaia kniga, 1946), was printed without his knowledge and without any royalties going to its author. It is only logical that Remizov would seek an alternate way of "publishing" his texts in some *avant-le-lettre* version of samizdat. Although he never really believed that the albums could replace the conventional printing of his books,⁸ they allowed him to continue reaching and enchanting new audiences, albeit now much smaller ones, while providing supplementary income during the difficult times when conventional printing was out of his reach.

Remizov's contemporaries, as well as scholars, rightly warn against being too susceptible to the writer's complaints about the hardships of émigré life and his overwhelming feeling of solitude and abandonment.⁹ Still, even if Remizov's actual, physical situation during the interwar years was not as dire as that of his colleagues (for example, Marina Tsvetaeva), and he was appreciated by the more discriminating readers,¹⁰ he certainly *felt* underappreciated and misunderstood by the larger reading public. A noteworthy exchange of letters

with the editor of the émigré journal *Cbista* sheds light on the genesis of the 1931–49 publishing drought, and Remizov's ingrained feeling of victimhood vis-à-vis Russian émigré readership. A 1931 issue cites the writer and critic Mikhail Osorgin's reprimand to Remizov for his tendency to write "for himself," exposing his "dreams" and other unmentionables of his writing method to unwitting readers, thus alienating them.¹¹ While the readers, in Osorgin's words, deserve "clarity" and "easily readable material," Remizov audaciously forces "his difficulty and incoherence" on them.¹² Osorgin's rather harsh conclusion was that Remizov's lack of clarity must arise either from his disregard for the readers' needs and his refusal to "drop that incomprehensible nonsense," or, more likely, from his inability to write "in a simple and understandable way." His advice to the writer: "one must learn [how to write]" (284). Remizov retorted that the notion of judging a work of art by its compliance with the tastes of the potential audience is absurd: "A work of literature is life's labor. It is written not for someone or something but because it cannot be contained within" (284). Perhaps, in an attempt to make the issue less personal, he refused to accept that the critic's judgment was Osorgin's own, ascribing his yearning for clarity to the "hundred-million" (*stomillionnyi*) Russian Paris. Consider Remizov's sarcastic remark in an authors' questionnaire, which came only two pages after his rebuff to Osorgin, that it would not be worth evaluating his own fiction for the readers of *Cbista*, who probably "never [even] read any of it." Remizov would have sooner given up the very idea of audience than succumb to the lowest common denominator of mass taste (287). When faced with the threat of leaving this "hundred-million" readership behind in the dust of incomprehension, a true writer, in his opinion, would never submit to their judgment, instead writing "only for himself" because what he writes cannot be contained (285).

The breakaway from the poor press of 1931 happened in a 1932 issue of *Cbista*, where Remizov is mentioned as a writer who draws. Starting in 1931, the *Cbista* group mounted several exhibitions of Russian art, among which was the 1931–32 show of writers' prints and drawings. Remizov's graphic work was shown alongside that of Victor Hugo and Vasily Zhukovskiy.¹³ In one of the next year's issues, between the fine art chronicles and a report on an icon exhibition, someone named Vasily Kukovnikov published a short article titled "Manuscripts and Drawings of A. Remizov" ("Rukopisi i risunki A. Remizova"), dedicated to Remizov's drawing practice. Kukovnikov traced Remizov's alleged unrealized desire to become a calligraphy instructor to his solipsistic drawings made "for himself and from himself."¹⁴ While maintaining a bemused and somewhat celebratory tone, Kukovnikov cited the names of well-recognized professional artists (among them Aleksandr Benois, Konstantin Somov, Leon Bakst, and Mstislav Dobuzhinskiy) who "paid [favorable] attention" to Remizov's graphic

forays (193). He also listed all the venues that exhibited Remizov's albums, and specified that from the end of 1932 through May 1933 Remizov had kept busy, producing 45 albums that contained some 80 drawings and 285 pages of text. This ostensibly insignificant article had a typically Remizovian twist: Kukovnikov is an assumed name; the real author of the piece was Remizov himself. Rather cheekily, he used *Chisla* as a forum to announce his intention to persist in creating "only for himself," and to the detriment of the readers seeking more "easily readable material." Only now, unable to publish his books, he would do so by retreating into a medium that could thrive without the dreaded mass approval. The illustrated albums that exist only in a single copy would naturally circumvent the problem of having to stand up to the aesthetic scrutiny of the "hundred-million" Russian Paris. All that is necessary to sell an album is one patron's appreciation of its author's inward artistry. The article by Kukovnikov (Remizov) reads as a promotional gallery pamphlet because it is nothing short of a "coming out" statement for Remizov the graphic artist. Significantly, long before gaining the confidence to call himself a "writer-draftsman" by name, Remizov asserted the connection between his writing and his drawing, introducing the latter as a necessary extension of the former.

Remizov's illustrated albums display the characteristics of other verbal/visual genres such as medieval manuscripts and artist's books. The albums rely on the semantic exchange between text and image, which makes them organically liminal. Yet genre liminality is only the albums' most obvious quality. On the level of content they display a remarkable degree of artistic involution. This is true to such an extent that they often seem to recede into some inner field of reference. One can in fact best discuss them in terms of the two vital frames they invoke: the interior and exterior.¹⁵ The interior is the world of Remizov's subjective associations and includes references to his friends, colleagues, dwellings—his private games and "in-house jokes." This is a frame of reference not immediately accessible to outsiders. The exterior aspect of the albums is one that an uninitiated audience can appreciate as it requires only the comprehension of objectively identifiable data such as the albums' images or their text. Some of the albums confine themselves to one of these two modes. Consider the album *Alive to Me, Dead Flowers* (*Zhivye mne mertvye tsvety*, plate 1).¹⁶ The album's commentary bears the significant date of May 13, 1943, the day that Remizov's wife of over forty years passed away. In it, Remizov explains that the dried flowers in the album's collages come from their personal and shared past: from the graves of family and friends, from her correspondents, from the places they had been together. Remizov laments that with Serafima Pavlovna's death he alone is capable of grasping what memories the album encapsulates: "While I am alive, these images will be with me, comprehensible only to me; to strangers they are only curiosities,

but still, images."¹⁷ Nonetheless, he chose to make flower collages rather than to take the flowers to her burial cross where they would be washed away by the rain.¹⁸ By making collages out of these colorless and crumbling flowers, Remizov extended their lifespan to match his own and preserved them as mementos for himself, leaving an undecipherable (if beautiful) collection of images for the unknowing others. By contrast, Remizov's *The Sorochinsk Fair* (*Sorochinskaia iarmarka*, 1935),¹⁹ belongs wholly to the realm of the exterior: it illustrates Nikolay Gogol's eponymous short story, whose text Remizov has rendered in the album (figure 1.1).

Most of the albums, however, exist somewhere along the boundary of the exterior and the interior: they are a threshold art. While one readily grasps the albums' exteriors, decoding their interiors requires a close study of various contexts and subtexts. The 1938 album *Maroun*, for example, consists of a short prose poem and six images whose seemingly chaotic undulations suggest a hidden meaning.²⁰ Starting out with clues from the text of the album, I have attempted to explain the ordering and sense of the album's images. The text hinted that the key lay concealed in Remizov's friendship with the poet Alexander Blok, long dead at the time of the album's making. Knowing about Blok's preoccupation with the possibilities of a synthesis of the arts (the subject of his last essay),²¹ I hypothesized that synthetic concerns formed the core of the album, and further study of the images supported this supposition. The discovery of *Maroun's* content as an artwork concerned with synthesis in the arts thus emerged from a close reading of its images as well as close reading of its subtext. Without this subtext, the album would seem nothing more than a set of illustrations to Remizov's literary text concerning a certain fabulous "Maroun," the mythical ruler of a mythical island, whereas the album in fact comprises a complex visual and written homage to his deceased friend (plate 2). Moreover, once we identify Maroun with Blok, we can see that the album is at once Remizov's very concrete contribution to an ongoing discourse on the possibilities of synthesis in the arts and an attempt by a man who had lost the great "interior" of his native language to reclaim an inner territory, now in an artistic medium less dependent upon words. Understanding Remizov's fluid handling of writing and drawing is necessary because it helps to reconstruct the author's associative process through a "double" access to the content of his albums. Without this understanding, the content, which, as in the case of many other modernist artists, is haunted by its idiosyncrasy, might remain too far removed from a common experience of life to be recognizable or meaningful, much less moving.

The albums examined in this book all function within the "interior-exterior" paradigm. The palimpsest of references in *Maroun* matches, in complexity, that in the three album renditions of the *Solomonian* story. In the

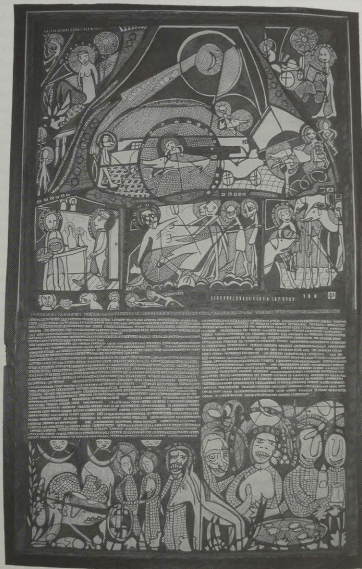


FIGURE 1.1 *The Sorochinsk Fair* (*Sorochinskaiia iarmarka*), Alexei Remizov, 1935. India ink and colored pencil on paper, 310 x 195 mm. Lempert collection, Paris.

1934 and 1935 Russian versions the narrative incorporates autobiographical references into the 1928 original tale, along with a polemical response to another twentieth-century interpretation of the seventeenth-century original. The French version of the album (1935) expands its interpretational possibilities by indexing the contemporaneous surrealist discourse on the nature of normalcy. The 1940 album *Siberian Tale* relies on a database of images from an array of scholarly studies of Siberian cultures, highlighting Remizov's lifelong engagement with shamanism. The album in which the two frames of reference are equally prominent but separated, rather uncharacteristically, is the 1937 *Tales from the Fourth Dimension*. Its content could be reconstructed from the semantically legible pages that incorporate texts and accompanying drawings and the nonfigurative india-ink and watercolor drawings pasted on the opposite pages. Such dual structure is in line with the album's subject matter—dreams, a marginal form par excellence. The reader/viewer is only allowed to access the "outside" elements narrated and illustrated especially for them, while the "inside" encoding of the adjacent drawings must remain forever concealed (figures 1.2 and 1.3). As Nina Gurianova aptly pointed out, Remizov had the artistic wisdom to contain the urge to render the inexplicable explicable and translate the subconscious into conscious.²² *Tales from the Fourth Dimension* is a prime example of this symbolism-inspired aesthetic practice, in which the readers/viewers are encouraged to rely on their own interpretational intuition.

The inward-oriented quality of *Tales from the Fourth Dimension's* nonfigurative drawings brings up another important indicator of purposeful marginality in Remizov's album project. Visual evidence suggests that he was familiar with contemporaneous publications on the art of the ultimate outsiders, the mentally ill. This art, which in the late 1940s came to be known as art brut and was later included into the larger rubric of "outsider" art, was created by mental patients who were encouraged to carry out their artwork as a form of psychotherapy. The amateur, spontaneous character of these works (practically all the artists lacked formal training), was their main characteristic. We know that Remizov shared the avant-garde interest in "primitive" art: his 1915 contribution to the *Archer* almanac, the purposefully childlike line drawings *Pictures for the Little Ones* (*Riabatishkam kartinki*), attests to that.²³ Much like children's art, the art of the mentally ill exemplifies unmediated creativity that is not hampered by the artificiality synonymous with academic training in the fine arts. This art is one hundred percent intuitive and comes exclusively from the inner necessity for artistic expression, just as it was prescribed for regular artistic practice by some of the early twentieth century's leading artists and theorists.²⁴



FIGURE 1.2 Dream drawing from *Tales from the Fourth Dimension* (*Récits de la quatrième dimension* [sic]), Alexei Remizov, 1937. India ink and watercolor on paper, 152 x 120 mm. Houghton Library, Harvard University.



FIGURE 1.3 Dream drawing from *Tales from the Fourth Dimension* (*Récits de la quatrième dimension* [sic]), Alexei Remizov, 1937. India ink and watercolor on paper, 153 x 110 mm. Houghton Library, Harvard University.

The implicit connection between the art of the mentally ill and modernist art was brought to the fore by the contemporaneous scholarly commentary on the subject. Those who wrote about the art of mental patients ended up linking it to modern (and modernist) art as they considered its "primitive" traits, following in the footsteps of Wilhelm Worringer, who unwittingly helped to define modernist abstraction in his groundbreaking dissertation on primitive art.²⁵ While Remizov was still in Berlin, two such studies were published in German. The first book was a monograph on the Swiss mental patient Adolf Wölfli (1864–1930), a farmworker who succeeded in becoming literate despite his phenomenally miserable and disadvantaged childhood, and who spent the last three decades of his life confined in a Waldau asylum for predatory pedophilia.²⁶ *A Mental Patient as Artist (Ein Geisteskranker als Künstler)* was written by Wölfli's primary physician Dr. Walter Morgenthaler. This monograph was highly unusual in that it removed the traditional veil of patient anonymity, presenting Wölfli's graphic work not merely as the byproduct of a clinical case but as genuine art. *A Mental Patient as Artist* reproduced nearly two dozen plates of Wölfli's meticulously rendered ornamental drawings, many belonging to his narrative oeuvre, his imaginary life story for which Wölfli compiled prose texts, drawings, collages, and musical compositions. By the time of his death in 1930 it contained over 14,000 pages, 1,620 drawings, and 1,640 collages. If stacked, the notebooks that comprised the volumes would measure almost ten feet in height.²⁷ The first part of this gigantic fictional autobiography was a de facto fairy tale, where the artist transformed his distressing past into a series of miraculous adventures with all sorts of "accidents and ordeals" from which he is rescued without fail by his loving family and his brave friends.²⁸ Wölfli began his opus in 1908; in 1912 he formed the concept of St. Adolf-Giant-Creation, an imaginary universe produced by the protagonist-narrator. Four years later, in 1916, he settled on a name for himself: "St. Adolf the II, Cocusous King and Great-God."²⁹ Wölfli continued his work on this textual/visual opus for more than twenty-two years, interrupting it only to render what he called "bread" drawings, intended to provide him with pocket money. The demand for these single-sheet works grew significantly after the publication of Morgenthaler's monograph, and by the early twenties, as some of these drawings made it into external collections, Wölfli's name was known well beyond Waldau.

Wölfli's art attracted the attention of Paul Klee, Alfred Kubin, and Rainer Maria Rilke,³⁰ as well as the French surrealists, who even without being able to read the German text of the monograph recognized the artist's visual gift. Rilke saw Wölfli's case as an aid to understanding the genesis of creativity as such. He wrote about "the strange and yet growing realization that many pathological symptoms (as suggested by Morgenthaler) should be furthered, since they stimulate the rhythm nature adapts to win back what has become estranged."³¹

The surrealist cultivation of the subconscious through automatism aimed to do just that. It is at this juncture of the imagination and the primordial that the surrealists' and Remizov's ideas on creativity converge (more on that in chapter 4). Klee's reference to the space explored in Wölfli's art as "an in-between world" that "exists between the worlds our senses can perceive"³² is important especially when we consider Remizov's liminal leanings. An amalgamation of Rilke's and Klee's understandings of Wölfli corresponds to the epigraph Dr. Morgenthaler chose for his introduction. It is a quote from a German psychologist, Herman Ebbinghaus, who ascribed to pathological phenomena the function of a magnifying glass that enables the perception of things indiscernible to the naked eye. This idea of abnormality as a facilitator of creative vision is consistent with Remizov's utterances in defense of abnormality. For Remizov, Morgenthaler's book must have been yet another proof of the innate legitimacy of amateur, "raw" art. Wölfli's elaborate and microscopic, mosaiclike patterns presented an alternative kind of art characterized by "madness" not as an end in itself,³³ but as a function of creative release typical for artists who were spared the need to conform to the institutionalized artistic canon (figures 1.4A,B).

Equally intriguing for Remizov would have been the second book, Dr. Hans Prinzhorn's *Artistry of the Mentally Ill*, which came out in 1922, only a year after *Ein Geisteskranker als Künstler*.³⁴ Copiously illustrated, Prinzhorn's monograph differed from Morgenthaler's. Instead of arguing that a psychiatrist patient can produce real art, it concentrated on the drive for representation—*Bildneri* (image-making) as he called it, as opposed to *Künster* (art), which is necessarily tied to the notion of merit. Prinzhorn proposed a "schema of the tendencies of configuration," which addressed the "six roots of pictorial figuration": "the urge to play (active urge)"; "the ornamental urge (environment enrichment)"; "the ordering tendency (rhythm and rule)"; "the tendency to imitate (copying urge)"; "the need for symbols (significance)"; and "eidetic image and configuration."³⁵ Prinzhorn's "expressive urge" is not unlike Kandinsky's "inner necessity"—by removing the burden of artistic merit in favor of mediation, both shift the focus to the underlying causes and rules for the "expressive urge." This view of the creative process as "art-making" articulating itself through "image-making" (*Bildneri*) is also far better suited for describing the activities of many modernist artists, Remizov among them, because in many cases their "art-making" was actually closer to "image-making." (One of the most challenging problems in establishing a typology of Remizov's visual arts is to distinguish his *art* from his *artifacts*.) The *Bildneri* praxis is especially relevant if we consider the degree to which modern art models itself on so-called primitive art. The urges "to play and to adorn oneself" that have "sometimes been called the points of origin of configuration," is consistent with both the modernist project and "primitive



FIGURE 1.4A *Flower of the Pear-Emperor-Tree (Blüte des Kaiser-Birn-Baumes)*, Adolf Wölfli, 1911. Crayons on paper, 310 x 235 mm. Collection de l'Art Brut, Lausanne; photographed by Amelie Blanc, originally reproduced in Morgenthaler (1922).



Alexei Remizov

FIGURE 1.4B *Dream drawing from Tales from the Fourth Dimension (Récits de la quatrième dimension [sic])*, Alexei Remizov, 1937. India ink and watercolor on paper, 152 x 120 mm. Houghton Library, Harvard University.

art". Russian futurists with their face painting are only one such example.³⁸ The shared concepts here are artlessness and spontaneity that have to be affected in the case of the modernist artists, but are intrinsic to the "primitives" and the psychotics.

Perhaps the best known simulation of creativity linked with mental illness is the surrealist enterprise. According to John MacGregor's study of the reception of psychotic art, "the surrealists repeatedly sought to emulate the art of the madman. They measured themselves against the unvarying honesty of the psychotic artist, and used his experiences as a means of validating their own."³⁷ Max Ernst, following his 1922 visit to Prinzhorn's Heidelberg collection, hand delivered a copy of the monograph to Paul Éluard (279), and it soon became very trendy in French surrealist circles, leading to a string of publications and exhibitions of the art of the insane in various Parisian galleries. According to a contemporary source, the Galerie Vavin exhibition of 1928 was "attended by all of Montparnasse" (281). Four years before that, in his 1924 essay "Le génie sans miroir," published in *Les feuilles libres*, Paul Éluard famously pronounced that the drawings of the insane "vibrate . . . with intense emotion" and display true spirituality and "poetic vision" which superimposes itself upon reality. Paradoxically, among thirteen drawings included with Éluard's article only three were made by the insane; the rest were Robert Desnos' work. But, the surrealists, MacGregor insists, were deadly serious in "playing" the insanity game (275).

Remizov's fabled eccentricity, as the very etymology of the word suggests, took him "from the center" to the margins of culture. In an age when the avant-gardists were taking unconventional behavior ever further, wearing away people's ability to be surprised, Remizov could enthrall with the magic of his "everyday art." In 1907 he invented the Great and Free Order of Apes (*Obezvekolpal*), proclaiming himself its secretary and scribe.³⁹ In this capacity, Remizov's chief duty was to communicate with the "Ape Czar Asyka" and to draw up various documents pertaining to the order. Those accepted into this society received charters as proof of their membership and standing therein. The charters were single sheets of paper decorated with calligraphy, india-ink drawings, and watercolor, and later (the Order continued to exist until its secretary's death in 1957) with colored paper collages. Remizov wrote the early charters in *skoropis*, an ancient counterpart to contemporary cursive. The later ones are even more elaborate. Although extant charters have dates ranging over nearly half a century, Remizov's work in this form of graphic art peaked in the years 1917–1923⁴⁰ (figure 1.5). The *Obezvekolpal* game is possibly the most inside of all the insider jokes Remizov ever invented; it is also the one most often mentioned and widely admired by Remizov's contemporaries.

Obezvekolpal easily fits into Prinzhorn's definition of a game as "an activity which follows certain rules but fulfills no practical purpose except that of entertainment, passing the time, or, more exactly, the enjoyment it entails" (15).

So fundamental a part of his life were these eccentricities that Remizov quite literally surrounded himself with them. His album art was only one (if the most innovative) manifestation of an overall artistic performance that also included his living space and human interactions. This, of course, was a function of *zhiznetvorchestvo* (life-creation), the symbolist blending of life and art, and according to Ivan Il'in, "Remizov's artistic world could hardly be separated from him, from his personality, from his life and his daily routine."⁴⁰ As a result, Remizov's surroundings were configured following the same principles as his art. Echoing the paradigm of the albums, his dwellings could simultaneously function as an aesthetic whole contrived to impress outside viewers while concealing myriad inside references that would be lost on the same viewers. Only a select few were in league with Remizov when it came to this artistic game. As in the albums, the meaning of his games emerges from the conflation of interior and exterior.

In something like the spirit of the arts and crafts movement, Remizov enhanced his living space by artistic means. At some point during the early years of the twentieth century he began to paint life-size murals on the walls of his Vasil'evskii Island apartment in St. Petersburg. Their subjects were the members of his very own Great and Free Order of Apes depicted in the patterned surroundings of the art nouveau style. Regrettably the murals vanished with the walls they had once adorned, and we know of them only from reminiscences and photographs pasted into some of the later albums.⁴¹ Remizov's last Parisian apartment on Rue Boileau was no exception to the familiar trend of his eccentric living arrangements: here, as always, the dwelling served as a backdrop for his performance. At the door hung a little piece of green paper meticulously inscribed: "It hangs, the green thing, and sings." (*Vizit zelenoe i poet.*) Nearby, on a piece of green wool yarn, Remizov had suspended a little nickel coin with a hole drilled in it.⁴² The whole apartment was filled with toys and talismans. Remizov's younger friend and translator Natal'ia Reznikova recalls two strings with various objects suspended on them. The string decoration was already in place in St. Petersburg, where Remizov had fashioned it as part of a spider web with a large toy spider at one end "eating" the other toys on the string.⁴³ Il'in, who visited the writer's Berlin flat in the early 1920s and saw the string there, referred to the talismans as "half-things, half-creatures" (*poluvechbits[y], polususchbeivo[a]*).⁴⁴ The Paris string had no spider, but it held "different beasts, motley little men from Prague, a wooden red heart from Germany, a claw, a nosy bird, symbolic and esoteric: fish skeletons . . . a Tibetan necklace, tiny branches, skinny bones."⁴⁵ And in



FIGURE 1.5 Photograph of Alexei Remizov, Paris, 1925. Institut Russkoi Literatury/Institute of Russian Literature (IRLI).

the midst of this splendor, at his writing desk of plain wood painted over with red and black india ink,⁴⁶ encircled by more dolls, colored paper, and writing utensils, sat Alexei Remizov himself, dressed in colorful multilayered garb. To be sure, the extension of art into the studio space is not unheard of; Piet Mondrian's handmade "neoplasticist" furniture is just one such example. But Remizov extended his art further still into his life, following the principle of *zhiznetvorchestvo* and incorporating into his performance not only gadgets, knickknacks, and vestiges—but himself.

In the last chapter I will discuss how Remizov's longtime interest in Siberian cultures and shamanistic societies made Siberian shamanism an attractive model for his domestic spectacle. The intrinsically liminal nature of shamanism fitted perfectly into Remizov's own artistic idiom of thresholds, providing him with models for his art as well as his behavior and making his urban replication of certain features in the arrangement of the shamanistic tent only the most conspicuous manifestation of his much deeper affinities with the shaman's persona. One of the distinguishing traits of the shaman, something that must have had great appeal for Remizov, is his liminal position between the world of spirits and people. The shaman chants and dances, thereby opening up the other world for his secular tribesmen. Remizov, too, performed for his guests ritually, with recitals and storytelling that left them stunned. In both cases the backdrop, be it a shaman's tent or an eccentric's flat, and the props, whether a shaman's drum and pole or Remizov's toys and wall collages, become an integral part of the performance. Parallel to this, in his album art, Remizov the artist acts as shaman, conducting readers/viewers over the boundary separating the ordinary world from the world of the dead, the world of the demons, or the dream world.

Fatefully for Remizov, the same eccentricity that distinguished him in adulthood haunted and curtailed his formal artistic training, which occurred in two brief and unsuccessful stages.⁴⁷ As a child he took drawing lessons from Kapiton Turchaninov, a well-regarded teacher from the School of Painting, Sculpture, and Architecture. Turchaninov was never satisfied with the boy's work and persistently criticized him for excesses of fantasy in the representation of geometric shapes. Sincerely convinced that he was actually depicting "nature," little Remizov continued to submit drawings of "monsters."⁴⁸ Because his "dream was to learn how to draw," he kept on trying to master the tricks of the trade such as perspective, but to no avail. He was in despair, not knowing how to please his kind but demanding teacher (56). The second stage came some years later when, along with his older brother, Remizov went to the renowned Stroganov Art School in order to take a placement test. The examiner announced Remizov's trial drawing "of no use," and then, in response to the boy's question about where and when he should report for his classes, cut him off by roaring,

"Nowhere and never" (67) This comically ominous episode marked the end of Remizov's formal art training, but even when adjusted for self-pity inflation, it must have left an imprint. Remizov recalls how he returned home later that day, crossing the entire city of Moscow in an astounded and incognizant condition, the drawing book still open in his hands. No wonder that for decades to come the unfortunate Stroganov school applicant would hesitate to show his art to the critics as anything but "a writer's eccentricities" (57).

Remizov's misunderstandings with art teachers turned out to have a rather prosaic explanation. When he was thirteen years old, the doctors found that he was severely nearsighted and prescribed him glasses with eleven diopters. As could be expected from someone who shies away from things ordinary, instead of blaming his weak eyesight for the poorly received drawings, he would mourn the loss of the strangely beautiful apparitions in a foggy myopic past. Curiously, Remizov was not alone in according myopia symbolic significance. The novelist Ray Bradbury, who was also nearsighted, had an interesting theory about the condition. Describing his childhood spent in the shadow of a popular elder brother, Bradbury surmised that his own myopia was brought on by his escapist attitude, a desire to create an alternate reality. Not being able to distinguish things clearly allowed him to form (in his mind's eye) "happy things [for himself]" and to create "new images of the world [for himself]."⁴⁹ Bradbury, it seems, saw myopia as a route into a private, brighter universe. If he was right, and nearsightedness could actually be psychosomatic, Remizov, whose childhood was replete with psychological trauma, would be a prime candidate for such self-inflicted myopia. The moment of change from poetic blur to prosaic clarity was very important for him. Remizov emphasized his "discovery" of the "real" world as a pivotal moment in the formation of his artistic vision, or to be precise, in the realization that his artistic vision was some refraction of his nearsightedness:

When I put on the glasses, everything changed: as if by some magical touch, I suddenly woke up and in an entirely different place. Everything became petty, colorless, and mute—shrank, paled, and numbed; became defined and divided. . . . And if it were only possible—but into nowhere! and irreversibly!— . . . to flee from this sharply limited sober world, from the stripped down mathematical skeleton that dogs your every step, your every look, your every turn. So that is what nature is like! (Remizov, *With Clipped Eyes*, 70–71)

In his own words, the unexpected discovery of nature's "corrected" look transformed Remizov into "Euclid's slave" (72). Unsurprisingly, it temporarily cooled his passion for drawing. Though he continued to draw after this

exchange of inner for outer vision, books and, later, writing became his chief obsession.⁵⁰ Most importantly, the new, "corrected" surroundings helped Remizov to circumscribe his own idiosyncratic interior world and to realize that this world had a certain bearing on his stylistic preferences, predisposing him to the "microscopic" art of calligraphy (35).

Remizov's fondness for calligraphy is consistent with his attempts to portray himself as a liminal artist—a writer who draws. As he toiled at the illustrated albums of the 1930s, Remizov must have felt the need to justify venturing out of the purely literary domain, as if this continuous stress on the "writer" at the expense of the "drawing" would have legitimized his graphic art. His excuses and explanations for why the writer Remizov devoted so much of his creative energy to drawing form a coherent, if at times contrived, argument. (Of course, we must keep in mind that Remizov's statements on the subject are not just the recollections of an artist who attempts to *reconstruct* his creative evolution, but also an attempt of a fiction writer to *construct* personages, particularly his own artistic persona.) In compiling his excuses for drawing, excuses that range from formal to financial, Remizov did construct for himself the persona of a "drawing writer."⁵¹

First, there is the insistence on continuity between his manuscripts and illustrated albums. Remizov traced the lineage of the later albums to the intricately designed final drafts of his literary texts.⁵² These final drafts (most of them from 1907 to 1910) are also the earliest evocations of the Old Russian manuscript books that lie at the root of Remizov's book art.⁵³ Made in calligraphic cursive, *skoropiis'*, like medieval handwritten books, they treated each page as a separate aesthetic composition, and not just a means to convey the semantic contents of the text.⁵⁴ Remizov intended them to be clean copies for submission to publishing houses. In the case of acceptance their format would be changed anyway by typesetting,⁵⁵ and it was likely that they would never return to their author. Were these texts simply an exercise in futility, or could it be that at this stage of his artistic development, Remizov refused to limit his mode of expression to the literary, already actively seeking a book art for fuller artistic effect? I would argue the latter. Remizov's belief that manuscript art was a legitimate extension of his writing is crucial for understanding why a fiction author of considerable talent would devote almost two decades of his life to making handwritten editions of his texts. And while this early practice might suggest graphomania to the cynical minded, I believe it marks the start of Remizov's fruitful experimentation in book art.

Financial reasons for book-making supplement the formal ones. During the hardships of the Russian Civil War the sales of his manuscript books became Remizov's main source of earnings. As early as 1903 Remizov was thinking of using his calligraphic gift in order to earn some extra money.

In a letter from July of that year he tells his wife of his intention to put a classified ad for copying documents calligraphically in the local newspaper: "I can copy the most important papers elegantly and bizarrely."⁵⁶ The postscript to the letter specifies that the classified was never placed, but that starting in 1931 in Paris he would make handmade albums for sale "for a penny" (*za denezbku*). It was then that he created the bulk of the illustrated albums.⁵⁷ To assist Remizov, his friends and admirers went around the Russian émigré community attempting to sell the albums to well-off art lovers.⁵⁸ Vladimir Izdebskii offers rare information citing the approximate cost of an album at fifty to one hundred U.S. dollars.⁵⁹ If we assume that many of the 185 albums that "dispersed this way or that"⁶⁰ were sold, the albums would have made for a substantial contribution to the Remizovs' meager income of the period.⁶¹

Beyond satisfying Remizov's urge to revive the culture of the illuminated manuscript and providing badly needed resources, drawing for him was always a part of a larger aesthetic project. It allowed the writer to transcend the limits of his medium and to strive for synthetic ideals in art.⁶² Certainly, Remizov was not alone in his breach of artistic media. In an attempt to venture beyond the defined boundaries of different art forms, many turn-of-the-century artists not only experimented with musical forms within their painting or writing (as did, for example, Andrei Bely in his *Symphonies*), but also tried their talents in media altogether new to them. Vasily Kandinsky referred to his synthetic experiments as "a change of instruments."⁶³ Remizov's foray into drawing can certainly be seen as such a "change of instruments," albeit a more gradual and long-term one. And just like Kandinsky, who downplayed the seriousness of his engagement with poetry by saying that if something interested him but did not make him "vibrate spiritually" he would treat it in writing instead of painting,⁶⁴ Remizov was careful to note the relative importance of his primary expressive mode—writing.

We find the most explicit proof of this hierarchy in Remizov's discussions of drawings by other writers. Remizov often reflected on the theme of writers' drawings, spelling out his thoughts on the subject in the essays "Exhibition of Writers' Drawings" (1933) and "Drawings by Writers" (1934; revised around 1949).⁶⁵ In the essays Remizov distinguished the writer's marginal drawings, or textual doodles, from the same drawings independent of the text. In the former case the drawings are "inseparable from writing; these drawings are a continuation of thoughts unexpressed and words unsaid."⁶⁶ Drawings of the second kind, by contrast, are not spontaneously expressive, but carefully thought out, and, says Remizov, only interesting because their authors are famous writers. Their common feature is an amateurish quality. But since an artist in one medium must have an intrinsic understanding of the other art forms, a writer could hardly help wishing to transcend the bounds of literature.

Remizov was nonetheless aware of a general reluctance to take a writer's visual art seriously, for the public persists in identifying the artist with his main artistic medium: "Artistic gift always nestles itself in a single art form, while remaining open to all others . . . but people set limits on things—can't do two things!"⁶⁷ (Kandinsky once quipped that society "expect[s] [the artist] to eat not with a fork, but with a brush.")⁶⁸

In order to avoid having his drawings tagged only as amateurish "writer's drawings," Remizov insisted on contextualizing his graphic art as a natural progression of writing: "My drawings may only be noticed in books or manuscripts and . . . I have no claim on anything more."⁶⁹ His study of European and Russian "drawing" writers led him to the idea that calligraphy is a part of both writing and drawing, so that "every writer is just itching to draw,"⁷⁰ the desire to draw being at the very core of writing: "I cannot help—and all my life it has been this way—but draw."⁷¹ Clearly, Remizov

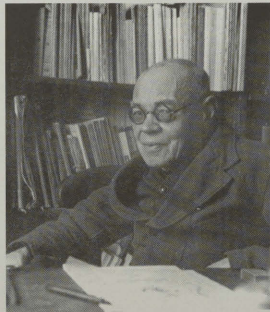


FIGURE 1.6 Photograph of Alexei Remizov, Paris, 1939. Institut Russkoi Literatury/Institute of Russian Literature (IRLI).

was speaking from experience. He found an application for his knowledge of calligraphy in his drawing.

Remizov's first mention of the relationship between calligraphy and his drawings came in the above-quoted article "Manuscripts and Drawings of A. Remizov" written under the pseudonym Kukovnikov:⁷² "All the illustrations to [Remizov's] handwritten books—Remizov's drawings—are from calligraphy."⁷³ A year later, in "Drawings by Writers," he again connected writing and drawing, claiming that drawing is in "the very process of writing" and identifying calligraphy as "the root of [his] drawing passion."⁷⁴ But at first, even his conviction that the written and the drawn are essentially the same ("napisannoe i narisovannoe *po sushchestvu odno*")⁷⁵ was not enough to make Remizov unequivocally believe in the possibility of successfully combining drawing and writing. The original 1934 version of "Drawings by Writers" contained the pessimistic axiom: "One cannot do two things at the same time: either write or draw."⁷⁶ Significantly, when he revised the "Drawings by Writers" article for publication in the late forties—that is to say, after eighteen years of album-making—he cut this very admonishment. The revised article clarified that with the passage of time his drawings had evolved, shedding along the way whatever dilettantish qualities they might initially have possessed: "As I began to issue my albums, to draw out and frame my drawings, my 'of its own accord' . . . disappeared. And this irreversibly: the eye had become more serious, the hand sharper. And unwittingly I reached the circle of Lermontov and Baudelaire, writer-draftsman."⁷⁷ By regarding drawing as a metonymical continuation of writing, and identifying himself as a "writer-draftsman," Remizov eventually found a precise way of expressing the liminal nature of his artistry, taking into consideration both the primacy of his writing and the importance of his draftsmanship.

Chapter 2

A MODERNIST SCRIBE? REMIZOV'S ILLUSTRATED ALBUMS AS AVANT-GARDE BOOKS

Perhaps the most important lesson Remizov learned from fellow book innovators such as Alexei Kruchonykh and Ilia Zhdanevich is that the art of the book ought to take its rightful place alongside music, painting, drawing, and sculpture. Like his symbolist peers and younger futurist artists and poets, Remizov saw Gutenberg's movable type as detrimental to the book's singularity. He insisted on the albums' "unique existence," thus excluding the very possibility of their mechanical reproduction; still, in reference to his albums, Remizov used the word *vypuskat'* (to issue, to produce), as one would with a book, not a manuscript. Certainly, his albums could be considered books in the usual sense of the word insofar as they replaced the conventionally printed books that he was unable to publish in emigration; but unlike regular printed, lithographed, or rubber-stamped books that appear in editions (even when each copy of the edition is matchless), the albums are always single-copy manuscripts. While prompted by material necessity, his albums were conditioned by loftier motives: my contention is that he chose the form of the illustrated album in an attempt to renew the book—or, as he saw it, the manuscript tradition. Using as examples the illustrated albums from the Harvard University Houghton Library collection, I will show what place Remizov intended for his albums within the Russian manuscript and book-making tradition.² Among Remizov's peers in early twentieth-century book innovation, the manuscript editions of poems by Andrei Bely, Varvara Stepanova, and Vladimir Mayakovsky from the late

teens approach most closely the Old Russian manuscript art.¹ Like his albums, these editions are known to exist only in one copy; the best example is Bely's *76 Christian Morgenstern* (1918), a unique-edition, author-illustrated manuscript in watercolor.² Yet Remizov's album project proved more significant than he could have imagined—the fact that his work in the medium of the illustrated album began shortly after Vladimir Mayakovsky's death in 1930, which was apparently the last year of experimental printing in Russia, implies that after 1930 Remizov was the only remaining Russian artist (both inside and outside the country) to continue the quest for alternative methods of book-making.³

Printing has never been an easy matter for the Russians. One hundred years after Gutenberg started his work in Mainz, they stubbornly continued to write out their books by hand. This state of affairs might have lasted even longer if not for the tsar's desire to protect manuscript texts against the inevitable corruptions of manual copying. One of the first editions printed by the Moscow Publishing House explains that, since many circulating copies had been marred by "scribes not learned and feeble in thinking," the tsar (Ivan IV) dictated that all manuscript editions be collected and compared so that a single correct copy might be printed.⁴ Because it was introduced not in order to take advantage of contemporary technological advancements, but to exercise maximum control over the content of books, printing came under popular suspicion as a constricting force from its very first days. To make matters worse, Russians immediately identified the printing enterprise as a foreign, and therefore impious, innovation (64). The troubled history of printing in Russia actually began some sixty years before the tsar's order, when the German merchant Bartholomew Gotan first brought printed books to Russia. In an incident that was representative of the future reception of German printing initiatives, the well-meaning merchant was unceremoniously drowned by a mob in the Moscow River (64). It is also believed that the very first pieces of printing equipment brought to Muscovy were destroyed by an angry rabble, the Russian public being ever vexed by international relations; in 1564, one year after the first publishing house is thought to have been established, several men were tried for the heresy of "praising the German faith" (66–67). The persecution of printers culminated with the 1568 arson of the publishing house. Soon after, the chief publisher Ivan Fiodorov fled the country, also accused of heresy. The formerly free and cosmopolitan city of Novgorod, it should be recalled, was sacked and destroyed around the same time because it was suspected of harboring German influences.⁵ One sees the same dangerous associations at work behind the routing of Russia's first publishing house. Of course not all resistance to printing was marred by violence. In the seventeenth century the Archbishop Avvakum, a figure Remizov greatly revered, insisted on the virtues of manuscript books over printed books in his writings.⁶ And as late as the

first third of the eighteenth century Avvakum's followers, the Old Believers, struggled peacefully against the "cunning foreign" innovation of printed books by continuing to produce and circulate illuminated manuscripts.⁷

Although the debate seemed to have all but subsided by the nineteenth century, the twentieth century began with a resurgence of complaints against printing. By then, it was not the premodern xenophobia of the earlier days, but rather the fear of uniformity; printing had come to be seen as a faceless, mass-produced, and despiritualized means of text dissemination. Vasilii Rozanov, who was one of Remizov's closest friends, eloquently vented the renewed resentment toward the printed book: "It is as if this cursed Gutenberg had licked all writers with his copper tongue, and all of them lost their souls 'in print,' lost their face, [their] character; my 'I' exists only in manuscripts, like the 'I' of any other writer."⁸ The same sentiment, prevalent among Russian bibliophiles, was repeated by a journal editor P. P. Veiner at an artists' conference in Kiev in 1912, where he declared the old handwritten book to be infinitely superior to its printed counterpart: "Factory production can hardly be combined with artistry. That which gains in quantity loses in quality."⁹ Russia's creative circles associated printing with a philistine disregard for the aesthetic of the book, an assault on the live character of the texts and their authors.

Inspired by Blake's engraved poems and Mallarmé's facsimile editions of his manuscripts, Russian turn-of-the-century artists also experimented in the medium of books. They did so not with the purpose of creating luxury editions (which always existed alongside the ordinary ones), but in order to liberate book production from what they perceived as an oppressive uniformity.¹⁰ This persistent desire to free the book was probably best expressed by the futurists Velimir Khlebnikov and Alexei Kruchonykh, who in a draft of the 1913 manifesto "The Letter as Such" ("Bukva kak takovoiia") fulminated against standard methods of typography: "you have seen the letters of their words—stretched into a line, offended, trimmed, and all similarly and colorlessly gray—not letters but brands!"¹¹

In Russia, the symbolists were the first to experiment with the appearance of the text—the earliest example of such experimentation in Russia being Andrei Bely's rhythmical prose *Symphonies* of 1904–1908. The symbolists attempted to alter the appearance of the book because they wanted to purge away the ordinariness of Gutenberg's print, thereby bringing texts closer to music, the highest art form of their aesthetic hierarchy.¹² New graphic representations of words, they hoped, would better convey the musical qualities of the text (57). Remizov, too, strove for musical qualities in his handwritten books, but unlike his symbolist colleagues, he credited these qualities to the manuscript art of Old Russia: "Rubrication." In olden times there was only one kind; it was written in cinnabar; this is where red comes from. The whole text was written

without spaces. Nor [punctuation] marks. There were no commas, nor all those ellipses, nor dashes. . . . The manuscript approaches sheet music."¹⁵

Still, the symbolists' concern with the layout of the printed page did not extend into the processes of printing itself. It was their avant-garde heirs who brought the major changes to book printing in Russia: the lithographed pamphlets of the futurists and primitivists first eliminated set type. One of the most famous experimenters in such lithographic editions was, again, the poet Alexei Kruchonykh, who in 1912 put out a series of six pamphlets. This project was an artistic collaboration: the text and the idea belonged to Kruchonykh, the illustrations to his friend, the artist Natal'ia Goncharova, and others. In the same year Kruchonykh published his legendary *Worldbackwards* (*Mirskontsa*) where the text is handwritten and rubber-stamped by the author.¹⁶ The goal of this production was mainly nihilistic—everything in it flies in the face of book-making norms: the colors and materials are purposely jumbled as if finding formal realization of its title—*Worldbackwards*.¹⁷

Admittedly, Kruchonykh's main objective was to free the book from the "straitjacket" of the mechanical post-Gutenberg book, with its neat rows of letters, in favor of the free treatment of the page space permitted by the more modern techniques of lithography and hectography, which return to the licenses of pre-Renaissance manuscript culture.¹⁸ Whatever Kruchonykh's intentions, his books do little to revive the Russian manuscript of yore: he hardly observed (nor, doubtless, did he mean to observe) the style or the elaborate procedures of the Russian manuscript book.¹⁹ His books intentionally lack the refinement and skill of the intricately produced illuminated manuscripts of Old Russia, reflecting more of the then-current interest in the homemade children's book, with its emphasis on an artless handcrafted product.²⁰ Kruchonykh, together with other Russian futurists, purposefully avoided any rigid model stating that "technique and artificiality are not important, but life is."²¹ Not surprisingly, when it came to the finished product—the book itself—Kruchonykh and Khlebnikov daringly announced that, once read, the book should be torn up.²² This approach is in direct opposition to Remizov's mindful if somewhat obsessive accumulation, cataloging, and keeping of his illustrated albums. Beginning with his *Gnosiev's Tale* (*Gnosieva povest'*) of 1907, Remizov made manuscript book experimentation an increasingly regular part of his work.²³ By 1917 to 1921, the writer was producing handwritten volumes with his own cover designs and frontispieces.²⁴ These were written in an old manuscript font and rubricated; their covers combined Old Russian lettering and primitivist drawings. As little or as much as it appears to have affected his art, avant-garde experimentation with typography legitimized for Remizov the medium of manuscript books—a medium to which he was already predisposed.

He always delighted in old books and illuminated manuscripts as a source

of joy and a remedy for life's dolors: "an old handwritten book has its own peculiar smell—frankincense: turn a page and you will smell it coming out of the binding . . . aroma-fragranted. Better than any medicine!"²⁵ Perhaps the best testament to this admiration, a veritable hymn to the manuscript culture of Russia, is a collection of assorted real-life texts and documents dating between the seventeenth and the early nineteenth centuries.²⁶ Tellingly entitled *Russia in Writ* (*Rossia v pis'menakh*), it is a key to understanding what books meant to Remizov.²⁷ The writer who lovingly compiled these original texts does not try to conceal his bias, opening the book with an ostensibly rhetorical query about the genesis of his "immemorial partiality to old paper and letters inscrutable to the modern eye" (11). By way of response, Remizov confabulates his bibliophile obsession starting with wistful childhood memories of the grand old edition of the Makarievsky Hagiographic Calendar he used to read along with his older brothers.²⁸ We learn how Remizov first became interested in manuscripts and how his wife Serafima Pavlovna Remizova-Dovgello, herself a student of the famous paleography professor Iliia Shchepkin, taught him the rudiments of manuscript art: no mere medium for the text, but a living creature demanding affectionate attention. Indeed, old books themselves, and even the individual words that compose them, emerge on the pages of *Russia in Writ* as characters: "a word is a live being, and not a rattle or a leaden type-setting,"²⁹ and the lives of the characters rotate around books, manuscripts, and charters that Remizov lovingly deciphered (with his wife's expert assistance), and then copied, bound, and carefully decorated with scraps of colored paper and gold and silver foil.³⁰ Antonella D'Amelia described *Russia in Writ* as "a book without an end," citing Remizov's progressive work on the project, which was to include the second and the third volume in addition to the first, published in 1922.³¹

I would like to consider now just how Remizov used the form of the old book in his own manuscript art—the techniques, the spatial arrangements, the stylistic features of image and text, his methods of production and distribution—and what he owed in all of this to the old manuscript art.³² (Although at first glance it may seem relatively easy to recreate the devices of illuminated manuscripts, in reality the rules and procedures for manuscript-making are quite complex. It takes great attentiveness, skill, and knowledge on the part of the author to carry out this process successfully.) I base my argument on studies in paleography that Remizov would have known because his wife had used them in her teaching of paleography at the Ecole des langues orientales.³³ Most of my examples of Remizov's work will come from the 1937 illustrated album *Tales from the Fourth Dimension*, a compilation of dreams depicted in word and image,³⁴ and the 1938 album *Marsoun*, Remizov's contribution to the Symbolist discourse on the synthesis of the arts. The similarity between the technique of these two albums and traditional

manuscript technique is a testament to his intentional use of the stylistic idiom of medieval codices.

Like the old manuscript and early printed book, the *Tales* album consists of booklets (*tetraidi*), three of them in all, each containing six leaves folded in half and originally sewn together and bound in a stiff cardboard cover with drawstrings attached. The cardboard covers are elaborately decorated, with glued-on geometric designs (a modern-day version of two leather- or fabric-upholstered boards),³⁵ and the text and drawings of the album are rendered in the same materials that Russian scribes and artists used centuries ago—watercolor and ink (*chernilo*).³⁶ As in manuscript books and early printed editions, Remizov's drawings are miniatures, their size never exceeding 153 x 153 mm. Even the seemingly unusual fact that the album's watercolors are glued onto the surface of the page is in keeping with northern Russian manuscript-making techniques, where miniatures were glued into books.³⁷ Remizov could have picked up the gluing technique in the Russian North, where he first began to study old texts in the late 1890s. As a final nod to his ancient model, Remizov concludes his album with his version of the inscription (*zapis'*), traditionally present in all Russian manuscripts. The *zapis'*, which was always placed at the end of the copy, contained information about the scribes and miniaturists, the date, where the book was made, and, more rarely, information about the source texts or about the donor who commissioned the book.³⁸ Remizov always included such a *zapis'* in his albums and sometimes gave citations of the original texts he copied. His *zapis'* for the Amherst *Solomoniiia* actually identifies Remizov as "the author and scribe" (*avtor i rukopisets*).³⁹ The *zapis'* in *Tales* is divided into two parts. The first—located at the bottom of the last image of the album—is in French and contains information about the images, the date and place of production, and the author. The second part is the album's dedication, written in Russian calligraphic cursive (*skoropis'*) and dated November 4, 1939, some two years later than the first part of the inscription⁴⁰ (figures 2.1 and 2.2).

No continuity between the ancient art of manuscripts and Remizov's experimentation with books could be established unless there was a stylistic continuity between their images. The images in the *Tales* are of two different kinds: the glued-on india-ink and watercolor drawings on their own separate pages, and the ink line drawings that interact with the text. The ink drawings come closest to traditional manuscript illumination, first of all because they serve as illustrations to the accompanying texts. Moreover, they are probably rendered in imitation of the line drawings in medieval manuscripts, which skillfully convey the movement and placement of figures in space with only the use of contour line.⁴¹ They often show simultaneous action, another common



FIGURE 2.1 First inscription, *Tales from the Fourth Dimension*, (*Récits de la quatrième dimension* [sic]), Aleksi Remizov, 1937. India ink and watercolor on paper, 110 x 65 mm. Houghton Library, Harvard University.

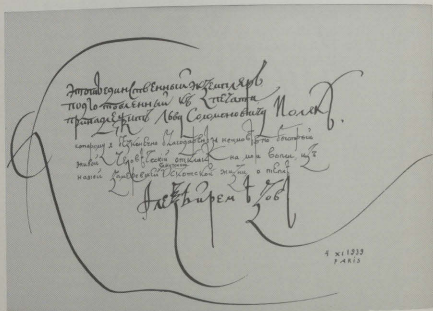


FIGURE 2.2 Second inscription, *Tales from the Fourth Dimension* (*Récits de la quatrième dimension* [sic]), Alexei Remizov, 1937. India ink on paper, 225 x 285 mm. Houghton Library, Harvard University.

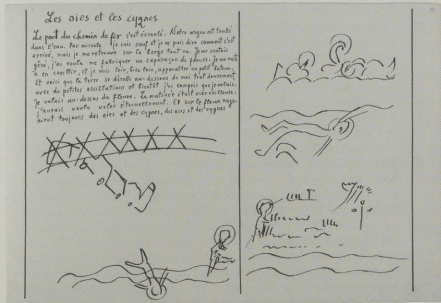


FIGURE 2.3 "The Geese and the Swans" ("Les oies et les cygnes"), *Tales from the Fourth Dimension* (*Récits de la quatrième dimension* [sic]), Alexei Remizov, 1937. India ink on paper. Houghton Library, Harvard University.

device of manuscript illumination.⁴² Thus, in Remizov's story "The Geese and the Swans" ("Les oies et les cygnes") the drawing presents the entire plot development: a train car falls from a collapsing railroad bridge, the protagonist miraculously (witness his halo) walks away, then gathers some water lilies to cover his nakedness, and finally flies above the river, where the geese and swans are cruising (figure 2.3).

These ink drawings, combined with the text, exemplify what is perhaps the most characteristic feature of the Russian illuminated manuscript—the close interrelation between text and image on the page.⁴³ Unlike the line drawings, the album's watercolors are for the most part nonobjective, but they still bear important stylistic similarities to miniatures from old illuminated manuscripts. All of the watercolors contain parallel lines drawn in black ink, standard fare in manuscript illuminations; there these parallel black lines were an imitation of the lines used in icon painting or of a similar technique later employed in engravings.⁴⁴ Despite their colorist intricacy, the watercolors also conform to a noticeable feature of Russian manuscript miniatures—their quality is essentially graphic and not painterly. This effect is created by a traditionally strong connection between text and image in Old Russian manuscripts, where the images had to conform to the calligraphic script.⁴⁵ In Remizov's watercolors the graphic appearance is achieved through the proliferation of black lines, the ink patterns drawn over the colored surfaces, and the carefully sectioned frames, perhaps the most conventional element in his revision of the old manuscript form. In addition to determining the graphic character of the images, the multiple rhythmic units of the frames create the repetition characteristic of the medieval manuscripts.⁴⁶ Finally, the palette of *Tales* betrays its origins in manuscript illumination, but in addition to the traditional trio of yellow, red, and green watercolors, Remizov used bright lilac and raspberry, colors that entered book illustration during the nineteenth century.⁴⁷

The appearance of the text is crucial for the identification and classification of a manuscript's style; there Remizov was similarly consistent in his borrowing. According to accepted practice, Russian manuscript texts could be written in either one or two columns (*stolbets*),⁴⁸ a practice he adopted in most of his Russian language albums. However the texts in the *Tales* are conspicuously lacking in decoration, with the exception of a rather modest attempt in "I Cannot Go Away" ("Je ne puis m'en aller") at a funnel-shaped ending (the text narrows as it descends from the top to the bottom of the page), a standard device of seventeenth-century Russian manuscripts⁴⁹ (figure 2.4). I attribute this timidity (uncharacteristic for Remizov) to the fact that the text of this album is in French; his Russian texts are markedly bolder in terms of style. In the album *Maroun*,⁵⁰ where the text appears in both French and Russian, the stylistic difference between the two versions is quite striking.⁵¹ Whereas the French text of the album shows the same undistinguished, if accurate,

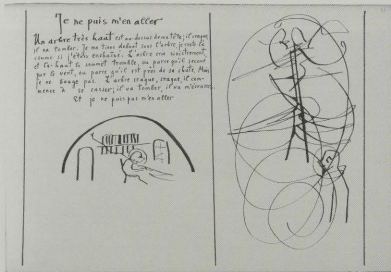


FIGURE 2.4 "I Cannot Go Away" ("Je ne puis m'en aller").
Tales from the Fourth Dimension (Recits de la quatrième dimension [sic]), Alexei Remizov, 1937. India ink on paper. Houghton Library, Harvard University.

script as in *Tales*, the Russian text with its barrages of whirling lines and fluid pen-sweeps is all about pyrotechnic display of Remizov's calligraphic talent. The reason for the discrepancy in the rendering of the French and Russian texts is Remizov's diligent approach to calligraphy. Whereas his familiarity with Russian scripts enabled him to write Russian texts calligraphically, his dramatically lesser knowledge of French scripts would have militated against attempting an amateur imitation (figure 2.5).

Remizov was ever conscious of his gift for handwriting. He proudly adopted the methods of the virtuosos calligrapher as described in a 1910 monograph on paleography that praises "sudden appendices to the contours of letters . . . flourishes, etc. . . . Sometimes these decorations either rise high above the ruled lines, or descend low below them; the calligrapher-scribe of especially whimsical fantasy would unfurl the tails of different letters with great sweep."⁵² The text of *Maroun* is written in *skoropi*, the old version of cursive script and one of the three major types of script used in Old Russian manuscripts.⁵³ Such writing was, in Remizov's words, "not copying, but recreating the cursive of the seventeenth century as if in my own, by my own, hand—not with a crow plume, but with our steel pen."⁵⁴

Skoropis' is the most modern of the three traditional scripts. Initially, there was the uncial script or *ustav*, today's equivalent of printed letters; then the semiuncial script or *poluustav*, close to *ustav* but with more rounded corners; and out of these two styles *skoropis'* eventually emerged. Within the historical progression from *ustav* to *poluustav* to *skoropis'*, the choice of one of the three was conditioned by circumstances.⁵⁵ Thus *ustav*, which dates, according to contemporaneous studies in paleography, all the way back to the ninth and tenth centuries, was traditionally the most decorous, time-consuming, and official print, used to elevate the contents of the text. Beginning in the fourteenth century *ustav* yielded to *poluustav*, a toned-down, simplified version of its precursor. This development resulted from the increasing popularity of books: the reading public was demanding ever more texts in a shorter period of time. In fact, the very use of *poluustav* signified that a book had been commissioned, or that it had been made for sale, while *ustav* continued to be used for deluxe liturgical editions. *Skoropis'* was introduced in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries, as a culmination of the search for a more efficient script—by then textual embellishments had reached their low point.⁵⁶ As a diligent student of paleography, Remizov was well aware of these developments and knew that the use of *skoropis'* carried certain mercantile implications appropriate for an illustrated album, which was, most likely, made for sale.

Still more scribal tricks lurk beneath the letters of the deceptively simple text of *Maroun*. Often the scribes would alter the text in the copying. Sometimes these changes were mistakes in spelling or grammar, but at other times they were deliberate alterations of the text made by overly zealous scribes. The elimination of words in the original was the most popular kind of textual corruption.⁵⁷ In the Russian text of *Maroun* Remizov practiced this form of scribal poetic license by omitting some words of the 1910 original and changing others.⁵⁸ One other peculiarity of Russian manuscripts is cryptography, or coded messages decipherable only to those familiar with the secret script,⁵⁹ a device Remizov employed in his published tale *The Dancing Demon (Pliasushchii demon)*, which I am going to address shortly in some detail. In the title of the book's third part, "The Crow-Plume Scribe" ("Pisets—voron'e pero"), Remizov encodes the first (*pisets*=scribe) and fourth (*vor*=thief) stages of his mythic persona's progression through the history of the Russian book with the pun: "The Scribe Is a Thief" / "The Crow-Plume Scribe." His insistence on reading the text aloud—"pricking up my ears, I intone the lines breaking the words into syllables"—is based on the assumption that only by sounding out the words can we gauge the essential meaning of the text.⁶⁰ *Russia in Writ* carries an even more explicit description of this voice-driven practice of sounding/listening/writing: "I copied it all (trice!)—letter after letter, line after line. [I] repeated every word over and over—word after word—since they wrote as they

spoke!"⁶¹ This deliberate return to pre-silent reading times was yet another way for Remizov to inscribe himself into the ancient tradition of manuscript illumination.⁶²

In addition to the similarities in technique, spatial arrangement, and style, the methods of production and distribution further connect Remizov's handwritten illustrated albums to Old Russian books. Manuscripts—which were unique, expensive, and, therefore, inaccessible to all but a few—were commissioned in Old Russia by patrons.⁶³ Remizov unwittingly (the financial hardships played a major role here) returned to an inverted version of the old patronage system with his own albums. He often worked retroactively in hopes of finding donors for albums that had already been made.⁶⁴ The market allowed him to function this way because in Remizov's Paris, as in Old Russia, passionate bibliophiles were prepared to sacrifice much in order to possess a rare or unique volume. Remizov had discovered the profitability of bibliophilia during the Russian Civil War, when he first began to sell calligraphic single editions of his works.⁶⁵ In those turbulent and hungry times when many starved or froze to death, making and selling books had been a way to survive: "In Petersburg we published our books in a single copy (to the great joy of bibliophiles). The book was worth 5,000 rubles, that is one pound of bread."⁶⁶ Sometimes it was not cash, but rather old-fashioned bartering: Remizov tells a story of how a Soviet bureaucrat with the Dickensian surname of Lozhkomoiev (spoon washer) finally gave in to his insistent demands for a kerosene ration when Remizov wrote his petition in the calligraphic form earlier used for the *Obezvelopol* charters. When he found himself in need again, this time in Parisian emigration and unable to sell his books to publishers, he used his old calligraphic and new graphic skills to supplement his wife's modest salary.

Natal'ia Reznikova describes how the handwritten illustrated albums of the Paris years were distributed.⁶⁷ These albums A[leksei] M[ikhailovich] made for sale. Remizov's friends went around visiting well-off people, art lovers, or simply those willing to help out a needy writer. This was not an easy thing, it demanded courage from the people who did it. The sale of these albums helped the Remizovs to live though the hardest of times.⁶⁸ Reznikova's words echo Remizov's own bitter complaints about the difficulty of selling the albums to his former compatriots: "for the Russians my albums remained 'unnoticed'; we had to be insistent."⁶⁹ In addition to raising badly needed cash, the illustrated albums permitted Remizov to show appreciation to his friends and helpers with unique copies of his handwritten work during a time when his books could not be used as tokens of gratitude: "What can I give people? Before, there was hope: book[s]; but now what, when it is no longer possible to publish even what is prepared?"⁷⁰

The Houghton albums represent both methods of distribution: the early

albums were commissioned by a well-to-do bibliophile, the later ones were given in a gesture of friendship. Six of the seven albums are dedicated to a certain Lev Solomonovich Poliak, the dedications having been made on three separate occasions spanning a period of three years. The first two inscriptions—one in a letter attached to a scroll called *Fairy Tale* (*Skazka*), the other in the short illustrated album *The Little Monk* (*Monashok*)—are rather formal and confirm that relations between Remizov and Poliak were cordial but businesslike in the beginning. The first reads: "To the much respected Lev Solomonovich. Thank you for your attention to my handwritten works. I received one hundred francs through L. V. Rumanov. Aleksei Remizov";⁷⁰ and the second: "This handwritten album belongs to Lev Solomonovich Poliak. 23X 1936."⁷¹ Written on the same day, these straightforward statements, devoid of any emotional details but containing a mention of money handled by a third party, suggest that the artist and the patron have not yet met; the transaction was doubtless of the sort described by Reznikova.

The second set of albums, which includes *Maroun*, *There's a Ball at Fox's* (*U lisy bal*), and *The Willow* (*Verba*), was dedicated on July 12, 1939, and shows that by then the two men had grown somewhat friendlier. This is clear from the personal inscription in *Maroun*, "To Lev Solomonovich Poliak, in memory of the blue-gray pre-dawn twilight," and also from the inscription in *The Willows*, "To Lev Solomonovich for [his] attentiveness to my 'nonrepresentative' destiny."⁷² These dedications, and the relationship they reflect, culminate in the second part of the inscription (*zapis*) of *Tales*, by far the most and most ambitious album of the collection, and one that contains many drawings, a fact Remizov emphasizes in the first part of the inscription.⁷³ The graceful calligraphic cursive (*skoropis*) of its inscription reads: "This single copy prepared for printing belongs to Lev Solomonovich Poliak, to whom I am infinitely grateful for the unbelievably rapid, live, humane response to my cries for warmth, from the midst of our stilled, tortured, beastly life. Alexei Remizov." The warmth Remizov mentions most likely refers to Poliak's donation, which was used to pay the heating bills—Remizov constantly complained in his letters about freezing but not daring to turn on the electric heater for the lack of money to pay for it. This was also apparently the last album Remizov gave to Poliak. The explanation for the emotional text and the luxurious format of the album is to be found in contemporary European history: some nine months after the dedication of the album (November 4, 1939), Paris had been occupied by the Germans, so *Tales* could well have been Remizov's parting gift to Poliak, who was Jewish, and probably en route to the United States.⁷⁴

Remizov's consummate knowledge and love of Russian illuminated manuscripts, his calligraphic talent, and his draftsmanship skills enabled him to continue the tradition of the Russian scribes and miniaturists. And yet, when

all is said and done, his albums look surprisingly unlike the old manuscripts he so admired. Considering Remizov's paleographic competence, it is safe to assume that this difference in appearance is not the result of his failure to recreate the look of ancient manuscripts. The true reason for the dissimilarity is the albums' essentially modernist quality. Remizov did not, nor could he, slavishly devote himself to an art form that was not only ancient, but in many senses passé.

In her discussion of Remizov's early erotic tales, Slobin mentions that for Remizov writing and publishing these tales served a "dual aim of renewing the literary language and of broadening the boundaries of literature."⁷⁵ I believe that the same mechanism of "renewing and broadening" is behind his use of the medieval manuscript format. The medieval scribe in Remizov wanted to revive the old manuscript form, conjuring up with it the whole Russian printing controversy. But the modernist in him insisted on inscribing into this controversy an element that was clearly lacking in the paleographic past: the artist's creative self-consciousness. Remizov constructed a mythical alter ego that could return to the dark reaches of Russia's past in printing and then move freely through history along with the evolving form of the book. *The Dancing Demon* most fully embodies this modernist authorial persona.⁷⁶ The second half of the book, tellingly entitled "The Crow-Plume Scribe," mixes fiction with accurate paleographic and historical information.⁷⁷ Here Remizov, through his shape-shifting narrator, describes a series of his own imagined transformations. "Every one of us carries in himself an infinity of transformations; various but obvious predilections for yesterday."⁷⁸ The narrator of *The Dancing Demon* is first a sixteenth-century Muscovite scribe who, refusing to accept the innovation of the printed book, sets Russia's original publishing house on fire; one hundred years later he is reincarnated as a typesetter in the rebuilt publishing house; in the early eighteenth century he is a young Russian sent to Europe by Tsar Peter I to master emerging Western technologies; finally, in the mid-eighteenth century, he returns as a henchman, and also the chronicler, of the famous eighteenth-century Moscow thief and murderer Van'ka Kain. So strong was Remizov's identification with these transformations that he retold one of them in the chapter "The Arsonist" ("Podzhigatel") of his autobiography *With Clipped Eyes* (*Podstrizhennymi glazami*). There Remizov recalled that as a boy he would describe his previous (pre-Remizov) avatars and that his audience almost believed him because it was otherwise difficult to account for the calligraphic gift that he shares with the personae of *The Dancing Demon* and "The Arsonist."⁷⁹

In his first incarnation the narrator is one of the many scribes responsible for copying the Makarievsky Hagiographic Calendar—a famous church calendar of colossal dimensions that Remizov read as a child. The narrator

portrays this grandiose project, praising the manuscript's beauty and the purity of its language. The description of the procedures of this work could only have been written by one well versed in turn-of-the-twentieth-century scholarship on Old Russian manuscripts: "I write with crow plume; peacock feathers are too pricey.⁸⁰ I like to decorate my manuscript with a frame, to draw eyes and ears into the geometric figures, into the interweaving of the margins—rubricated letters. I am making what will be discussed in Paleography as the transition of 'the geometric style into the tetralogical or bestiary.'⁸¹ Seconding contemporary paleography's opinion that scribes worked for profit as well as for their own pleasure, the narrator of the "The Crow-Plume Scribe" claims to have "copied to order as well as for my soul's enjoyment."⁸² The monetary issue is important here, because Remizov's treatment of it suggests that he endorsed the Russian, rather than the Western, system of manuscript production. Unlike the Benedictine Order, the Orthodox monasteries enforced no intellectual labor, such as the copying of manuscripts. The rare Russian references to book copying as a penance emphasize the diligence that such labor was supposed to promote. Therefore, the monks who actually worked as scribes were driven to do so by the love of copying out old texts (though some monks were, like artisans, paid for their work).⁸³

The introduction of printing interrupted the scribes' pious labor, as "fate, once again, turned everything to its liking, and destroyed all my dreams."⁸⁴ Because at this early stage printed books were still modeled after manuscripts, at first the printed text struck the scribe as strange but useful: "you could not say anything against it" (72). But the older scribes soon rebelled, complaining that the techniques of printing defamed the holy texts. Under the elders' pressure, the narrator comes to share the common sentiment and even accepts another character's designation of printing as "the most faithful servant of ignorance, lying, and stupidity" (73). The scribe starts to believe that "the cast letters squashed my life, my crow plume" and rendered "our manuscript art . . . history" (76). Moreover, the fading of manuscript culture makes the scribe himself obsolete: "I well realized my modest status as a nameless man, 'a former scribe'" (76). No longer able to endure the intrusion of printing into his life, the narrator finally sets the printing house on fire.⁸⁵ In telling the story of the unfortunate scribe, Remizov merges so totally with his narrator that he works his real-life friends and fellow bibliophiles into this myth-making as well: Ivan Alekseevich Riazanovsky, the curator of the Romanov Museum in Kostroma, and Iakov Petrovich Grebenshchikov, a librarian at the St. Petersburg Public Library, appear in Remizov's sixteenth-century Moscow as the narrator's co-conspirators, the characters Lerkul and Greben'.

The next chapter of *The Dancing Demon* tells of the narrator's subsequent incarnation, now as a typesetter in the same publishing house he burnt some

hundred years past. The former scribe reappears together with his cronies Lerkul and Greben' (Riazanovsky and Grebenshchikov), who are no longer the accomplished sixteenth-century scribe-calligraphers of the previous chapter, but coworkers at the publishing house. The narrator here is not simply a loyal state typesetter: he is also an admirer of Archbishop Avvakum and the Old Believers martyred in the struggle to maintain traditional forms of Orthodox worship in the face of reform and innovation. Instead of setting the type for the newly corrected liturgical texts as he was employed to do, he duplicates the texts with the mistakes of the manuscript originals: "the very same copying mistakes, without which not a single manuscript would pass, were meticulously reproduced by the Old Believer correctors at the publishing house, and I compile them, without reflection, 'betting my soul on true words and periods.'⁸⁶ Ironically, by following the instigation of an Old Believer while already working as a printer, the narrator resurrects an essential aspect of the work of the manuscript scribes—he never fully accepts the uniform mechanization that is intended to root out the oddities characteristic of manuscripts. The implication here is that to correct the holy texts would be to commit sacrilege against them, against the living word in its *natural* development: the cast letters of the press are the weapon of this profanation, so he struggles to blunt their harmful effect.

The narrator's two final incarnations spring from his past occupations as scribe and typesetter. He next appears as a young student of navigation sent to Europe by Peter I. This part of the story begins by recapitulating the events that took place after the narrator was fired from the publishing house for his Old Believer sympathies: now he "took up drawing and achieved much in our art . . . and painted in paint and in gold. My business, as in my past in manuscripts: animals, flowers, and beasts" (85). Arriving in Venice—which he understands to be the place where cursive script was invented and where the first Greek book was printed—he reasserts his undying interest in the history of printed books (95). Also connected with books is the narrator's ultimate manifestation as an accomplice of Van'ka Kain. Instead of robbing and murdering, the criminal-narrator spends his time chronicling what he has witnessed, and after the gang is finally captured and there is nothing left to document, he takes up a job at a publishing house, consoling himself with the thought that, "in any respect, it is my business—familiar to the eye and hand."⁸⁷

This incredible series of incarnations exposes the unflagging loyalty of the narrator's spirit to the art of handwritten books. But the metonymic progression of guises is also a noteworthy example of the modernist's mythopoetics—the self-conscious construction of a mythical alter ego that may be inserted into actual history. Remarkably, the fictions about the scribe, typesetter, artist-scholar, and chronicler are linked together by one "real" thread: they all represent

historically accurate types that lead naturally to the real-life book-making that was Remizov's great innovation. There are no flaws in the historical path of Remizov's personae through the evolution of book art. One might object that scribes do not work alone, manuscript production being a group enterprise, except that in Russia scribes did sometimes work alone. Although typically several people took part in the making of a manuscript—a scribe (or even several scribes) to copy the text, an artisan to rubricate it, and a miniaturist (often an icon painter) to illuminate it⁸⁸—the entire job could be executed by a single person sufficiently skilled in calligraphy and drawing.⁸⁹ In the copying of old manuscript books the scribe's role was de-emphasized, for God was considered to be at the very least coauthor of the holy texts. To the contrary, in Remizov's albums everything depends upon his authorial persona. In *Tales*, for example, Remizov is the author of the original stories whose handwritten reproductions make up the album's text,⁹⁰ of its idea and design, of its images, of its calligraphic rendering. In a manner of speaking Remizov usurps the "author function."⁹¹ The only crack in the authorial monolith is the album distribution, a responsibility entrusted to Remizov's faithful friends. But even here Remizov's authorship was the chief selling point.

History, then, supports Remizov even when he ascribes to himself the solo work, just as it supports his depiction of collaborative production in his fictional account. The writer's familiarity with the latest work in paleography enabled him to construct an accurate myth of himself as a scribe, but, most importantly, combined with his calligrapher's gifts, it allowed him to create the peculiar and elaborate stylization of old illuminated manuscripts. Moreover, his scribe myth was hardly mythical; in a real life too Remizov undertook at least four major scribal projects: his self-assignment as a scribe to the Ape Tsar Asyka, his continuous work on the *Russia in Writ* volumes, his illustrated albums, and finally his creation of the posthumous archive for Serafima Pavlovna Remizova-Dovgello.⁹² The latter project was something that his late wife would undoubtedly have approved: when she was still in relatively good health the couple collaborated on the deciphering (her task) and copying (his task) of old manuscripts destined for *Russia in Writ*. The Special Collections Library of the University of Michigan contains a handwritten rendering of a seventeenth-century manuscript that was deciphered and transcribed by Serafima Pavlovna and calligraphically copied by Remizov himself.⁹³ Convinced that "there is magic in a manuscript" and that "manuscripts do wonders," Remizov believed that he was an heir to this ancient art: "in writing I continued the tradition of manuscript scribes."⁹⁴ This self-identification as a scribe eventually became so strong that even in his personal correspondence Remizov conformed to the age-old tradition of elaborate marginal doodles: "and I drew these snout-faced creatures, and other hares as well . . . from some spiral suddenly a mustachioed

muzzle looks out at you, and naturally, the tail as well."⁹⁵ His creation of a mythopoetics—that is a persona (scribe, typesetter, chronicler, and more) that reflects both the biographical Remizov and the author-figure of his works—is their most interesting modernist feature.⁹⁶

The modernist character of his longest album, *Tales from the Fourth Dimension*, emerges more clearly yet in the involuted nature of its texts and images. The album introduces the reader into the remarkable world of "nuts and twists": this is the surreal realm of Remizov's dream-memories.⁹⁷ Admittedly, dreams for him were "the most important thing,"⁹⁸ for it was the dream life that revealed, and perhaps embodied, the most veritable of realities.⁹⁹ Rather quirkily, Remizov even accorded to them the status of an art form, alongside music and poetry.¹⁰⁰ The dream is arguably the most subjective of all cerebral manifestations, and herein lies its attraction for Remizov. The oneiric theme is introduced in the title of the album *Tales from the Fourth Dimension (Récits de la quatrième dimension [sic])*: in his verbal iconography, the "Fourth Dimension" stands for the world of dreams. Remizov always coveted the escape "from three dimensions . . . into the fourth dimension, into the world of dreams,"¹⁰¹ because "real life is limited and crowded by three-dimensionality. Necessity penetrates all of one's waking hours, while during sleep, when a person is liberated from the power of three-dimensional space, the feeling of 'freedom' appears for the first time, and immediately miracles of 'superposition' and 'simultaneity' of action reveal themselves—miracles inconceivable under diurnal conditions."¹⁰² The writer had already become interested in simultaneity during the second decade of the twentieth century, but it was not until the early 1930s that he began to explore the possibilities of achieving it through the combination of graphic and verbal texts, creating his illustrated albums. Not surprisingly, much of this exploration took place around the subject matter of dreams, which Remizov believed to be the ultimate simultaneous art form. The graphic work that came out of his searchings brought Remizov to the attention of the French surrealists. In 1933 the journal *Hippocrate*, whose editor in chief Gilbert Lévy had strong surrealist links, published his "Tourguéniev, poète du rêve."¹⁰³ André Breton included his drawings of Alexander Pushkin's literary dreams in a 1938 issue dedicated to dreams he was editing for the series *Cabiers G.L.M. Trajectoire du rêve (Trajectory of the Dream)*. The following year, more of Remizov's dream-themed drawings were shown in the surrealist exhibition *The Dream in Art and Literature* at the Galerie d'Art Contemporain. His contemporaries were not oblivious to Remizov's proximity to the surrealist investigation of dreaming: the writer and translator Jean Chuzeville famously referred to him as a "surréaliste avant le lettre,"¹⁰⁴ and Gleb Struve emphasized the key position of dreams in Remizov's work, saying that he could easily be called a surrealist.¹⁰⁵ As a result of this engagement with the surrealists,

Remizov reconceptualized his anticipated joint publication with Vasily Kandinsky (Remizov's text illustrated by Kandinsky's engravings) as an independent project combining his own graphic and verbal texts of dream-tales. The ensuing album *My Flowers (Dreams): Tales from the Fourth Dimension (Mes fleurs [Rêves]: Récits de la quatrième dimension [sic])* from 1937 was an important step in Remizov's artistic progression, implementing his ideas about visual representation of the fourth dimension: dreams.

In 1954 Remizov published the short stories originally compiled in the *Tales* album as a small-format collection entitled *Martyn Zadeka: The Dream Book (Martyn Zadeka: Sonnik)*.¹⁰⁶ Since *Martyn Zadeka* postdated the texts of the stories as they appeared together in *Récits* in 1937 by some seventeen years, the album becomes the first instance when the stories were united under the overarching theme of dreams. It is significant, though hardly surprising, that the stories discovered their central theme only in the form of an illustrated album in which over half of the entire space is taken up by images. This harmonizes with Remizov's intuitions about the evocative power of drawing: "as soon as the dream is drawn . . . it will become much richer in content than if it was just told,"¹⁰⁷ echoing his gradual move away from the verbal and toward the visual. Remizov had affirmed this natural resonance between pictures and dreams as early as 1926 in a review of a dream book: there he had argued that what was



needed to describe a dream was not words, but "pictures—illustrations of the most vivid dreams—in a mosaic frame; on gilded background red, light blue, black—speckled, plaid, and net-patterned."¹⁰⁸ The pictorial dreams of *Tales*, I believe, are too vivid to be verbalized: they could only be expressed through the mosaic frame and speckled, net-patterned surfaces of the drawings (figure 2.6). What remains paramount in the album are Remizov's visions of an internal world that lures and beckons to the reader/viewer as well. This is a modernist quality that any medieval scribe would abhor.

Without a doubt, Remizov was well aware of the contemporary controversy surrounding the standardization of printing, which so many writers and bibliophiles of his day considered stifling if not detrimental for the art of book-making. He was sympathetic to Russia's historic dislike of printing and her love of manuscript books, a great number of which circulated in pre-Gutenberg times.¹⁰⁹ He was also thoroughly versed in paleography and had considerable calligraphic talent, which enabled him to make accurate copies of old manuscript books. But what gives Remizov's albums particular interest is the fact that his attempts at creating the "live Russian book" are clearly a modernist's "idiosyncrasies"—a modernist's interpretation of the illuminated manuscript.¹¹⁰ In his remarkable fusion of the modernist orientation and the archaic form and method of manuscript production, Remizov created a unique art form that transcends the old genre of handwritten books to become an ideal expression of his aesthetic vision—self-consciously modern and old-style artful. One of the best examples of this fusion is his 1938 illustrated album *Maroun*, which I analyze in the following chapter.

FIGURE 2.6 (opposite page) Dream drawing from *Tales from the Fourth Dimension (Récits de la quatrième dimension [sic])*, Alexei Remizov, 1937. Watercolor and india-ink drawing, 100 x 135mm. Houghton Library, Harvard University.

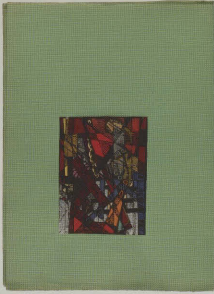


PLATE 1. *Alice to Me, Dead Flowers* (*Zhivye mne mertvyye tsvety*), Alexei Remizov, 1943. Paper-and-dried-flower collage, 333 x 250 mm. Resnikoff collection.

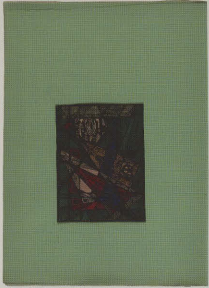
PLATE 2. *Museum*, Alexei Remizov, 1938. India ink and watercolor on paper, 177 x 138 mm. Houghton Library, Harvard University.



PLATE 3. Two untitled collages, *Museum*, Alexei Remizov, 1938. (A) First collage, India ink and colored paper on cardboard, 138 x 114 mm. Houghton Library, Harvard University; (B) Second collage, India ink and colored paper on cardboard, 140 x 105 mm. Houghton Library, Harvard University.



(A)



(B)

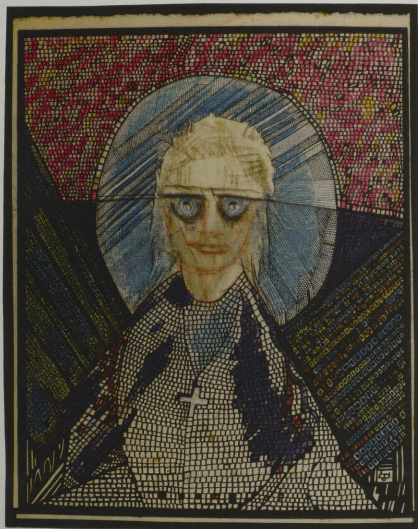


PLATE 4. "St. Feodora," *Solomonie*, Alexei Remizov, 1935. India ink and colored pencil on paper, 222 x 181 mm. Reznikoff collection.



PLATE 5. "The First Night," *Solomonie*, Alexei Remizov, 1935. India ink and colored pencil on paper, 147 x 164 mm. Reznikoff collection.



PLATE 6. "The Tenth Night," *Solomonie*, Alexei Remizov, 1935. India ink and colored pencil on paper, 144 x 153 mm. Reznikoff collection.



PLATE 7. Collage with inscription, *Solomonie*, Alexei Remizov, 1935. India ink and colored paper, 173 x 112 mm. Reznikoff collection.



PLATE 8. "The Universe Is an Act of Pleasure" ("L'univers est un acte de volupté"), Solomoni, Alexei Remizov, 1935. India ink and colored paper collage, 59 x 57 mm. Reznikoff collection.



PLATE 9. *Siberian Tale* (*Sibirskii skaz*), Alexei Remizov, 1940. India ink, watercolor, and gouache, 176 x 113 mm. Reznikoff collection.



PLATE 10. *Siberian Tale (Sibirskii skaz)*, Alexei Remizov, 1940. India ink, watercolor, and gouache, 177 x 110 mm. Reznikoff collection.



PLATE 11. *Siberian Tale (Sibirskii skaz)*, Alexei Remizov, 1940. India ink, watercolor, and gouache, 174 x 115 mm. Reznikoff collection.



PLATE 12. *Siberian Tale (Sibirskii skaz)*, Alexei Remizov, 1940. India ink, watercolor, and gouache, 177 x 112 mm. Reznikoff collection.



PLATE 13. *Siberian Tale (Sibirskii skaz)*, Alexei Remizov, 1940. India ink, watercolor, and gouache, 179 x 112 mm. Reznikoff collection.



PLATE 14. *Siberian Tale* (*Sibirskii skaz*), Alexei Remizov, 1940. India ink, watercolor, and gouache, 173 x 115 mm. Reznikoff collection.



PLATE 15. Remizov's color illustration for "The Devil and the Tears" ("Le diable et les larmes"), *Tales from the Fourth Dimension* (*Récits de la quatrième dimension* [sic]), Alexei Remizov, 1937. India ink and watercolor, 120 x 120 mm. Houghton Library, Harvard University.

Chapter 3

REVISITING THE SYMBOLIST PAST: SYNESTHESIA AND SYNTHESIS IN *MAROUN*

The history of *Maroun*¹—its textology and its evolution from text to text and image—helps to explain the role of synthesis in Remizov's aesthetic. The narrative used in the album, also called "Maroun," was originally published in the first 1910 issue of the monthly illustrated journal *To the Free Arts* (*Svobodnym Khudozhestvam*).² It is a short tale with overtones of Nordic legends, written in a peculiar melodic prose that verges on poetry. The story describes an enigmatic ruler, "the King of Burburun, the master of Olanda, Maroun," who remains static throughout the tale: he is seated on his scarlet throne, wearing a crown of lunar reindeer moss, surrounded by serpents and albatrosses, listening to the waves, his mouth agape in concentration. Even when the fearless and "death-defying" Viking Stallo sails to the island, Maroun pays him no attention, but instead continues to attend to the waves. In *Maroun* the reader/viewer is tempted into a complex world of seminal artistic concerns through the effective combination of the textual and the pictorial. At the culminating point of the album Remizov introduces sounds through the media of text and pictures, an invitation to *hear* through seeing. The images following the text make visible the sounds of the words just read. Remizov takes the synesthetic principle to ever-deeper levels as the images progress: Maroun gradually emerges out of the chaos of the first two drawings, but when he finally *appears* in the third, Maroun is wholly concentrated in his effort to *hear* something in the waves.

The fourth and most challenging drawing of the album represents visually what Maroun hears, and what the poet Osip Mandelstam aptly described as the "hum of time."⁷ There is an organic connection between Remizov's transitions within the album between verbal and visual arts and what I will argue to be the meaning of the album: that through seeing the audible and hearing the visible one may hope to detect the hum that is the most crucial and most elusive truth about life.

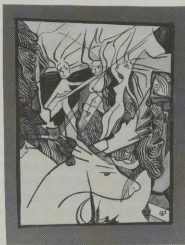
The album is made of thick green paper onto which the pictures are glued. The French and Russian versions of the text (see figure 2.5) are followed by six images: the first and the last are angular collages of colored paper with ink drawings, while the four intervening images are florid watercolor drawings outlined in india ink (figure 3.1).

Of all the images only the third and the fourth appear to be straightforward illustrations of the tale. The former (figure 3.1B) depicts the Three Sisters of the Wind (Gale, Blizzard, and Snowstorm), and the "whirlwind-deer," characters who figure in the story. The latter (figure 3.1C) shows Maroun himself, surrounded on all sides by other characters from the story, and the Viking approaching the island by boat. But the text of the tale does not help to decipher the overlapping triangles and fiery colors of the first collage (plate 3A), the exquisitely delicate shapes and lines of the first ink and watercolor drawing (figure 3.1A), the washed-out greenery of the last watercolor (figure 3.1D), or the angular patches of the last collage. It is tempting to connect the six images to the story's six paragraphs, but this proves unsatisfactory as well. For while the collages (plate 3) might be linked to the introductory and concluding paragraphs, the four paragraphs that make up the body of the text do not correspond to the images in any evident relation: figure 3.1B partly illustrates the first paragraph; figure 3.1C the second, third, and fourth paragraphs; the fifth paragraph repeats the contents of the second and should be related to figure 3.1C. The sequence of images in the album reflects the author's own progression from a textual to a painterly artist. Had Remizov intended merely to illustrate "Maroun," the third and the fourth images would probably have sufficed, but in order to convey an entirely new—and initially impenetrable—meaning for the reader (now the viewer as well) concerning his own artistic fate, Remizov needed the additional images and their given order.

The answer to why Remizov chose "Maroun," and not any other of literally hundreds of narratives available to him by 1938, as the subject matter for this milestone album lies in Remizov's relationship with the great symbolist poet Alexander Blok. Sometime after Easter of 1912 Remizov introduced Blok to A. M. Tereshchenko, a patron who commissioned Blok to write a libretto for a ballet to be set to music by Alexander Glazunov. During the next two years



(A)



(B)



(C)



(D)

FIGURE 3.1 (A, B, C, D). Untitled watercolor drawings from *Maroun*, Alexei Remizov, 1938. India ink and watercolor on paper. Houghton Library, Harvard University. (A) 262 x 187 mm; (B) 222 x 166 mm; (C) 177 x 138 mm; (D) 231 x 150 mm.

Remizov organized a series of meetings, and bestowed upon their participants various mythical names, apparently of his choice and fancy. Tereshchenko received the name Alasion, and Blok was "drawn into Alasion's entourage under the name Maroun."⁴ Despite all the differences between Blok and Remizov as writers, in a 1953 letter Remizov remembered Blok as one of his closest contemporaries.⁵ They were united by their love for Russia, its culture and traditions, and their sense of themselves as Russian artists.⁶ This "Russianness" that Remizov cultivated and championed throughout his writing career may have eventually communicated itself to Blok, whose revolutionary poem *The Twelve* (1918), in Remizov's words, raised Blok "to the height of verbal expression."⁷ Time and again, in his autobiographical prose, Remizov praised Blok as "singular in his talent,"⁸ saying that "there is no new poet who is not touched by the ray of Blok's star."⁹ Blok died on the morning of August 7, 1921, which was, by a suggestive turn of fate, only two days away from August 5, when the Remizovs crossed the Soviet border.¹⁰ Yet, Remizov always cited August 7 and not August 5 as the day of their departure. According to Raevsky-Hughes, this substitution of the actual date with a symbolic one exemplifies the "interpreting of biographical facts and assignment of symbolic significance to them"¹¹ so characteristic of Remizov.¹² The perceived coincidence of death and departure was to play an important role in his future perception of life and art.

Remizov's grief over the loss of his beloved friend was as profound as it was lasting, yet he was certainly not alone in ascribing to Blok's untimely demise a larger, symbolic significance. Although many around Blok knew that the poet was ailing, his death still came as a terrible shock, prompting an outpouring of responses that ranged from utter despair to self-castigation. Immediately following the poet's death his legacy was celebrated in a series of memorial gatherings as well as contributions in print.¹³ The journal *Zhizn' iskusstva* (*Life of Art*) published a selection of articles and memoirs. Among the contributors were Iurii Annenkov, Mikhail Kuzemin, Vladimir Piast, and Marietta Shaginian.¹⁴ Another collection of essays, *About Aleksandr Blok* (*Ob Aleksandre Bloke*), contained pieces by Iurii Tynianov and Boris Eikhenbaum.¹⁵ At the Vol'fil (Free Philosophical Association) (*Vol'naiia filosofikaia assotsiatsiia*) session on August 28 dedicated to the memory of Blok, Ivanov-Razumnik identified Blok with the "whole epoch" (even as he insisted on preserving Blok's lyrical individuality), and connected his death to the death of the epoch: "[Blok's] death is not a wound that would heal, this death did not cut, it cut off, it was not a clean cut but a tear, not an abrasion but an amputation. Blok's death is a symbol; he had died and with him a whole segment of life."¹⁶ While claiming that the poet was "too good" to live,¹⁷ Ivanov-Razumnik expressed the prevailing guilt among Blok's friends for surviving Blok. This sentiment is also found in Andrei Bely's letter to Khodasevich written on the day of Blok's death,

in which Bely cited Hamlet's famous desperate words,¹⁷ Bely, who also took part in the Vol'fil open session and gave an inspired speech on Blok's poetry, revealed his personal devastation at the news of Blok's death in his diary.¹⁸ In an entry from August 8, the grieving Bely talked about the importance of the very fact of the *bytie* (existence) of Blok, whose loss transcends any measure of the personal because Blok is, above all, a "national poet."¹⁹ Among the most powerful and heart-rending poetic reactions to Blok's death were Marina Tsvetaeva's 1921 cycle "Verses to Blok";²⁰ Anna Akhmatova's poem dated August 16, 1921, "Ne chudo li chto znali my ego" ("Indeed It's a Miracle that We Knew Him")²¹ and her famous lament "A Smolenskaia nynche imeniinitisa" ("Today Is the Nameday of Our Lady of Smolensk").²²

The writers of the young generation also perceived Blok's death as a watershed moment. Evgenii Zamiatin echoed Ivanov-Razumnik's self-deprecation in his fresh recollections of the events: "... Aleksandr Aleksandrovich passed away. I remember: horror, pain, wrath—at everything, at everybody, at myself. We are all guilty—everybody. We have been writing, talking—we should have cried out at the top of our voices, should have used brute force to save Blok. I recall how I could no longer bear it and called Gorky—"Blok is dead. We could not be forgiven for that."²³ And like Bely, Zamiatin said that life itself is inconceivable after witnessing Blok's death and after viewing his lifeless body that represented "death as such."²⁴ Responding to the emotional outbursts of Blok's immediate contemporaries, Boris Eikhenbaum, in his lecture at the Blok memorial evening held in October 1921 at the Writers Club (*Dom literaturov*), came close to siding with Ivanov-Razumnik in presenting Blok's passing as the symbolic passing of the whole generation. But in contrast to Ivanov-Razumnik's generalized "death of an epoch," Eikhenbaum argued that Blok's death was the final and decisive sign in the passing of symbolism: "In Blok's death, in Andrei Bely's frantic cries, is a fate of a whole generation, the fate of symbolism, which had outlived itself among the horrors of our iron age."²⁵

Later references to Blok's death assumed emblematic significance. A sense of symbolic loss gave way to recognition of the loss of a great man whose poetry was inseparable from his sublime humanity. In Iurii Tynianov's famous words, Blok's death went well beyond a loss of a poet, because Blok was a "hermetic phenomenon" (*iavlenie somboktse*)—hence the omniscient, epic sadness at the loss of Blok.²⁶ In his 1930 essay "About a Generation that Had Squandered Its Poets" ("O pokolenii rastrativshem svoikh poetov") Roman Jakobson counted Blok among other "murdered" poets of Russia;²⁷ and a year later Georgii Adamovich described Blok's 1921 Pushkin speech as a premonition of his own demise. Adamovich even retrofitted Blok with a gift of vision, presenting him as possibly the only "prophet" of his "half-revelatory, half-desperate" time.²⁸

Nina Berberova, as she mused about the events of the past and their formative significance for her peers some two decades after Blok's death, followed Ivanov-Razumnik and Eikhenbaum in drawing parallels between his death and the end of the old world. Only from her vantage point, Blok's untimely passing and the general devastation that coincided with it was not just the end but also a beginning of a new world populated by the young writers who considered themselves to be the children of Alexander Blok.²⁹

Remizov, born three years before Blok, could not benefit from the forward-looking optimism of the younger generation. For him Blok's death was an unequivocal loss: personally, artistically, and symbolically. The double reverence for Blok as poet and friend made the shock of his death one of the milestones of Remizov's life. Accepting Blok as the key to the album *Maroun* opens an array of interpretive possibilities, which become probabilities when viewed in light of the immeasurable importance of the poet's persona. Blok's death came to symbolize for Remizov his own loss of homeland—and by extension the loss of his readership, so it is not surprising that he should pose the crucial question of his artistic development in a work created in the shadow of Blok. In leaving Russia, Remizov left behind his native language, and visual art became a natural, translingual mode of expression.³⁰ From his (relatively readerless) exile, words alone could not convey the infinite sense of loss to which *Maroun* gives expression, and the use of visual art became indispensable. Therefore, for Remizov the album *Maroun* was not just a handmade rendition of an already thrice-published tale, but a re-creation of the story invested with the most current artistic concern—a transformation of his creative means. It is this development from word to image in *Maroun* that I would like to examine now.

The first collage (plate 3A) is placed opposite the calligraphically rendered Russian text of the tale. Its entire surface is covered with glued-on fragments in various, mostly angular shapes. Although it is hard to discern the color of the background, the principal lower layer is made of silver foil. The shapes are mainly cut from pieces of red, purple, orange, and yellow dyed paper of diverse textures, with several small areas handcolored in watercolor (lilac in the middle to the right of center, light lemon yellow to the right and above the lilac, and a small patch of brown in the lower left portion). Remizov also uses gold foil in the right lower quarter and covers with yellow watercolor a fragment of silver foil just below the horizontal dividing line in the middle in order to imitate the effect of gold foil. The collage, though small in size (138 x 114 mm), is the most vibrant of all the images in the album: it brings to life the yellow of falling leaves, the gray of the cliffs and of Stallo's steely armor, the snow-white of the three sisters, the blue of the sea, the red of the "red summer days," and the green of the overgrown path. Through these colors enter the sounds of howling

wind, pattering rain, rustling leaves, and crashing surf. Such an introduction of sounds through colors hardly requires a stretch of the imagination, because Remizov himself clearly believed that colors *sound*: "Colors are audible to me. If I were a musician, I would convey their melody through paints. But I am not a musician and they sing in me."³¹ Sonorous associations are abundant in Remizov's literary and pictorial art, and his oft-quoted "color and sound for me are indivisible"³² brings to mind Vasily Kandinsky's lists of corresponding colors and sounds.³³

At once the painter's palette and composer's overture, the first collage introduces all of the colors and sounds to be developed later in the album. It is meaningful that the colors that are least present in this composition become most important in the following images: the light turquoise and rust that are barely visible here assume great importance in the third drawing (figure 3.1c) and compose the entire palette of the fourth (figure 3.1d); yellow and lilac are the basic colors of the first drawing (figure 3.1A); and blue covers a large portion of the second (figure 3.1B and plate 2). Similarly, the most pronounced colors of this collage are silver and dark red, and while they are of seminal importance for the iconography of the two collages, neither silver nor dark red appears in the following drawings. Dark red and silver are significant because Remizov identified them as "his" and Blok's colors respectively.³⁴ Remizov consistently associated Blok with silver and the moon. Thus, in an essay in Blok's memory written shortly after the poet's death, Remizov said that he saw Blok in his dream "in silver."³⁵ In another essay, on the tenth anniversary of Blok's death, tellingly entitled "By Silver Threads," Remizov speaks of Blok appearing to him in the "silver threads of . . . thoughts."³⁶ A page in one of the graphic diaries, next to what appears to be Blok's portrait, contains a reference to a "silver door,"³⁷ and Remizov's important book of reminiscences *With Clipped Eyes (Podstrizhennymi glazami)* tells of a dream in which Blok appeared to him in the silence of the lunar path.³⁸ Finally, almost twenty years after putting together the album, and shortly before his own death, Remizov remembers Blok as "lunar" (*lunnyi*)³⁹ in his diary. All this elucidates Remizov's use of silver in the tale, where Maroun himself is described as "lunar as deermoss." The silver of the first collage also introduces the theme of music in relation to Blok through the Blok-related metaphors of "silver threads" and of celestial objects, in which Remizov always heard a certain music: "a thousand threads: lunar, solar, and starry. Stars are fate. . . . And this is why in music I discern the voice and recognize it. Music is from the stars."⁴⁰ After the first collage silver does not reappear in the album, while dark red becomes a prominent color in the last collage. (This change of the color motif is thematically and iconographically founded and will be discussed below.) The only components consistently present throughout the entire album are the black spidery lines of

the india-ink drawing. In constraining the first collage's bright, loud colors and angular, cutting shapes, and in separating its wedges, triangles, and rectangles, the linework introduces the ensuing cycle of drawings.

The series of four drawings in india ink and watercolor begins with an image whose composition takes up only a part of the surface and which is arranged against a white background (figure 3.1A). The drawing is extremely delicate in its overall effect and is reminiscent of Chinese flower paintings.⁴¹ Remizov, with characteristic eccentricity, claimed Chinese calligraphy as a form of art in which "there can be no mute lines"—a form that reverberated with its own "ever-sounding melody."⁴² The drawing consists of a combination of parallel and converging curly lines of non-uniform measure, thicker in the middle and thinner toward the ends, or as Remizov himself put it, "looping or splitting curls assumed the most varied shapes, and it was easy to find . . . the most complicated Chinese constructions."⁴³ Portions of the surface between the lines are covered with cross-hatching or semicircular shapes, partly colored with watercolor in medium yellow, different shades of lilac and purple, and pine-green. Surrounding the composition is a frame drawn in black ink. On the whole, the drawing seems to take shape out of elegant handwriting or, in the writer's own words, "out of calligraphic flourishes."⁴⁴

Remizov reflected on the progression from writing to calligraphy to drawing throughout his artistic life. In the previously mentioned 1933 third-person essay, written under the pseudonym Kukovnikov, where Remizov announced all his drawings to be rooted in calligraphy, he also maintained that in spite of the lessened prestige of calligraphy teachers in contemporary society, it remained a worthy subject of study and one that he would have liked to teach.⁴⁵ For better or worse Remizov's spontaneity in writing and drawing prevented him from fulfilling this dream of becoming a calligraphy instructor: his own penmanship teachers complained that Remizov's drawings were too much "for himself and from himself" (*dlia sebia i iz sebia*)—a criticism repeated verbatim by Mikhail Osorgin in the *Chisla* article about his fiction and in Il'in's explication of Remizov's "creative act."⁴⁶ But what was detrimental for the calligrapher proved beneficial for the graphic artist: "nature claimed its own . . . one was drawn to dash the pen about the page in play . . . that is, [one was drawn] to the most genuine art."⁴⁷ Remizov identified calligraphy as "the root of [his] drawing passion," claiming that drawing was embedded in "the very process of writing."⁴⁸ He also proposed that "*what is written and what is drawn* are in essence the same. Every scribe may become a draftsman, a draftsman is necessarily a scribe. A writer is primarily a scribe: calligraphic or the devil-himself-could-break-his-leg—it does not matter; and every writer is just itching to draw" (395). While "the thought wanders, the hand continues to draw out patterns mechanically" (395). Remizov admitted that his own

desire to draw bordered on compulsion: "Having made a flourish I cannot stop and begin to draw. In this lie my joy and my woe: I want to write, while the flourish, catching my hand like a hook, leads it to draw—thoughts scatter, writing ends, and beneath the unfinished lines appears a drawing" (397). This is why, explains Remizov, "writers' drawings cannot be separated from writing; these drawings are a continuation of lines and present the outlines of unexpressed thoughts and unsaid words."⁴⁹ Such deliberate erasing of the boundaries between writing (represented by calligraphy) and drawing is instrumental for properly understanding the first drawing of *Maroun* (figure 3.1A). Amazingly, the only recognizable object in this composition is the barely noticeable pinecone that emerges from the web of flourishes and the vaguely zoomorphic shapes of the drawing. This small pinecone provides the necessary connection with the following two images—images that belong to the visual domain due to their illustrative quality. Here, it must stand for the pine described in the text of the tale: "Whirlwind-deer by the pine: the pine was wilting. Broken up into chips by lightning." The very next line in the tale, the question about the abode of the wind's sisters, is probably addressed to the deer that appears in the following picture.

With the second drawing (figure 3.1B) begins the whirlwind-deer's tale of the Three Sisters. Here the visual gradually begins to take over the textual. In the center at the bottom of the picture are a number of spike-shaped and curvilinear forms outlined in ink and colored in green and yellow; they continue the lines and forms of the previous drawing, the splinters of the wilting, thunderstruck pine. Above the splintering pine, the profile of the whirlwind-deer himself is also outlined in black ink. The colored surfaces are placed mostly above and to the sides of the deer, whose presence is still strongly linear. The edge of the deer's left horn is fashioned from four consecutive wedges, pointing in the same direction, which will reappear in the next two drawings. In the deer's horns and merging with their shapes are the three naked "snow-white sisters of the wind—Gale, Blizzard, and Snowstorm."⁵⁰ The sisters' angular bodies are nonetheless representational, with hair and limbs extended into the air where they acquire distinctly floral forms. They are situated against a background of partly colored linework. Only about a third of the surface is covered with yellow, pine-green, rust, bluish-brown, and lilac watercolor, whose gentle hues yield to swirling semicircular, cross-hatching, and parallel lines in black ink. In the text, the sisters are said to bring "hard frost with clement weather" and "to raise yellow leaves in their wake"; hence the yellow vortex in the right half of the image. The sisters emerge from the sea (represented, perhaps, by the bluish-brown whorl of lines behind them) and are heading to the mysterious island where they spend their summer days. As in the previous drawing, the picture is enclosed in a black-ink frame, although the spatial arrangement of

the second drawing is more complex. Now there are three individual planes, distinguishable by their relative angling toward the ground line. But while the use of these spatial devices betrays the visual orientation of the image, both its relatively light reliance on color and its preference for line speak to its strong textual aspect. A further testament to the drawing's ambiguous pictorial/textual quality is the distribution of color versus white background: although a much larger surface of the picture is now colored as compared with the first drawing, the remaining white space is still sufficient to evoke a book page. As such, the second drawing becomes an indispensable part of the cycle, because it develops the tendencies already begun in the earlier image and brings these developments to a stage intermediate between the preceding image and the following one that will continue them.

In the third drawing (figure 3.1c, plate 2), the literary at last yields to the painterly, text to texture. In spite of the ample use of india ink, the watercolor surface overwhelms the white space of the background. Simultaneously, the composition in this picture is the most complex of all the images in the album. The drawing is again divided into three distinct planes. The first, uppermost plane is triangular, demarcated by the line beginning at the center of the left edge of the image and extending to the upper right, just above Maroun's crown. In this portion there are very few ink lines, the surface being almost entirely covered with watercolor splotches. Just above the bottom line of this segment one discerns four consecutive triangles pointed in the same direction, recalling the four similar triangles in the whirlwind-deer's left horn. But this time the shapes must stand for the tale's "sad brigs and schooners" sailing in the sea near the island. The second, nethermost plane of the composition starts with Maroun's head and slopes down to around the middle of the bottom edge. At the top of this plane we distinguish the sedentary figure of King Maroun in left profile: he sits as specified, "on the sharp cliff, high above the sea, listening to the waves." On his head rests a grayish-blue shape that most likely represents his "wreath of lunar deermoss." At his sides are two snakes: "and around him are snakes." Near the bottom of this portion Remizov includes a large, green, vertically positioned fish, probably one of four fishes that, according to the tale, support the island Olanda: "four fishes support the island: two one-eyed *ftundras* and two winged *simpas*"; these are the same two mythical fishes that Remizov mentions in his letter to Blok on March 2, 1911.⁵¹ It is telling that the letter, like *Maroun*, identifies the fish by species, with their imaginary names italicized: the fish therefore stand out from the text of the letter, which just postdates the first and antedates the second publication of the tale. (Remizov gave Blok a copy in March 1912.)⁵² The mouth of the fish crosses the borderline into the third, central, plane, which is shaped like a beam. At its narrowest, this

middle segment attains the height of Maroun's head, from which it starts. At its widest, it encompasses the lower left quarter of the composition. A large portion of the middle of the beam is taken up by a wave-shaped line drawing in black ink colored in blue and green watercolor. Below, a small human figure with a long extension in his hand sails toward Olanda on a blue boat with a yellow sail representing the "fearless, death-defying Viking Stallo, forged in steel, dropping anchor." As in the text of the tale Maroun pays Stallo no attention, but remains "immobile on his willful throne, lunar as deermoss, his mouth agape, he listens to the waves."

At least two of the images that are at the root of this watercolor are directly related to Blok. The first, a textual image, comes from the poet's 1906 play *Koral' na ploshchadi* (*King on the Square*).⁵³ Much like the ocean in *Maroun*, the sea in the play generates music: "music is born in the sea" (40). In fact, Maroun himself resembles the king in Blok's prologue: "A gigantic King rests on the massive throne. The crown covers his ancient green locks . . . Thin arms lie on the armrests of the throne. His entire pose is grandiose. . . the stage represents an island" (23); while Stallo recalls Blok's jester who "arrives from the sea" (23). Only the "fearless, death-defying" Stallo bears a noble sword in contrast to the jester's fishing rod and his "vile profile" (*merzkkii profil' s udechkoii*) (42).

The second image is an ink portrait of the deceased poet that Remizov drew on the twentieth anniversary of Blok's death (figure 3.2). The portrait shows Blok in left profile, just as Maroun is shown in the album, and it is remarkable in its likeness to the mythical king Maroun.⁵⁴ Perhaps as important, Remizov's later memories of Blok mirror the description of the immobile king Maroun, seated on his throne high above the sea, listening to the waves:

Before me emerges the face of a man with stubborn, merciless eyes, a man petrified in a stern conviction that forces even mountains to move; he looks, without closing his eyes, at that which is foaming, bubbling, driven, chased about and tossed by the whirlwind . . . and this is also the face of a man with his eyes immersed in listening to what is there—across the "black, black sky"—in future destinies. And to look thither so mercilessly, and "assuredly," petrified . . . to listen to what is there—beyond the skull of the "black, black sky"—only a man with the inborn, frightening gift of "hearing" can do so.⁵⁵

Such magical ability "to hear music" was, for Remizov, Blok's most magnificent and characteristic trait, which separated him from the rest:

and to such strange men—to "fools"—not to normal humans, is granted the great gift: hearing—somehow different, not ours. Blok could hear music.



FIGURE 3.4 Untitled portrait of A. Blok, Aleksei Remizov, 1941. India ink on paper. Rossiiskii Gosudarstvennyi Arhiv Literaturny i Iskusstva (Russian State Archive of Literature and Art), RGALI F. 420, op. 4, no. 30.

Not the instrumental music to which, during musical soirees, amateurs, serious, and not at all strange people listen, like dogs catching flies. No, music. I remember how in 1917 . . . I spoke with Blok on the phone and Blok told me that, above all the events, above all horror, he hears music, and is trying to write. So he wrote *The Twelve*.⁵⁶

Still, Remizov presents this gift of "hearing" as a mixed blessing: "There is the mystery of 'hearing,' but the gift of 'hearing' is more refined and cultivated than that of 'vision.' But this gift of 'internal hearing' does not just happen: something somehow sometimes happens, and behold—the man has vanished."⁵⁷ The way Remizov saw it, Blok's hearing inspired his poetry but also led to his untimely death. A very similar linking of Blok with sensory abilities was documented in Bely's letter addressed to Khodasevich in the immediate aftermath of Blok's death, on August 8, 1921, and published by Khodasevich only three years before the creation of the *Maroun* illustrated album:

Blok is no more. . . . This death for me is like a fateful striking of the clock: I feel as if a part of me departed with him. That's the thing; we barely saw each other, barely spoke, but a simple "being" of Blok, in a physical sense was, for me, like an organ of vision or hearing; I feel it now.⁵⁸

Andrei Bely's association of Blok with vision and hearing echoes and reinforces Remizov's interpretation of the poet as an exceptional bearer of these sensory superpowers; Bely even describes Blok as his proxy organ of hearing.⁵⁹

The convergence of vision and hearing is the key to the sequence of the last drawing (figure 3.1D). Originating in the textual look of the first drawing (the calligraphic lines against a white background), the visual gradually comes into its own with the increasing sophistication of pictorial devices, reaching their summit in the depiction of Maroun. The last drawing reintroduces the sounds that are encoded in the opening image of the album, the first collage, only here, the relation of color to sound is of an entirely different nature than in the first collage. In the collage certain colors stood for certain sounds and it was up to the beholder to hear the music of the composition; the music of the last drawing is much less accessible to the beholder because of its elusive nature—this is the music of destinies and time that can only be heard by the gifted, like Blok, or Maroun. I would like to propose that the last drawing is an elaboration on the middle plane of the previous one that funnels out from Maroun's head and thus seems to represent some revelation of his inner world. Visually, the two images (figures 3.1C and 3.1D) are linked by the presence of the four similarly pointing triangles (the sails of the "sad brigs and schooners"), the curvilinear parallel lines in black ink imitating waves, and the washed-out green (bordering on turquoise) signifying the sea in the picture. The drawing, therefore, represents the music of the waves on which Maroun is concentrating his powers of hearing and completes the story of Maroun by taking us maximally close to the album's innermost kernel of meaning. Its extremely introverted, seemingly obscure composition, which employs only two colors—green and brown (the black of the ink is only employed to signify the shapes of the waves, and the white is the ubiquitous background)—opens up to the viewer through a clever colorist device. Because the drawing is glued onto a rectangle of brown paper and then onto the green surface of the page, the viewer is allowed to see the very colors that Maroun sees inside the middle plane (figure 3.1D). It is at this point that the viewer is invited to attend—with Maroun, Blok, and Remizov—to the hum of time, provided that he, too, is able to hear life's music.

The music, of course, is all too elusive. In a 1949 letter to his pupil and biographer Natal'ia Kodrianskaia written within days of the August 7 anniversary of Blok's death and of Remizov's departure from Russia, Remizov complained: "If there were music I would listen to it without moving. Before my eyes were my colored wall, faded thoughts, and in the window a gray [wall] with the morgue behind the garage. And the frozen flight of the ash sky."⁶⁰ The colors of Remizov's wall "constructions" (as he called the large-scale collages that embellished the walls and windows of his apartment) and

the gray tints of the wall and sky visible from his window refused to sound. For Blok it took the bloodshed of the October Revolution to hear the music of the streets—the sort of turbulence that the dullness of émigré life could hardly grant Remizov. Yet, in *Maroun* he strove to hear the hum of time and invited his reader/viewer to do the same. Starting with the pinecone of the destroyed tree in the first drawing, out of which grow the sisters of the wind in the second, and Maroun himself in the third, the last drawing exposes the very sound of Maroun's magical world.

The question of whether there was any "music" for Remizov to hear in emigration and to develop in his art is an appropriate context for discussing the last image of the album, again a collage of dyed and hand-colored paper, covered with drawing in india ink (plate 38). As in the opening collage, the shapes here are primarily angular. But in contrast to the first collage's virtual rainbow of colors, the palette of the closing image is noticeably restrained. Aside from the dark-green background, the colors are limited to olive-green, blue, beige, and dark red. These sharp, red forms contribute to the impression of unrest, ruin, and desolation. The triangles appear to cut into the background, destroying the balanced geometry of the composition. They imply a devastation that parallels the grief and sorrow Remizov experienced in the aftermath of Blok's death and his own loss of motherland.⁶¹ Could the red (Remizov's color) stand for his life of exile "on the old stones" of Europe—a life that in his own words "had snapped" in 1921?⁶² Or, does it signify Blok's heart, "flaring up and dying down," or, perhaps, the specter of fire that haunted Remizov after Blok's death "in the night, above the expanses of Russia, above the steppe and the forest"?⁶³ Remizov's pain, brought on by the events of August 7, 1921, was anything but passing.⁶⁴ With more than a quarter of a century separating him from that day, in a letter of August 7, 1947, Remizov pondered: "How can I possibly express, without missing anything, the sorrow which overcame me?"⁶⁵ For the rest of his long life Remizov invested the constructed coincidence of the day of Blok's death and his departure from Russia with great importance: "the day of Blok's death—is the day when we stepped onto foreign soil, in this lies our common fate: to part with Russia."⁶⁶

This parallel between death and departure also led Remizov to associate the circumstances of Blok's death with his own loss of Russia: "[O]n August 7th Blok left this earth. The same morning, of the 7th . . . on the border we were parting with the Russian land. Blok went the way of 'all earth,' our way led to foreign lands—both among our own kind, and in the midst of a foreign language" (335). In "To the Stars" ("K zvezdam"), Remizov's lament over Blok's untimely death, he wrote that "not to see one's land, without 'music'—this is the ultimate woe, and from this woe one cannot escape" (380).⁶⁷ Leaving one's

native soil always brings about the loss of "music," one's native language. Blok lost this "music" in death, Remizov in his reluctant immigration. For that reason, Remizov saw in Blok's death and his own departure from Russia two different manifestations of the demise of verbal art. This belief could have been reinforced by Blok's complaint to Remizov just a few months before his death, that "under this oppression, it is impossible to write" (390), which Remizov later adapted to his own situation of a writer in exile: "I found out while living abroad that it is probably even harder for the Russian writer here, and to write is not just impossible, but there is simply nothing to write: it is only in Russia that something is happening, here—for a Russian—is a desert" (390). Remizov did not naively assume that Russian writers simply cannot create outside Russia's borders: he himself pointed out that Nikolai Gogol wrote his immortal *Dead Souls* while in Rome, and that "in the desert, vision and senses are sharp" (381–82). The inability to write comes not of just any separation from Russia, but from its deathly *irredeemable* loss.⁶⁸ Finding himself in the latter situation, restricted in his formerly primary medium of expression, the Russian language, the writer Remizov became an artist. It is this progression from verbal (textual) to visual (painterly) that he presents in the drawings of *Maroun*.

Curiously, his transcendence of writing and self-expression through visual art exemplified by *Maroun* had a much earlier precedent, which was, not coincidentally, associated with Blok. Kodrianskaia cites Remizov as saying that "during the revolution it was easier for me to draw than to express myself through words."⁶⁹ The drawings in question are the illustrations for Blok's poem *The Twelve*. According to his own recollections, Remizov never had a chance to show them to Blok. Shortly before the poet's death he asked that Blok at least be told about the drawings: "tell Blok: I drew many pictures, for every line of *The Twelve* a picture."⁷⁰ These drawings emerged from the simultaneous necessity of expression and inability to achieve this expression through writing, a situation that repeated itself in the 1930s and 1940s.⁷¹ Be it for the unbearable turmoil of the Revolution or the comparable stagnation of self-inflicted exile—when under duress—Remizov had to seek artistic resources other than writing. It appears that in order for Remizov to write, conditions had to be optimal—with more or less calm surroundings and circumstances permitting the use of his native tongue—while the only precondition for visual expression was the very need of expression.⁷² Such an attitude is in stark contrast to Kandinsky's reasons for the temporary trade-in of his brush for poet's pen.⁷³ Whereas Kandinsky admittedly used alternative artistic means to release less powerful creative impulses (the subjects that did not make him "vibrate spiritually" culminated in poems and not paintings),⁷⁴ Remizov switched to drawing to escape life's hardships.

In *Maroun*, through this seemingly fluid transition from writing to drawing, through establishing a symbiotic relationship between image and text, Remizov created a peculiar genre of synthetic art. There, he realized a kind of synthesis that could not be inscribed into the unyielding hierarchy of symbolist art forms—already passé at the time.⁷⁵ Remizov shared neither Wagner's idea of the *Gesamtkunstwerk*,⁷⁶ nor Viacheslav Ivanov's dream of communal theater (*sobornyi teatr*), a new synthetic form of art that was to incorporate music, poetry, word, painting, and stage art. Even its later incarnation in the Inkhuk 1920 program as the new "monumental art" was too old-fashioned in its favoring of music as the core art.⁷⁷ By no means ignorant of modernist synthetic developments,⁷⁸ in *Maroun* Remizov went beyond the standing symbolist conviction of the primacy of music. While it may resound with a secret inner music of its own, *Maroun* was not orchestrated according to the laws of music.⁷⁹ Conceptually, Remizov's understanding and application of synthesis in the arts probably came closest to that of Andrei Bely, who believed that although it is natural for the various arts to aspire to the transcendence of forms, the destruction of boundaries would essentially lead to the degeneration of art. Artists, proposed Bely, are not able to master the various arts equally: "the modern artist is bound by form" (*sovremenniy kbudozbnik sviazan formoi*) so

we cannot demand that he sing, dance, and paint . . . and therefore, we cannot demand that he strive toward synthesis—such a striving would express itself in a degradation, a return to the primitive forms of the distant past. But it was primitive creation, developing naturally, that led art to the current complexity of forms.⁸⁰

Bely rejected the synthesis of the arts based on the "mechanical reconciliation" of different arts, for such an artificial synthesis must only lead to "dead eclecticism." As if consciously deflating attempts to attune different art forms to music, he warned against the allure of "the false penetration of the spirit of music."⁸¹ Believing that it is fundamentally wrong to try to envision future art within or without the boundaries of different art forms, Bely called upon his contemporaries to abandon the concept of artistic form altogether. In his view, as the epigraph to this book shows, the artist should become "his own art form," thus invigorating the arts and making the question of synthesis moot, for future art was to annihilate—not merely transcend—form.

Iurii Tynianov touched on the same issues in an essay "Illustrations" ("Illustratsii") written in 1923 and published six years later in his book *Archaists and Innovators* (*Archaisty i novatory*). There he argued that the

cycle of "approximation" and "differentiation" among different arts had at that point reached the latter stage. Following the previous period of "fusion" (*sblizheniie*) (he offers as examples Chiurlinius' "sonatas" and Blok's "verbal-musical constructions"), the arts have now entered a phase of "differentiation" (*obosobleniie*).⁸² In this period of the cycle, with the burden of trying to transfer the "specific concreteness of a given art form into the specific concreteness of another" (503) removed, an artist is free to look for authentic equivalents among the arts (§ 11). Tynianov's condition for success in this search is "vague-ness" and "wide limits of concreteness" within a single art form; Khlebnikov's sonorous rendition of singing lips in "Bobobi" was a success, in his opinion. Remizov expressed similar ideas (albeit in a less-lucid form) as he explained his own objections to "false synthesis" due to the incompatibility of expressive means:

Word—music—painting—dance, this is "one and many," and each one of them has its own rhythm. The word inspires a musician, but it is impossible to read it with musical accompaniment. The same with painting: a picture can conjure up a word, but to paint a word is a futile thing. Graphic arts . . . but because the thoughts and the words that express them are linear, they are of the same species. There is no merging of the arts. Only rhetorical contiguity. This is because the materials and the means of expression are peculiar and different in all the arts. How seldom is word—music—painting—dance coherent; each goes its own way. "The one" is realized in the multifariousness of "nature" . . . But can a human being artificially unite the "many," and how?⁸³

Back to Alexander Blok in his well-known essay "Without Divinity, Without Inspiration" ("Bez bozhestva, bez vdokhnoveniia"), written several months before his death, the poet warned that "Russia is a young country, and its culture is synthetic. The Russian artist should not and must not be a 'specialist.'" Of great interest is the fact that Blok, in this essay, named Remizov as one of Russia's leading synthetic artists. The kind of synthesis to which the poet referred implies the transgression of media boundaries, the refusal of arts to be confined and function only "for art's sake" (Blok, *Collected Works* 6: 175–76). Blok urged artists not to limit themselves to their art form of choice if a change of medium is required for the sake of the ideal expression of Russia's national culture. And this was exactly what Remizov did in *Maroun*. While abhorring contrived syntheses of what was really unsynthesizable (if not antithetical), Remizov was nonetheless eager to realize Blok's dying behest to advance the national culture by "despecialization" of the arts. In order to do this, he chose graphic art, a medium with a natural propensity for the synthetic, a medium

where "thoughts and the words that express them are linear," and where word and image exist in such "rhythmical contiguity" that their convergence and divergence establish a kind of natural resonance. *Maroun* exemplifies how writing, drawing, and sound can coexist rhythmically⁴⁸ in a single work of art and contribute to its totality, thus forming a genuinely synthetic creation.

Chapter 4

SOLOMONIIA: FROM PIOUS TO LUBRICIOUS

Maroun's synesthesia challenged the limitations of ordinary perception based in sensory separation. A different way of reaching a truer, more comprehensive vision that is not confined by the logic of normalcy is to become an object of supernatural possession. Remizov's tale "Solomoniiia" from his 1951 book *Possessed: Savva Grudtsyn and Solomoniiia (Besnovaty: Savva Grudtsyn i Solomoniiia)*,⁴⁹ based on a seventeenth-century original known through a prominent mid-nineteenth-century publication, is about such possession. The protagonist of the story, Solomoniiia, is an innocent young country girl who promised herself to God, but is married off to a local shepherd against her will. On her wedding night she has a vision of a devil who assumes the place of her husband. This is followed by many more explicitly sexual apparitions, demonic torture, and the birth of the devil's offspring. The story ends with a miraculous cure of Solomoniiia by the saints Prokopii and Ioann, who retrieve and kill the demons that are afflicting the possessed.

During his life Remizov saw "Solomoniiia" published six times—twice in Russian and four times in translation. After its initial 1929 publication in the Prague émigré journal *Volia Rosiia*, the text came out in the Serbian journal *Ruski Arhiv* (Belgrad, 1931). Its French translation appeared in the Paris periodicals *Hippocrate* (1935: no. 10) and *Confluences* (1945: June–July), and then in Remizov's 1947 collected volume *Où finit l'escaier: Récits de la quatrième*

dimension; Contes et légendes. Finally, the Russian original was placed in the 1951 Opleshnik edition together with the pendant story "Savva Grudtsyn," published there for the first time. In addition to these printings, Remizov also produced three illustrated albums based on the story. The earliest of them (1934), now in the collection of the Amherst Center for Russian Culture,³ contains twenty-seven pages of combined Russian text and pasted-in drawings. All but three drawings in this album are black and white. The other two albums—one in Russian, the other in French—are dated 1935 and are preserved in private collections in Paris. The one with the Russian text has some twenty-four black-and-white drawings similar to those in the Amherst album.⁴ It is dedicated to Remizov's friend Pavel Nikolaevich Chizhov; I will hereafter refer to it as the Chizhov album. The album with the French translation is visually very different from the two Russian versions. Its six sumptuous drawings are much larger, separate from the text and in color.⁵ Remizov based his *Solomoniiia* albums on the traditional manuscript format. All three albums consist of booklets (*tradi*) and are written in the traditional india ink (*chernilo*); the Chizhov version is in a folder pasted with mahogany boards. In keeping with the medieval manuscript tradition the drawings in the Amherst and the Chizhov albums are miniatures, and in all three albums they are glued onto the page. Each album contains a *zapis*—a record of its authorship, and the place and time of production, and the palette of the hand-colored images conforms to the watercolor palette of nineteenth-century manuscripts.

Although chronologically the albums postdate the initial publication of the text, the drawings that ended up in the Amherst album were an integral part of the actual writing of the story: "Solomoniiia, her visions, I first drew . . . And I write using the drawings."⁶ Remarkably, this first "graphic" incarnation of the story also marks the beginning of Remizov's transition to the visual mode. Just before he drew *Solomoniiia* in the spring of 1928, Remizov confided in his wife's salon album that as an artist (*khdudozhnik*), he was still "unrealized" and that his "drawing passion burns only in [him] without igniting anyone else."⁷ This revealing statement, dated March 4, 1928, testifies to *Solomoniiia's* watershed character: it must have been Remizov's first fully graphic text.

Once the vision is released through images, the creative process begins. The original seventeenth-century narrative of demonic possession that served as a model can now be infused with new, Remizovian content. As was the case with many of his other texts that went through multiple editions, every subsequent *Solomoniiia* presented the story in a new light, depending upon its author's current interests. The next two chapters will retrace these shifts in Remizov's interpretation of his tale. In this chapter I will analyze and place into context the illustrated albums and the early conventionally published versions dealing with the "exterior" part of his threshold paradigm. In the following chapter

("Solomoniiia: The Tale of a Reluctant Wife") I will explore Remizov's "interior" promptings for drastically changing his presentation of the tale in its final 1951 edition.

From Remizov's correspondence with his wife we learn that he was aware of the seventeenth-century tale, and its narrative possibilities, at least as early as 1904 (he had published his first piece of fiction only two years earlier). In a letter to Serafima Pavlovna⁸ written from Vologda, Remizov described a train encounter with an old woman who spent the night relaying to him Solomoniiia's adventures:

Only I have spent the night without sleep, edgily attending to the insane words of "the mother." As if by some demonic evocation. [She] is telling me her "Possessed Solomoniiia." "The Mother"—a simple woman. Her tale—Russian "simple" speech of the "natural" order. Love of God and demonic apparitions. . . . I felt as if I myself was telling the story.⁹

The two-hundred-and-fifty-year-old text that was at the base of Remizov's tale is known from two manuscripts named for their provenance: the so-called Public Library and Buslaev versions. In 1860, the Public Library manuscript was reproduced in volume one of *Pamiatniki starinnoi russkoi literatury (Landmarks of Old Russian Literature)*, edited by the prominent Russian historian Nikolai Kostomarov and published by Count Kushelev-Bezborodko.¹⁰ The variations on this first manuscript found in the Buslaev copy were added in the "important additions and omissions" section that follows the text. Because the full text does not exist in English translation, I will devote the following few pages to a detailed retelling of this fascinating narrative.

According to Kosomarov, as it is printed in the Kushelev-Bezborodko edition, "Povest' o besnovatoi zhene Solomonii" ("The Tale About the Possessed Woman Solomoniiia") was written down in 1671 by a member of the Ustiug clergy, Father Iakov, as it was related to him by Solomoniiia herself, her priest, Father Nikita of Ustiug, and her father, also a priest, Dmitrii of Erga. The story begins with Solomoniiia reaching "the proper age" and her parents deciding to marry the girl off to the local farmer Matvei (a shepherd in the Buslaev version).¹¹ On her wedding night, while Matvei steps out "for nature's call" (*telesnye radi nuzhdy*), Solomoniiia hears a knock on the door, and a voice demands that she open it. Expecting to see her husband, Solomoniiia opens the door but encounters something less tangible: "as if a great whirlwind blew into her face, her ears, her eyes, it came as a flame fiery and blue" (*i pakhnu ci v litsc, i vo ushi, i vo ochi, aki nekotoryi vikhor' velii, i iavissia aki plamia nekoe ognenno i sine*). Solomoniiia is frightened even more when a short while later her husband returns to the sleeping chamber. She spends the night awake, shaken by severe

chills. Three days later she feels "a vicious demon" (*demonia liuta*) gnawing at her innards. On the ninth day of her marriage, after sunset, as Solomoniiia and Marvei retire for the night, she sees a hairy, bestial-looking demon with long claws getting into bed next to her. The demon "defiled her with the carnal sin" (*oskverni ee bludom*). From this day on, she is visited by more demons that now take on the appearance of handsome youths. The youths (invisibly to anyone else) come nightly in groups of five or six, "defile her," and then leave. At last, desperate, Solomoniiia tells her husband about the nocturnal visitations but the farmer remains silent, although soon after, seeing his wife's torment, he brings Solomoniiia back to her parents.

The demons follow the newlywed to her childhood home where they continue to plague her. Whenever she steps out into the antechamber they abduct her and take her underwater while she vainly screams for help. After keeping her in the river and defiling her (*takozhe silno skverniakbu cia*) for three nights and three days at a time, the demons bring her out on dry land and abandon her stark naked, now in the forest, then in the field. The possessed Solomoniiia is inevitably found by some "Christ-loving people" who direct her back to her father's house. One day the demons do not even wait until she goes into the antechamber, attacking her inside the house and throwing her body around the room. They tie a rope around her neck and raise her all the way to the ceiling beam, leveraging her body with a millstone. The neighbors hear the noise in the house and call Solomoniiia's father, who finds her in a pile with the millstone on her neck, black and blue, but unable to feel any pain or remember how she freed herself.

According to the text "the evil deeds of the demons are multiple and defy description" (*ikh vrazhbia kozni nezovozmožno i opisaniuu peredati*). Their physical ravishing of Solomoniiia is amplified by their attempt to undermine her belief in God. After failing to convince her to betray the Christian faith and join them willingly by using the promises of lavish life and eternal honor among them, the demons crucify her on the wall, tying down her arms and legs. They poke her with spears, impale her on their horns, cut her with knives, and tear her up with their claws, all the while asking her to believe in their father, Satan. As Solomoniiia remains silent, the demons untie her and carry her to a mound (*vysoкое nekoe mesto*), where they take her by her arms and legs and hurl her down with force. When Solomoniiia regains consciousness the demons bring her back to their kingdom where she is presented to a certain maid Iaroslavka.¹¹ Iaroslavka demands to know how she ended up in the devil's abode, where she is from, and who her parents are. Upon hearing the girl's story, she tells her that if Solomoniiia does not want to remain with them, she should maintain her silence and refuse to accept any food or drink from the demons, who will

torture her some more but then let her go. Solomoniiia follows this advice and is indeed soon released. After six peaceful days in her parents' house the demons return, and they recapture and impregnate Solomoniiia. She gestates a year and a half, and as the time comes for her to give birth, Solomoniiia, driven by her maternal instinct, sends her parents out of the house so that they will not kill her demonic offspring. The newborn demons, all six of them, are carried off and placed under the bridge by a "dark-eyed" woman sent to help with the birth. But when the parents return home for their supper, the newborns leave their hiding place and begin hurling stones and pieces of earth into the house. The terrified family members run out of the house, fearing for their lives. When they come back on the fourth day, they find Solomoniiia gone—the demons have abducted her. She is raped and impregnated again and gives birth to two more demons, then one more, then another two.

The next important scene takes place in the kingdom of the demons that recognize Solomoniiia as their mother. They force her to make the rounds offering them wine and calling them by their names. Solomoniiia complies, but the demons find that they have not tortured her enough and arrive at the happy idea of boiling her alive. Iaroslavka, who did not want her to perish among the demons, interferences and requests that the girl be allowed to return home to bid farewell to her parents. Iaroslavka also instructs Solomoniiia to memorize the names of the demons so that her father, a local priest, can say prayers against their evil powers. As the demons carry the freed Solomoniiia to her house, they try to kill her once again by drowning her in a swamp, but thunder and lightning thwart their plan, destroying many of them and allowing the victim to hide in a ditch. The demons find her there and resume the tortures (*mukami neudoboskazuemymi paki nachabaia mucitii*), at which point another storm with thunder and lightning disables more of them, so Solomoniiia finally makes her way home. Her parents meet her with joy, as they had despaired of seeing their daughter alive again. After she relays to them the story of her suffering and the names that she has learned, her father, priest Dmitrii, proceeds to curse the demons at the altar of his church. This is a critical moment for Solomoniiia, who almost dies of exhaustion, wounds, and the "furtive sacrifice" (*tainaia zberiva*) her father is performing at the altar. However, instead of dying, Solomoniiia goes to sleep and has a vision of St. Feodora, who directs her to go and live in the town of Ustiuq, near the cathedral of the Holy Virgin. She tells her father about the vision, and it is decided she should follow St. Feodora's advice, but when the preparations for the trip have already been made, Solomoniiia, prompted by the evil forces inside her, refuses to go. She is sent off anyway, and as she is led around from the Cathedral of the Virgin to the Church of Saints Prokopii and Ioann in Ustiuq, the demons inside her "tear up and ravage her

innards" (*v nei demoni utroby cia rvati i terzari*). Seeing this, a local priest, her spiritual father Nikita, takes pity on Solomoniia and sends her back to the haunted house in Erga.

A few days later the demons return for their victim. Only now, weakened by the power of prayer, they stay outside the house demanding her surrender into their hands. This time, her father, mother, and the neighbors can hear the calls as well. The demonic racket continues for eight weeks until two Ustiug priests—Nikita and Dmitrii—travel to Erga to help. But once they arrive, the demons attack them, reproaching the priests for their own sins: "*i oblitaiusbe vsiakimi grekbovnymi svidy, kto chto soveroi kakov grekb, i oznazhaiusbe sovest' vsiakago cheloveka*." The priests give up, and Solomoniia is returned to Ustiug. Soon after her arrival, she has another vision of St. Feodora, who discloses to her that the demons have such power over her because she was baptized by a drunken priest who did not complete one half of the holy rite. She is again living in Ustiug, where the priests continue her "treatment" in the local churches. One night, following Solomoniia's confession and acceptance of the Eucharist, the demon inside of her chews a hole in her left side, staining her shirt with blood. The following morning, she goes back to church, but during the ninth verse of prayer, the demon begins to hurl himself around inside of her. At the next visit to the church, as Solomoniia kisses the icons, the demon thrashes violently in her belly, forcing her to vomit. As the time of the Eucharist approaches, she is thrown all around the church. At last, when the restrained victim takes her communion, a voice from inside her body screams loudly: "[you] burned me! [you] burned me!" From that moment on, the demon inside of her does not subside. On May 27, Solomoniia has a vision of St. Prokopii and St. Ioann, who instruct her to say the Lord's Prayer. The saints demand to know if she truly believes in Christ, and as Solomoniia confirms that she does, the saints tell her not to share this vision with anybody until she is cured.

The narration now jumps forward to July 8, the Day of St. Prokopii, when Solomoniia, by then free of her demons, tells the story of her miraculous cure in the Church of Arkhangel'sky Monastery in the presence of Bishop Arsenii, Father Vladimir, and the multitude of churchgoers who have just attended a liturgy. The following first-person account takes up the rest of the manuscript. According to Solomoniia, her demonic possession lasted for ten years and five months. The cure began in the church, where Solomoniia's brother Andrei brought her by force. Disturbed by the demon who "began to scream inside her like a baby" (*i nach xopiti v utrobe moei aki maliy mladenets*) at the tomb of St. Prokopii, Solomoniia ran out of the church. She was forcibly returned, now to the tomb of St. Ioann. There she had a vision of the Virgin, who told Solomoniia that if she prayed diligently to Saints Prokopii and Ioann she would be cured. The Virgin also told her that she, Solomoniia, had some seventy demons in her

womb and would have another one thousand seven hundred soon, but that she should have no fear, for the miracle-workers Prokopii and Ioann would relieve her condition.

In Solomoniia's next vision, which came as she fell asleep at the tomb of St. Prokopii, the two saints came to her side. Having extracted from her a promise that she would not return to her husband or marry anyone else, the saints told her that she would finally be cured after three hours of horrible torture. Solomoniia ran out of the church again and was again returned by her brother Andrei, but the demon inside of Solomoniia was torturing her so violently that Andrei took pity on the girl and allowed her to go home. There, she informed her brother about the visions, which he, in turn, relayed to her priest, Nikita. The priest wanted to hear the story from Solomoniia herself, so she was led to the cathedral, but when she faced Nikita, telling the story proved to be impossible because of her "demonic lassitude" (*diavol'skogo tomleniie*). The priests (Nikita and the cathedral priest Simeon) started reading the prayers, which Solomoniia could not bear because of the demon inside her, so she was led out of the church.

As she was exiting the church, Solomoniia collapsed and had yet another vision. To her right she saw priests and deacons in procession. They were singing, burning incense, and carrying crosses and the book of the New Testament. To her left, she saw a multitude of demons. Some of them appeared black, others blue, hostile, and frightening (*a videniem oni okaiannii biakhu cherni, i sini, i izovery, i strashny*). There was a whole throng of them (*iako tucba velika*), and they were spitting and blowing their noses into her face (*i na liste moe oni akaianiii plevakku i smorkakku*).¹³ Solomoniia was carried to the house in which she was staying in Ustiug. There she asked to go to confession, and while priests read their prayers over Solomoniia's seemingly lifeless body, only her stomach was heaving, as if she were pregnant. Suddenly, the room lit up and a youth carrying a candle walked in. He was followed by St. Prokopii and St. Ioann, who solemnly took their place at Solomoniia's bedside. St. Ioann cut her belly with a little spear to retrieve a demon, which he handed over to St. Prokopii, who crushed him with a fire poker.¹³ The saints then fetched many more demons from her womb and killed them in a like manner. After they had destroyed one half of the demonic enemy force, the saints interrupted the cure, assuring Solomoniia that it would be completed at the tomb of St. Prokopii.

There the final scene of the tale took place, in the presence of the priests and the churchgoers. Saints Prokopii and Ioann stood by her side, as before, and continued to draw the demons out through the cut made earlier by the spear of St. Ioann. St. Prokopii finished the demons off by throwing them on the floor and crushing them with his foot. When all the demons were out, St. Ioann announced that Solomoniia was now pure and without blemish (*chista*

est, i net poroka v nei) but St. Prokopii told her that although she was fully cured, her enemies would tempt her again. He reminded her of the promise she made not to remarry. Solomoniia lingered in church a while longer, listening to the reading of the New Testament and praying at the tomb of St. Prokopii. The rest of the text contains her praise of the two saints and the Virgin. "Povest' o besnovatoi zhene Solomoniia," as it is published by Kushelev-Bezborodko, ends with a note where the author (Father Iakov) credits the miraculous cure to the Virgin, St. Prokopii, and St. Ioann and names the possessed as the source of the story and her real-life and spiritual fathers as her witnesses.

The text of the Public Library manuscript and the Buslaev addendum are followed by a two-page note written by Nikolai Kostomarov.¹⁴ In his interpretation of the tale Kostomarov makes three important points. He contends that Solomoniia's relationship with the demons was only an illusion; allows that she had actually existed; and offers a physiological explanation of her condition by proposing that Solomoniia was afflicted by a nervous malady (168). Initially, Remizov's view of the tale was similar if not identical to that of Kostomarov. But as Remizov reworked his version, filling it with current ideas and autobiographical detail, his interpretation challenged Kostomarov's assumptions, one by one, until the delusional victim was transformed into a medium with coveted access to "the other world."¹⁵ In this transformation, Remizov suspended nineteenth-century positivist disbelief, returning to something like a seventeenth-century take on the story.¹⁶ To get into the mind of the twentieth-century reader who would hardly be spooked by old-fashioned "unclean force" (*nechistia sila*), Remizov offered a modern version of Solomoniia's possession in which he equated demons with phalluses. This adjustment allowed Remizov's psychoanalytically enlightened contemporaries to take Solomoniia's possession at face value, practically reliving the experience of the original, seventeenth-century readership as it was described by Kostomarov: "the images of [Solomoniia's] inflamed imagination that were produced under the influence of her upbringing and general beliefs were taken as the truth and became an object of literary diversion for her contemporaries."¹⁷

The situation with *Solomoniia's* visual sources is somewhat more complicated. The actual images that Remizov could have relied on when he made his own drawings can be narrowed down to two groups of available models. The first group consists of the illuminated manuscripts of St. Feodora's passion from *Zbitie Vasilia Novogo* (*The Life of Basil the New*). Remizov was certainly familiar with a selection of illustrations of this text published in the same issue of the symbolist journal *Zolotoe Runo* (*The Golden Fleece*) as his award-winning short story "Chortik" ("A Little Devil").¹⁸ And according to the tale, Solomoniia used to look through a copy of this book as a child: "in

the house 'illuminated'—with pictures; twenty-one aerial passions and demons for all kinds of sins, variously and vividly, and of all of them, most vivid are the demons of the reigning force—the carnal sin."¹⁹ A later example of such a manuscript would be the nineteenth-century *Listevoe zbitie Vasilia Novogo i slovo Kirilla Turovskogo na uspение Bogoroditsy* (*Illuminated Life of Basil the New and the Word of Kirill Turovski on the Dormition of the Virgin*) now in Saratov University in Russia or the Moscow State University *Strasti Khristovy i Zbitie Vasilia Novogo* (*Passion of Christ and the Life of Basil the New*).²⁰ Both contain full-page miniatures that depict St. Feodora's life, death, and passions. The Moscow State University manuscript presents the passions in separate images of similar composition. Each image shows the saint's diminutive soul flanked by the two angels that lead her through the different trials (*mytarstva*), with the demons in profile on either side of this group. Above their heads there are inscriptions identifying the angels, the soul, and the given *mytarstvo*. In the illumination representing adultery and sodomy, the composition is varied through the representation of two demons *en face*. The tale of St. Feodora was such a popular subject for both manuscript illuminations and murals from the twelfth century onward²¹ that sometimes the saint was confused with another Feodora, the empress of Byzantium and the wife of Justinian.²² It is possible that Remizov wanted to prevent such confusion in his text and his portrait of St. Feodora when he described Solomoniia's vision of the saint as "a rich Byzantine matron in lavish clothing decorated with pearls and rubies"²³—an image remarkably close to the commonly reproduced portrait of the empress in the Ravenna mosaics (plate 4).

A second possible group of visual sources for Remizov's drawings are the popular folk prints (*lubki*) illustrating the stories of St. Feodora and the possessed Solomoniia herself.²⁴ An example is a print of St. Feodora's passions dating from the second half of the nineteenth century, described in Dmitrii Rovinskiĭ's authoritative 1881 catalogue raisonné of the *lubki* in the Loginov collection. It is two-leaf sized²⁵ and contains a text copied from an earlier version stamped with the 1845 censor's mark.²⁶ Notably, the portion of the text that describes the trial of adultery lists those who break their vow of chastity along with those unfaithful in marriage as guilty of adultery.²⁷ In the two available examples of the nineteenth-century *lubki* of *The Death of St. Feodora and the Vision of Her Soul's Passions*,²⁸ the story is represented in simultaneous action, with St. Feodora's life, death, and passion unfolding on the same page. The trials (*mytarstva*) are depicted here as a ladder—each sin corresponds to a rung that the soul must ascend on its way to the heavenly gate. If the soul in question belongs to a sinner with a certain weakness, it will take a plunge (or be pushed off by the demons) from the corresponding ladder step into the fiery pit of hell. I have not had a chance to see any prints representing Solomoniia's tale in

person; in fact, they seem to have eluded even the eyes of Rovinskii, who only gave a secondhand description of it: "according to a Muscovite, Sherbakov, one such picture was three-leaf-sized, engraved on copper in the second half of the last century, with the text very similar (although abridged) to the one printed in the *Landmarks of Old Russian Literature* by Count Kushelev-Bezborodko in 1860."²⁹ Rovinskii's mention of the Kushelev-Bezborodko edition is important here because it links both textual and visual versions of the story as they existed in the popular domain.

If considered on their own, the drawings from the Amherst and Chizhov albums actually resemble folk prints in their aesthetic affinity with woodblock print designs and their placement of drawing and text, which is boxed in beneath or above the images. Some pages from the Chizhov album show an arrangement of text and drawing very close to that in an eighteenth-century copper engraving of the Temptation of St. Anthony, published by Rovinskii.³⁰ Yet, the similarities between Remizov's graphic representations of the story and its earlier depictions are less striking than the differences. When considering the extent of his use of the particular representations from the manuscripts and the *lubki*, it is important to keep in mind that any relationship between them would necessarily be indirect. Remizov's drawings are contemporary illustrations of the tale about Solomoniia, whose demonic visions were triggered by manuscript images the protagonist saw as a child. Therefore, their visual appearance has to do much more with Remizov's stylistic preferences circa 1930 than with the three-hundred-year-old tradition of representing the demons as Solomoniia might have seen them in the manuscripts about St. Feodora.

The Amherst album is a cardboard-bound book (the title is mechanically embossed on the front cover) in folio format with medium-weight white paper used for its pages; the drawings are pasted on the verso side of each page. All drawings are in india ink (with three in colored ink) on checkered notebook paper.³¹ Each is glued onto a larger piece of checkered paper with the text in block letters above and below it (figure 4.1). A close examination of the album shows that its drawings are the original pictures Remizov mentions on the *zapis'* page. The size and the grid lines on the checkered paper of the drawings in the album match the cutouts in one of the draft versions.³² In addition to the text itself (copied from *Volna Rossii*), the album contains the title page, a signature page, a dedication page, a foreword (figure 4.2A), a page that presents the story's characters (figure 4.2B), and a separate portrait of the story's scribe, Father Iakov (figure 4.3). The text is followed by two additional images: a *zapis'* page, where Remizov explains the circumstances of writing "Solomoniia" (figure 4.4), and his calligraphic signature.

We learn from the *zapis'* page that Remizov thought of the Amherst album as a "book" (*kniga*), more precisely, "a handwritten book" (*rukopisnaia kniga*)—

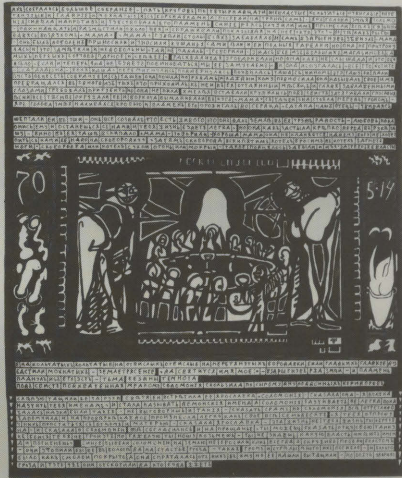
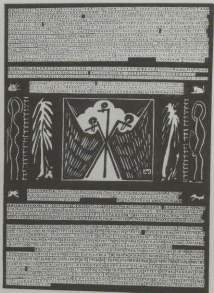
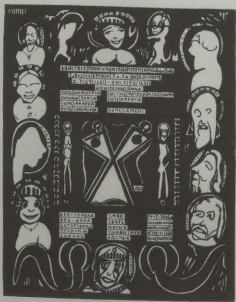


FIGURE 4.1 *Solomoniia*, Alexei Remizov, 1934. India ink on paper. Album size: 294 x 200 mm. Amherst Center for Russian Culture.



(A)



(B)

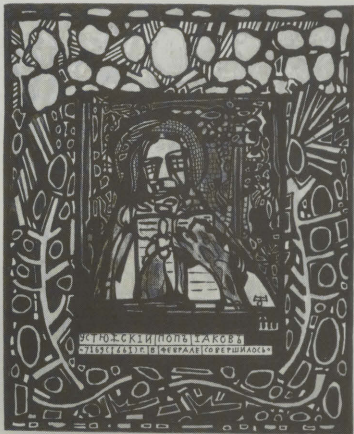


FIGURE 4.3 "Priest Iakov," *Solomonnia*, Alexei Remizov, 1934. India ink and colored ink on paper. Amherst Center for Russian Culture.

FIGURE 4.2 (opposite page) *Solomonnia*, Alexei Remizov, 1934. (A) Foreword; (B) The story's characters. India ink on paper. Amherst Center for Russian Culture.

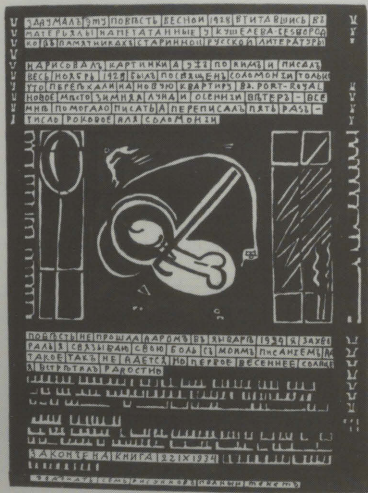


FIGURE 4-4 Inscription (*zapis'*) from *Solomoniiia*, Alexei Remizov, 1934. India ink on paper. Amherst Center for Russian Culture.

number 103 of his "handwritten editions" as he refers to it on the dedication page. He even gives the date—1934—for this "edition" of his book. This makes the Amherst album the de facto second Russian-language "publication" of his story (the *Ruski Arbio* text was in Serbian translation). The text in the album is different from the first publication in *Volia Russii* in that it takes into account Remizov's newly acquired knowledge of Aleksandr Amfiteatrov's work on the tale.²³ It includes the foreword that grew out of the Remizov-Amfiteatrov correspondence, which I will discuss in the next chapter, and here, for the first time, Remizov changes Solomoniiia's age in the story from sixteen to fourteen. He will retain this new age in all subsequent versions. Remizov also uses the *zapis'* page, traditionally reserved for information about the scribe and the manuscript, to communicate some crucial information about the writing of "Solomoniiia." I will quote this short text in full:

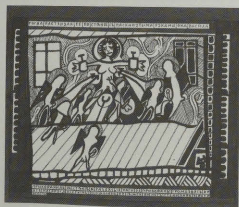
I conceived this tale in the spring of 1928 while scrutinizing the materials printed by Kushelev-Bezborodko in *Landmarks of Old Russian Literature*. I drew pictures, and using them wrote the text. All of November 1928 was dedicated to Solomoniiia. We had just moved to a new apartment on Port Royal. The new place, winter moon and autumn wind—everything helped me to write. I wrote five drafts—a number fateful for Solomoniiia. The tale did not pass without consequences: in January 1929 I became ill. I connect my pain with my writing. It could not have come for nothing. But the first spring sun I greeted with joy. The book was finished 22/IX/1934. Twenty-seven drawings. Full text.²⁴

What Remizov says in this *zapis'* page about the drawings will reappear in the preface to the Opleshnik edition, "History of the Tale" ("Istoriia povesti"), but the rest of its revelations are unique to the Amherst album. I believe that Remizov chose this album as the venue for disclosing such personal details because of its inherently private nature. This was a clever way to "deposit" some information that was, perhaps, too personal to share at the time, but that could be preserved and passed on through the time capsule of an illustrated album donated to a bibliophile's "book depository."²⁵

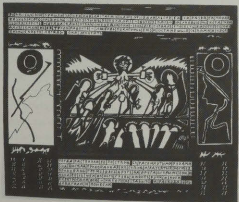
The next year, the second *Solomoniiia* album followed, also in Russian.²⁶ Remizov's list of his albums specifies that it consisted of thirty-two pages with twenty-four drawings.²⁷ This is the Chizhov album, which is presently in the collection of René Guerra. As in the Amherst album, the drawings are glued onto the pages, although the pages of this album are loose; the pages are contained in a folder covered with mahogany veneer. Unfortunately, I did not have a chance to examine this album closely, so I will base my necessarily perfunctory remarks on its three drawings published in a book by Natalia Kodrianskaia²⁸ and the two drawings reprinted in the French translation of the tale in the

journal *Hippocrate*.³⁹ In terms of their format and overall style, the images closely follow those in the Amherst album. Compare, for example, the drawings in the Amherst album and in the Chizhov⁴⁰ album that describe Solomoniiia's torture with a millstone; two others that show her spread out on the wall (figure 4.5); the two renditions of the scene where Solomoniiia is hurled down from the mound; the two where she is visited by Saints Prokopii and Ioann (figure 4.6); and two more⁴¹ where she is flanked by the forces of good and evil as she exits the Church of St. Prokopii (figure 4.7). Most of the images are nearly identical in their composition and sizing. Both the Amherst and the Chizhov drawings are very schematic, in part due to their monochrome execution, in part to conform to primitivism's affinity for old woodblock designs.

However, despite the superficial similarities between these two sets of drawings, the albums where they are placed are very different. The reason for

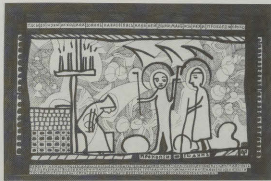


(A)

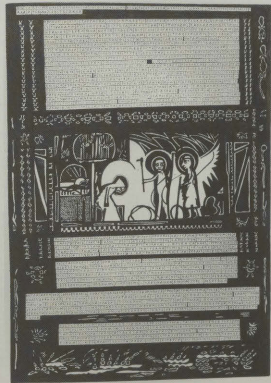


(B)

FIGURE 4.5 Solomoniiia tortured by the demons. (A) *Solomoniiia*, Alexei Remizov, 1935. India ink on paper. Guerra Collection. Copyright René Guerra. (B) *Solomoniiia*, Alexei Remizov, 1934. India ink on paper. Amherst Center for Russian Culture.

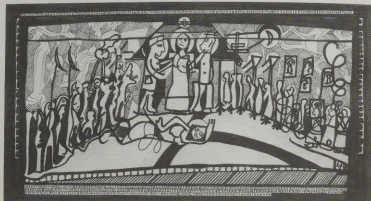


(A)

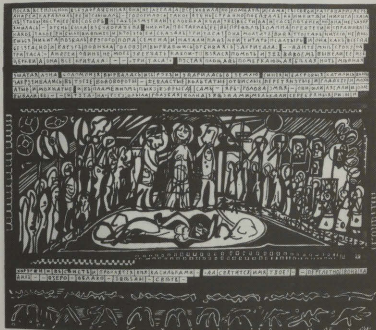


(B)

FIGURE 4.6 Solomoniiia with the Saints Prokopii and Ioann. (A) *Solomoniiia*, Alexei Remizov, 1935. India ink on paper. Guerra Collection. Copyright René Guerra. (B) *Solomoniiia*, Alexei Remizov, 1934. India ink on paper. Amherst Center for Russian Culture.



(a)



(b)

FIGURE 4.7 *Solomoniiia* flanked by the forces of good and evil.
 (A) *Solomoniiia*, Alexei Remizov, 1935. India ink on paper. Guerra
 Collection. Copyright René Guerra (B) *Solomoniiia*, Alexei Remizov,
 1934. India ink on paper. Amherst Center for Russian Culture.

this difference lies in their mode of production. While the drawings of the Amherst album originated as visual realizations within a manuscript draft of the tale, the drawings of the Chizhov album must have been made specifically for it. The Amherst drawings rely heavily on india ink, almost to a point where they look like intaglio impressions with ink-filled hollow areas. The Chizhov drawings, on the other hand, are much more linear, with the white background sketched over in the characteristic parallel lines that Remizov probably borrowed from icon painting.⁴³ It is reasonable to assume that Remizov made the most of india ink in the Amherst drawings to mask the checkered lines of the notebook paper that served as support for these drawings. There was no such urge to conceal with the Chizhov drawings, which were done on plain white paper with no markings. Most likely, Remizov started the Chizhov album as a series of illustrations in which the story was to be told through drawings and where the text was, literally, relegated to the margins. This primacy of images over text is consistent with another variation between the two versions—the Chizhov album does not contain the full text, only the captionlike fragments immediately relevant to the drawings, an abridged text, just as it would be used in *lubki*. The Chizhov album was an attempt to illustrate and not to publish the story in a handwritten book as was the case with the Amherst album.

The third *Solomoniiia* album, also from 1935, is in French.⁴⁵ When compared to the two Russian versions of *Solomoniiia*, the French rendition (titled *Solomonie*) seems very decorative and even lavish. The album has an ochre-colored jacket of medium-weight paper.⁴⁴ The rest of the album is on thick bluish paper of bifold, unbound pages. The dedication page is left blank, with only Remizov's first initial and last name written in block letters along the bottom edge. His calligraphic signature takes up most of the lower third of the title page with a whirl going into the upper portion along the right side. The album contains a French translation of the tale and an afterword based on the foreword of the *Ruski Arbio* and the Amherst album. The first of the six images in the album is pasted on the next page—it is a portrait of St. Feodora done in india ink and colored pencil (plate 4). The image itself is on thin white paper glued onto thin glossy black paper, and then onto the page. In contrast to the miniature size of the Amherst and the Chizhov drawings, this image is quite large; it appears almost monumental.⁴⁶ The next two images represent the first and the tenth night respectively (plates 5 and 6). Although in their general composition they follow the related images in the Amherst album (figure 4.8), these drawings are considerably more complex and ornate than their monochrome prototypes.

In addition to the cross-hatching Remizov had already used in the Chizhov album, he filled in some of the objects with a mosaiclike pattern.⁴⁸ Both



(a)



(b)

FIGURE 4.8 (a) "The First Night," *Solomoniiia*, Alexei Remizov, 1934. India ink on paper. (b) "The Tenth Night," *Solomoniiia*, Alexei Remizov, 1934. India ink on paper. Amherst Center for Russian Culture.

Nights are enclosed in a double frame: the inner ornamental frame in black ink, and the plain outer frame of thick matte black paper or white paper drawn over in black ink. The next image is a collage of glossy ultramarine and matte brown paper with overdrawing in india ink. The letters along the lower edge read: "Solomonie" (plate 7). The last drawing of the album is in india ink on white paper with a frame of light blue paper.⁴⁷ It shows a silhouette of a woman facing a homunculus with three phallic protrusions. Its inscription reads "*l'univers est un acte/de/volupté*" ("the universe/is/an/act/of/pleasure") along the upper inside edge of the outer frame (plate 8). The album ends with a version of a *zapis* page where most of the information is blacked out. The only remaining fragment along the bottom gives the number of color plates in the album and states that the album is a unique autograph: "*6 planches/en couleur/hors/texte/exemplaire/autographe/unique.*"

The differences in the content of the Reznikoff album (based on which images it includes and which images it excludes) are as telling as the differences in its appearance. The obvious omission of all but the most sexually explicit illustrations and the inclusion of the drawing that declares that "the universe is an act of pleasure" give the album an erotic connotation not present in the Russian-language versions. A possible explanation for this shift in Remizov's presentation of the tale is that since the album was intended for a French audience not familiar with the intricacies of miraculous cures by Orthodox saints, it would be sensible to concentrate on the "human element" of the narrative.⁴⁸ Far from compromising its meaning, this presentation is entirely consistent with Remizov's description of Solomoniiia's confession (*ispoved*) as "delirious and, moreover, sexual" (*bradovaiia i pritom seksual'naia*)⁴⁹ (plate 8).

More can be learned from a closer look at the translator of Remizov's text into French. The author of the translation used in the album was none other than Gilbert Lély (1904–85), a poet with strong surrealist links known for his erotic verses and his publications on the Marquis de Sade.⁵⁰ A promising young scholar, in the mid-thirties Lély was working on the papers of Sade. Lély's biographer Jean-Louis Gabin writes that latent sadism, voyeurism, sexual libertinism, and devotion to erotic literature were already evident in his works of the early twenties.⁵¹ During the mid- to late-1920s and 1930s these interests were absorbed into the broader surrealist vocabulary. André Breton himself referred to Lély as a "*lumpe scabreux*" of surrealism, and "*un érotomane distingué*."⁵² If we review the statement about the universe as "an act of pleasure" against the background of Lély's writings on the libertine philosophy of sexual gratification by any and all means, both the drawing and the album make much more sense. It is even possible that the album was intended as a gift to Lély, who by the time of the album's production was not just a translator but also a close acquaintance of Remizov.⁵³ Alternatively, the album could have been

produced for sale, making the conformity to the audience's voluptuous interests especially relevant.⁵⁴ Mid- to late-1920 saw an explosion of publications that could be deemed erotic or pornographic, depending on one's point of view.⁵⁵ In an unpublished letter addressed to Remizov, his friend the poet René Char promises to show the album to Valentine Hugo, one of the artists who illustrated Pierre Louÿs's erotic text *Trois filles et leur mère*, published by Paul (and Gala) Éluard. In either case, I would argue that Remizov's decision to present the story from an angle of eroticism was driven by the potential audience for the album, thus making this erotic presentation of the story singular among its nine avatars.

The surrealists' interest in Sade was only a part of their attempt to reevaluate the accepted norms of love and of what constitutes madness. Perhaps the most significant act of the surrealists in their effort to undermine conventional morals was the project to which they gave the quasi-scientific name "Recherches sur la sexualité" ("Studies on Sexuality"). It was organized as a series of sessions (eleven in all) where the participants, among whom were André Breton, Marcel Noll, Benjamin Péret, Raymond Queneau, Yves Tanguy, Louis Aragon, and Man Ray, took turns answering questions regarding their own sexuality and their views on "normalcy."⁵⁶ This was the discourse into which Remizov's "Solomonie la Possédée" (note the spelling out of the protagonist's condition in the French title) was printed in 1935. The venue for the publication was the journal *Hippocrate*,⁵⁷ where two years previously Remizov had placed his "Tourguéniev, poète du rêve."⁵⁸ *Hippocrate* defined itself as a "revue d'humanisme médical" and published all sorts of texts related to medical themes or authored by medical doctors dabbling in the humanities. Lély, who in the case of this publication was not just a translator but also the editor in chief of the journal, knew that Remizov's "Solomonie la Possédée" would appeal to the readers of *Hippocrate* because it referred to demonic possession and implicitly to the already-familiar and popular topic of hysteria. (Demonic possession was associated with hysteria as it was commonly assumed the symptoms of the former were a medical manifestation of the latter.)⁵⁹ To fit the positivist profile of the journal, the text of the tale was abridged to omit the first appearance of St. Feodora and the following scene where Solomonie takes communion.⁶⁰ To ensure that the French readers could understand *Solomonie*, the tale was accompanied by a foreword.⁶¹ Thus the emphasis is placed on the more physical and physiological content of the story, relegating the spiritual theme of salvation through faith to the background. What's more, for the first time in its printed history, the text was illustrated with two images.⁶² These show the scenes where Solomonie is tied down and tortured by the demons (for one example, see figure 4.5A). The subscribers to *Hippocrate* could easily see a Sadian reference here: in the very first issue of the journal, the year of

Remizov's first contribution to it, Maurice Heine published a long essay on the "Divine Marquis."⁶³ In another article, from 1933, Heine described an infamous incident in which Sade restrained, flogged, and allegedly tortured a certain young widow, Rose Keller—an image mirrored in Solomonie's own misfortunes of virtue.⁶⁴

While the changes to the translation of "Solomonie la Possédée" were made some years after the story was written, there is still enough evidence to suggest that Remizov was familiar with French writings on hysteria and possession, especially those in the surrealist press, prior to putting the story on paper. Remizov's address book, preserved in the Reznikoff collection, proves that he was aware of the journal *La Révolution surréaliste* and of its editor André Breton as early as 1924, the final year of its publication.⁶⁵ Subsequently, the journal printed a number of writings that would have interested Remizov.⁶⁶ The third issue (April 1925) contained an unsigned letter to the heads of psychiatric asylums ("Lettre aux Médecins-Chefs des Asiles de Fous," 29) that declared the relativism of the notion of madness, claiming that it is so-called rational reality that is irrational. In the March 1926 issue (no. 6) Louis Aragon's text "Entrée des succubes"⁶⁷ extolled the different types of female demons whose sole purpose was to sexually engage human males. Scholars of surrealism have previously noted the surrealists' fascination with succubacy.⁶⁸ According to Ades the surrealists found the idea of intercourse with a succubus attractive on two levels. First, it challenged "the notion of a clear split between the real and the imagined," echoing the formulation from Breton's "Second Manifesto of Surrealism": "Everything tends to make us believe that there exists a certain point of the mind at which life and death, the real and the imagined, past and future, the communicable and the incommunicable, high and low, cease to be perceived as contradictions." Second, succubacy was "a kind of private shorthand for the surrealists' quarrels with the contemporary practitioners of psychology and psychiatry, their radical questioning of socially governed definitions of insanity, and their attack on notions of normal and pathological in sexuality."⁶⁹ Not only the demology of *Solomonie* makes specific references to *incubi*, male demons in human guise, the beautiful youths who defile her, but the notion of liminality within Solomonie's consciousness as she is accosted by the demons is key to the story. Remizov emphasized repeatedly the heroine's borderline states of mind that allowed her to slip in and out of dreams and visions. Although a victim, a person possessed, Solomonie's strength was in her ability to transgress the limitations of the diurnal consciousness. Her visions released her imagination, and her possession was the impetus for this release. It is on the issue of possession as a creative phenomenon that Remizov's and the surrealists' ideas converge.

The March 15 issue of *La Révolution surréaliste* contained a short essay

entitled "The Fiftieth Anniversary of Hysteria," signed by Aragon and Breton and illustrated with a series of photographs of Professor Charcot's most famous patient, known as Augustine. The authors described previous "mythical, erotic, lyrical, and social" definitions of hysteria as oscillating between science and diabolism. Having rejected both ways of looking at the disease, they came up with a new definition, which concluded with an important pronouncement: "hysteria is not a pathological phenomenon and may in all respects be considered a supreme means of expression."⁷⁰ This notion of what has been hitherto perceived as abnormal must have carried a serious appeal for Remizov, because in *Solomonnia*, possession (*oderzbiwnost' or besnovatost'*) is much more than an affliction that subjects its victim to the cruel curiosity of the gawking crowd. Rather, it is an asset, a gift that expands one's imagination. Remizov's search for the ways to escape the confines of normalcy led him to perceive possession as a creative condition akin to what a writer or an artist experiences as he transforms the events of life into art. A draft of the introduction to *Possessed* contains a passage where Remizov actually describes himself as possessed: "Both the guardian angels and the demons dwell not somewhere on the side, but in me. // 'Possessed'—uninhibited and haunted. // I am subject to my own powers—and I am possessed."⁷¹ Although he never repeated this pronouncement in print, his possession is implicit in an iconographical self-association with fire and blood: "I was born on the night of Ivan Kupala, and came into the world from a 'demonic brew.' . . . The nature of my being is Kupalesque: fire and blood."⁷² Here the connection to possession is through blood: "Both Sava and Solomonnia are possessed—haunted. Blood—from blood and through blood come their visions."⁷³ If possession allows one to have visions inaccessible to "normal" and "healthy" minds, then in depicting himself as possessed (if only metaphorically) Remizov presents possession as a welcome artistic impulse.

The essay on the fiftieth anniversary of hysteria was not the only piece in the March issue where the surrealists questioned the existing definitions of madness and posed the link between madness and imagination. The readers of *La Révolution surréaliste* were also invited to wander Parisian streets along with Breton and the fictional character Nadja of the eponymous book. Breton's accusation that psychiatric asylums were a breeding ground for abnormality (with reference to Nadja) is a reiteration of the sentiment expressed in the open letter to the heads of psychiatric asylums published in the third issue of the journal. A more direct reference to this earlier publication comes in a letter addressed to Breton by Jean Genbach (Ernest Gengenbach), in which Genbach, who is confined in the Sédillot military hospital, claims to have just recited it to a visitor "at the top of his lungs." As he is interviewed, Genbach professes to have no desire to be "normal, balanced, a master of his emotions and impressions,"

instead wishing to be "possessed by his thought, his desire, and his dream" (31). Genbach's letter is immediately followed by the aforementioned transcripts of the first meeting for "Studies in Sexuality." Notably, it happened to be a meeting in which one of the key questions involves the relationship between *succubi* and imagination.⁷⁴ This accumulation of references to madness, hysteria, demonism, and creativity leads to a very palpable "theme" for the March 1928 *La Révolution surréaliste*, a theme Remizov would hardly have missed.

Since he dated the actual writing of the story to the spring of 1928, it is quite possible that his presentation of madness as creativity was prompted by the March 1928 issue; but the writer whose use of sources was the very definition of bricolage did not need to rely exclusively on Breton's journal.⁷⁵ A number of other publications also could have suggested viewing hysteria in metaphysical terms. For already half a century some of Charcot's students were practicing a form of retrospective medicine as they wrote about hysterics in art and in history.⁷⁶ In 1926 Pierre Janet published *De l'angoisse à l'extase: Etudes sur les croyances et les sentiments*, a two-volume illustrated study on religious ecstasy and its connections with clinical hysteria.⁷⁷ Janet's work came closest to the later pronouncements in "The Fiftieth Anniversary of Hysteria" in that he explained hysteria as a form of expression, albeit a pathological one.⁷⁸ The same year the original de Sade scholar Maurice Heine published a *Collection of Psycho-sexual Confessions and Observations from Medical Literature*.⁷⁹ Remizov would certainly have known of Leiris's trip to Dakar and his well-illustrated studies on possession.⁸⁰ Plus, by 1928 Prinzhorn's book on the art of the mentally ill was already incorporated into the French discourse on alternative artistic expression. If Remizov did not read it in Berlin just after it came out (he was fluent in German), given the book's popularity with the surrealists, he is very likely to have read it in Paris. As the topic of the art of the insane became increasingly fashionable, Parisian galleries competed in organizing exhibitions of drawings made by the mentally ill. I mentioned earlier the Galerie Vavin blockbuster exhibition of 1928.⁸¹ Jean Vinchon's 1924 study *L'art et la folie (Art and Madness)* utilized the examples of psychotics' drawings from Dr. Auguste Marie's Villejuif collection, attracting further public interest to the subject.⁸² By the mid-1930s, when Remizov made his French *Solomonnia* album, Breton had already purchased some of Wölfli's drawings for his own collection of the art of the insane, so the album's conspicuously detailed narrative drawings could be considered a nod to Wölfli's mosaiclike sectioning of the page, where *horror vacui* reigns supreme.⁸³ While I am convinced that *Solomonnia* is above all a personal narrative, and the next chapter of this book is dedicated to explaining how this was the case, the aspects of Remizov's story that have to do with the relationship between possession/madness and creativity were clearly a part of the contemporaneous French discourse on the subject.

Lévy's translation, which Remizov used in the Reznikoff album, was published three more times.⁸⁴ In 1935 the full text and an adapted foreword came out in *Hippocrate: Revue d'humanisme médical*, discussed above.⁸⁵ The foreword was pulled from the next two publications. The first of them took place right after the war in the June–July issue of *Confluences*, a journal of art criticism published in Lyon.⁸⁶ Then, in 1947, Remizov reprinted Lévy's translation of the tale in his collected volume *Où finit l'escalier: Récits de la quatrième dimension; Contes et légendes*.⁸⁷ The latter volume presented the story of Solomonia from yet another angle. *Où finit l'escalier*, just like the 1937 illustrated album with the namesake subtitle, was devoted entirely to dreams.⁸⁸ It is easy to see why Remizov would present the tale as a dream.⁸⁹ Already in the seventeenth-century version published by Kushelev-Bezborodko, Solomonia has visions of the Virgin and Saints Feodora, Prokopii, and Ioann when she dozes off at the various Ustiug churches. Remizov brings even more of the dream element into his *Solomonia*. When I examined the draft copies of the tale at the Amherst Center for Russian Culture, I noticed that in one of the early drafts the initial appearance of the devil to Solomonia is described in an indented paragraph—a device Remizov habitually used to designate dreams within his texts.⁹⁰ Presenting the nocturnal visits by the devil and the *incubi* as dreams offers a superficially new interpretation, in which Solomonia's possession is triggered not by her broken vow of chastity or her epileptic hysteria⁹¹ but by her overactive imagination, aided, perhaps, by the visual memory of St. Feodora's carnal trials as they were depicted in the illuminated manuscripts. However, this glimpse of normalcy is just that. As we find out from his introduction to *Où finit l'escalier*, dreams and "phantoms" are only accessible to "sick" minds (*les fantômes n'apparaissent qu'aux maladies*).⁹² This idea redirects us to the original reading: it was Solomonia's possession, her "sickness," that produced the creative vision, and Remizov's mention (in the *zapis* to the Amherst album) of a sickness that overtook him as he finished his work on the tale—"I connect my pain with my writing"—reinforces the need for some external prompting that would help to release his imagination.

Chapter 5

SOLOMONIA: THE TALE OF A RELUCTANT WIFE

While both illuminated manuscripts and popular prints might have lent their format to Remizov's graphic expression, it is his wit and his bold imagination that propel the content of the albums beyond the traditional representations of carnal sin. Remizov's illustrations for *Solomonia* are as replete with depictions of phalluses as the original story is with its mentions of devils (and there are many). If Kostomarov's reference to the seventeenth-century texts of Solomonia as "a complete depiction of the possessed as could only be seen by the most unbridled imagination of the seventeenth century"⁹³ is accurate, then Remizov's albums are a visual analogue produced by a similarly daring mind of the twentieth century. Only instead of the standard didactic images of the devils tempting the fleshly, fallible humans with debauchery, Remizov chose to show menacing, epic-sized phalluses, as they would have appeared to the possessed Solomonia herself. Compare, for example, the spitting and nose-blowing demons from the scene at the end of the Kushelev-Bezborodko story—"they, the damned ones, appeared black, and blue, and hostile and terrible"⁹⁴—with the demons from the same scene in Remizov's *Solomonia*: "blue and dark red rolled the waves, curled up in tight swirls—knotty, ringy, saggy, strapped, smooth and fuzzy, and with warts and with fiery breath shaking *iar* himself—*iar*, the head of a snake."⁹⁵ The phallic quality of Remizov's demons is especially clear in the Amherst album drawing

that illustrates this scene (figure 4.1). This “find where the phallus is hidden” visual riddle has a focal point—behind the Devil (Lar) rises a prominent phallic contour.⁴ In contrast with the depictions of the tale from the manuscripts and the *lubki*, Remizov’s drawings show Solomoniia not as a lost soul “sacrificed to the devil,” but as a “victim sacrificed to the phallus.”⁵ Unlike the original tale in which Solomoniia’s troubles come from the negligence of a drunken priest who did not finish her baptism ceremony, thus exposing her to demonic influence, Remizov’s Solomoniia is effectively “sacrificed to the phallus” by her father, who decided, contrary to Solomoniia’s spiritual inclinations, to marry her off (figure 5.1).

This switching of the blame from the priest (in the original seventeenth-century story) to her father comes in the very first rendition of the tale that Remizov finished in 1928 and published in *Volia Rossii* the following year.⁶ To convey the fault of Solomoniia’s parents, Remizov sets out to purge their relationship of any kindness, love, and understanding. In contrast to the Public Library version of the Kushelev-Bezborodko edition, which presents them with great empathy, Remizov does not offer anything approaching the image of her anxious parents crying for their daughter when she is taken away by the demons, “*otsu zbe eia i materi obaiabimsia zbitvota eia i plakavsvi mnogo*” (Kushelev-Bezborodko, 155); or rejoicing as she returns: “*zelo vozradovashia, ponezbe otchaaavshisia*” (156). Remizov purposely departs from the Public Library version where the parents weep as Solomoniia recounts to them the story of her torments: “*otets zbe i mati eia i vsi serdoboli, slyshavshie glagolemaia ot neia, plakakhusia zelo, i edva prestasha ot slez*” (156). He is still further from the Buslaev manuscript, which emphasizes the parents’ despair. As the “crying and sobbing” parents look for and cannot find the abducted Solomoniia, they return to their “gloomy and joyless” house: “*plachushie i rydatiushie, vozvraakhushia v dom svoi uniyli i setovannyi*” (162). Equally heart-rending is Buslaev’s description of their forced departure from the house during the birth of the demonic offspring: “crying and complaining, they leave the house against their will, following the demands of Solomoniia” (*oni zbe s nevoleiu poslusna eia i izudosha, i vse setuiushie i plachushie gor’ko, tokmo ostavisha iu ednu v khramine*) (162). Remizov replaces this touching image of compassionate parents with that of insensitive chaperones interested not in the happiness of their child, the happiness that can only come from allowing Solomoniia to follow her chosen path, but in adhering to the “proper” custom of marrying their daughter off once she reaches the “proper” age. In his version of the story, when the parents come back to the house after Solomoniia’s delivery of the six blue demons, they dismiss her fears as “just some make-believe” (*adna blazh*), and proceed to calmly carry on with their evening meal. Remizov extends the

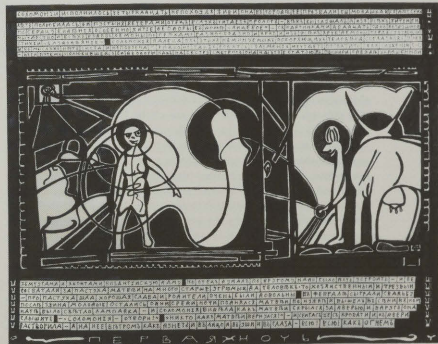


FIGURE 5.1 “The First Night,” Solomoniia, Alexei Remizov, 1934. India ink on paper. Amherst Center for Russian Culture.

blame to Solomoniia's husband, Matvei, whom she reviles as a "hound" (*pes*) as she despairs of enlisting his help against the demons.⁷ By stripping her parents (and her husband) of any empathy, Remizov sets up the premise of his *Solomoniia*. In his version of the story, the girl's affliction was a result of her being forced away from her intended spiritual path toward the worldliness and the carnality of matrimony.

Remizov's 1928 tale depicts Solomoniia's marriage as the root of her demonic-phallic possession.⁸ In the very first lines of the story Remizov informs the reader that the girl, who is "far from these unavoidable temptations" (*daleka ot etikh neminuemykh soblaznov*), "dreams of devoting herself to the service of God" (*mechtaet posviatit' sebia sluzheniiu Bogu*) (*Possessed*, 3). As in the Buslaev manuscript, Solomoniia is given as a wife to the shepherd Matvei. And although Remizov retains the scene of the Devil's initial appearance from Kushelev-Bezborodko, he adds the aforementioned curses addressed to Matvei, setting him up as an instrument of her fall. Remizov also makes a significant addition to Solomoniia's meeting with Iaroslavka. The "dark-eyed" (*temnoskaiia*) Iaroslavka tells her that "that life is not for you" (*ne po tebe eta zbizn*) and that she should not have married in the first place (*ne nado bylo vykhodit' zamuzb*) (8). Solomoniia's victimhood in marriage is echoed in her first vision of Saints Prokopii and Ioann, who absolve Solomoniia of any fault: "ty ne v chem ne vinovala!" (18). The idea of her unsuitability for the role of a wife is reinforced in another key departure from the seventeenth-century texts. When Solomoniia returns to Erga following her vision of St. Feodora and her first stay in Ustiug, Remizov presents her as virtually healed: "And as if with a magic wand—completely recovered. And there is no sign of the five trial years. She is herself again—like a cornflower. And when you talk to her, as to a person, she is not delirious."⁹ But for her practically minded parents, their daughter's healing signals readiness to be returned to Matvei—Solomoniia's father crudely jokes that it is about time to go back under the shepherd: "khol' v poru opiat' pod pastukha—smetsiia otets" (13). Threatened with the resumption of her conjugal life, Solomoniia is again sought by the demons, who show up at her parents' house that very night and demand her surrender: "Solomoniia the prisoner!" (*Solomoniia polonianska!*) (13). Later in the story, it takes the irreversible removal of this threat—Matvei's death—to release Solomoniia from the clutches of the lecherous demons. As soon as she is told that he has been killed by a raging bull, Solomoniia's condition improves: she asks to attend a church service "to celebrate a holiday" (*k prazdniku*), which I believe is an ambivalent reference (18). This subplot of Solomoniia's forced marriage as the source of the demonic invasion makes Remizov's tale drastically different from the Kushelev-Bezborodko texts where her possession is caused by external factors: her improper baptism and, possibly, a curse laid upon the newlyweds at their nuptials.¹⁰

Yet, while a casualty of others' ill will, Solomoniia was not as innocent as Saints Prokopii and Ioann purport her to be. The clue to Solomoniia's actual disposition is cleverly hidden in the very sentence that declares her intention to devote herself to God: "Solomoniia dreams of devoting herself to God—following the path of her beloved Feodora" (3). The path of the historical St. Feodora (d. 491) as it was described by the tenth-century monk Gregory in *The Life of Basil the New*—the book referred to as Solomoniia's favorite at the beginning of the story—was not exactly virginal. Remizov unquestionably knew the text of *The Life* (possibly in the 1907 edition I quote here)¹¹ and used it to construct his "Solomoniia." In *The Life*, St. Feodora admits to having sexual relations with her husband and "then some," before she entered her righteous service of St. Basil the New.¹² The parallelism between St. Feodora and Solomoniia is even more pronounced in one of the final drafts of the 1928 text,¹³ where Remizov frames the narrative with the speech the accompanying angels give to St. Feodora after she passes her three carnal trials: debauchery, adultery, and sodomy (*blud, prelubodeianie, sodomskoe mystarstvo*). In the published version of the story Remizov removes the first appearance of the text and keeps the second. But in the draft it is used twice: first as a quotation from Gregory in the beginning of the tale, following the mention of St. Feodora's trials, and then closer to the end, where the saint herself comes to Solomoniia in a vision to announce the beginning of her miraculous cure. Remizov's text is almost identical to *The Life of Basil the New*; he only alters the speakers and the addressees—the first instance is the angels speaking to Feodora, the second is St. Feodora speaking to Solomoniia. I quote this passage in full:

Here you saw, [Feodora/Solomoniia], horrible and evil carnal trials! Know that very few souls do not fail them: because the entire world is amongst temptations and foul matters and all people are sensuous and lecherous and the thoughts of man from his youth are directed at evil and rarely can anybody guard himself against carnal impurities. There are few who mortify their carnal lusts, a few who pass these trials but the great majority perish here: because the cruel henchmen of the carnal temptations carry off the lecherous souls and haul them down to hell as they torture them further. And the overseers of the carnal temptations brag: "We, they say, unlike others, add to the fiery population of hell with excess!"¹⁴

The angels' (and later St. Feodora's) warning is clear—people are weak and prone to lechery by nature. St. Feodora herself was fallible; she avoided the fiery pit of the carnal trials only because of the prayers by St. Basil on her behalf.¹⁵ This is why in the final version of the text, Remizov put the absolving words "you are not guilty of anything" in the mouths of Saints Prokopii and Ioann and

not of the imperfect St. Feodora as he did in the Amherst draft.³⁶ At the same time, because her initial sinful period was followed by her pious service to St. Basil, St. Feodora is truly an ideal model for Solomoniia's emulation—touched by carnality and yet pure in thought. Therefore, in the end of Remizov's tale, after she experiences carnal sin and pursues her spiritual calling, Solomoniia succeeds in her desire to "follow the path of her beloved St. Feodora."

But, even if Remizov's Solomoniia could stand in for St. Feodora and Saints Prokopii and Ioann for her protector St. Basil the New, we still have to account for the ominous effects of marriage on Solomoniia's psyche. There is no such conflict in Gregory's description of St. Feodora's past, because she begins as a sinner and only later changes her ways. In Remizov's presentation, Solomoniia's conjugal experience is intensely contrary to her spiritual disposition—she is "saintly" from the very beginning. Necessary as it may be for her eventual transformation into the likes of St. Feodora, Solomoniia's marriage is shown not as a step that leads to the coveted pious existence, but as its antithesis, a diversion from piety and from God. Remizov clearly wanted to link Solomoniia's sufferings to matrimony. To gauge the extent of subjectivity in his changes to the seventeenth-century prototype of Solomoniia, we just need to compare his text with that of another author, who also used the Kushelev-Bezborodko original to write a modern account of the possessed Solomoniia.

Aleksandr Valentinovich Amfiteatrov (1862–1938) was a popular novelist and a well-known journalist who wrote a studious commentary on the tale, complete with its verbatim retelling in contemporary Russian. According to Amfiteatrov, he started out with the idea of writing a historical novel based on the manuscripts in Kushelev-Bezborodko, but the research part of his project proved to be so interesting that he soon found himself the author of a three-volume study on the life and mores of the seventeenth-century Russian North.³⁷ Although he never saw his study printed in its entirety, Amfiteatrov managed to publish much of it in three separate books. First came a sixty-page essay called "Solomoniia besnovataia: Chelovecheskii dokument XVII veka" ("The Possessed Solomoniia: A Human Document of the Seventeenth Century").³⁸ In this early interpretation, dated February 1913, Amfiteatrov argued that the tale was but a "history of sexual neurosis written down by a cleric" (*tserkovnikom zapisannaiia seksual'nogo nervozza*) (55) that presented Solomoniia's "demonomania rooted in sexual disorder" (*demonomania na pochve seksual'nogo rastrvoivstva*) (1). The essay was an attempt to follow Solomoniia's sickness "clinically," taking advantage of the latest advances in psychiatry. Amfiteatrov supported his argument with numerous references to medical studies, court cases, literature, and documents describing possession from the last few centuries all over Europe.

His step-by-step analysis begins with a meticulous discussion of the mental shock Solomoniia experienced during the consummation of her marriage. Amfiteatrov is convinced that it was postcoital trauma that brought on Solomoniia's initial vision of the demon, while the vision itself, in his view, is a textbook case of an attack that usually precedes an epileptic seizure. He even tagged the demonic blue wind that blows into Solomoniia's face as "*aura epileptica*," a sensation of the blowing wind at the start of a convulsion (5). But in his opinion, Solomoniia was not a regular epileptic. Amfiteatrov proposed that she was also afflicted with a condition of "heightened sensitivity of her sexual organs" (*povyshennoi chuvstvit'nosti organov polovogo obshchennia*) (10). This sensitivity further disallowed any conjugal contact and intensified her hysteria. Considering his positivist approach, it is not at all surprising that Amfiteatrov dismissed Solomoniia's rapist-demons as "sexual hallucinations" (*seksual'nye galiutsinatsii*) and her stories of abduction as "fictions" (*nebylitsy*) (10, 14). He also surmised that the hysterical Solomoniia simulated some of the epileptic seizures, at least at their start.³⁹ As to her insensitivity to pain that is depicted in the scene with the millstone, in it Amfiteatrov sees a case of "hysterical anesthesia, [or] analgesia" (*istericheskoii anastesii, [ili] analgezii*)—a psychosomatic condition that prevents one from feeling pain.⁴⁰ His practical explanations culminate in the interpretation of the tale's ending, where Solomoniia feels the demon gnawing through her left side—he blames the bleeding hole on a burst furuncle, a simple boil on her skin (43). Still, Amfiteatrov allows some metaphysical elements into his otherwise physical account of Solomoniia's possession. He admits that her cure was psychosomatic as it began with her reception of the Holy Mysteries (48).

Amfiteatrov's second publication based on Kushelev-Bezborodko's Solomoniia manuscripts appeared in the book *Oderzbimaia Rus': Demonicheskaia povest' XVII veka (Russia Possessed: A Seventeenth-Century Demon Tale)*.⁴¹ This volume consisted of a word-for-word⁴² retelling of "Povest' o besnovatoi zhene Solomoniia" and "Skazanie o Petre i Fevronii" ("The Tale of Peter and Fevroniia"), another text found in Kushelev-Bezborodko.⁴³ It also contained a study (*etiud*) of the story about Savva Grudtsyn, which Kushelev-Bezborodko placed right before that of Solomoniia.⁴⁴ In addition to the texts, Amfiteatrov included two essays on demonology in Russian folklore and a chapter about the *ivroditsye* (fools in God) of Ustug. Because Amfiteatrov's retelling of the tale itself faithfully follows the Public Library and the Buslaev manuscripts, most of his interpretation unfolds in the short introduction and the two essays.⁴⁵ In the introduction, Amfiteatrov repeated his "psychophysiological" argument from 1913 (22), refining his definition to the "clinically observed and recorded history of the sexual neurosis of a most unfortunate hysteric" (*klinicheski nabludennaia i izlozhennaia istoriia seksual'nogo nervozza neschatneishei*

isticbki) (26). Amfiteatrov expanded this original interpretation only slightly, to include masochism and a compulsive desire to wander off as essential traits of Solomoniia's condition.²⁰ He also put the original tale into a historical context, suggesting that Solomoniia's abductions, which he initially dismissed as "fictions," could have actually taken place at the hands of human rogues produced by the turbulence of seventeenth-century events.²¹ The two essays about the water and forest demons (*vodiannye besy* and *lesnye besy*) are a further attempt at the demystification of Solomoniia's possession. In this study of Northern Russian demonic folklore Amfiteatrov parades every conceivable kind of evil spirit that could come into her inflamed imagination. The notes to the tale give explanations developed in much more detail in Amfiteatrov's third book about the tale.

This last published homage to "The Tale About the Possessed Woman Solomoniia" came out in Amfiteatrov's historico-sociological study about the Russian rural clergy in the seventeenth century.²² Here Amfiteatrov used the tale only as a source, now turning its commentary into the subject of his writing. He also added a chapter about the tale's narrators.²³ In this chapter we find the parallels to Remizov's interpretation of the tale's language. Speaking of the Public Library manuscript, the two authors agree on the random quality of its neither literary nor colloquial language, which Amfiteatrov referred to as "a language of ungraceful compromise" (*iazyk neukliuzhbezogo kompromissa*); Remizov called it "entangled" (*putann[yy]*).²⁴ Both Remizov and Amfiteatrov contrast this deficient dialect to Archibishop Avvakum's "magnificent" (*velikolepnyy*—Amfiteatrov) writing and his "gift of love for the 'natural Russian language'" (*dara ljubvi k prirodnomu ruskomu iazyku*—Remizov). But while Amfiteatrov decries the lack of talent of the narrator, pointing out the discord between the hackneyed language and the tale's "deeply original" demonological content, Remizov ventures to rework the story, giving its content matching originality in form. In all his extensive work on the tale, Amfiteatrov acts mainly as a researcher and a commentator whose goal is to contextualize and interpret the Kushelev-Bezborodko manuscripts. Remizov, on the other hand, rewrites the original, infusing it with profoundly personal meaning. At first, he concentrates solely on the text—the initial publication of "Solomoniia" in *Volia Rosii* has no preface, afterword, or explanatory note of any kind. But already in its second printing, in the Serbian journal *Ruski Arhiv*, Remizov includes a short foreword.²⁵ In the two years that elapsed between these publications, Remizov and Amfiteatrov began to correspond, and by the end of 1930 Remizov was familiar with all three of Amfiteatrov's versions of "Solomoniia": the 1913 essay, *Oderzhimania rus'*, and *Russkii pop XVIIgo veka*.²⁶ I believe that Remizov's foreword to "Solomoniia" in *Ruski Arhiv* came as an implicit response to Amfiteatrov's positivist reading; the writer must have felt

the need to add an explanation to his rendition of the tale, and he did so in the forthcoming Serbian translation.

For the most part, Remizov's foreword there juxtaposes his poetic and metaphysical understanding of Solomoniia's affliction with Amfiteatrov's strictly physical and observationist view. Remizov describes his version of the narrative as "a tale about the appearance of the phallus that takes on different guises in order to torture its victim" (*posvet' o iavlenii fallla, prinimatushchego raznye obrazy, chtoby mučit' svoju zbertuu*) ("Solomoniia," 5). For Remizov, the tale has a mythical quality that Amfiteatrov firmly denied.²⁷ Even when he emphasizes the detrimental significance of Solomoniia's wedding night, he does so in a more lyrical form: "all her being, from the first touch, is shaken, torn up" (*vsie ee sushchestvo s pervogo prikosnoveniia potriasano, razorvano*) (5). Compare this with Amfiteatrov's dispassionate statement on the subject: "the hysterical seizure with which Solomoniia's possession began was a result of the nervous disturbance experienced by the young woman on her wedding night" (*istericheskiy pripadok, kotorym nachalos' "besnovaniiu" Solomoniu—rezultat nervnogo potriaseniia, perezhitogo moloditsiu v pervuiu brachnuiu noč'*) (5). What Amfiteatrov referred to as "sexual hallucinations,"²⁸ Remizov presented as a metaphorical transformation of the phallus: "the phallus takes on the visual image of a 'serpent,' then the 'beast,' then divides into the unfamiliar young men, and, finally, into the multitude of naked little phalluses—'tadpoles'" (*fal prinimae zritel'nyi obraz "zmia," potom "zveria," potom raschleniia v neznakomykh molodykh liudei i, nakonets, v mnozhestvo golykh malen'kikh fallov— "golovastikov"*) (5). In contrast to Amfiteatrov's medically sexual interpretation of Solomoniia's possession, Remizov offers a poetically sexual one.

To lend added credibility to his reading of the tale, Remizov searched for hidden symbolism in its numbers and names. He interpreted the Buslaev version's characterization of Matvei as a shepherd in terms of him being "gifted in the higher sense with a familial talent" (*odarenniy u vysshei mere semeinym darom*).²⁹ To him, Matvei's "gift" must be a reference to the ancient Daphnis, a Sicilian shepherd who was punished by Aphrodite with a voracious sexuality that eventually led to his early death (12). The foreword also introduces Remizov's system of binary oppositions where St. Feodora (Remizov calls her Boguslavka), who stands for chastity, is juxtaposed to Iaroslavka, who represents sexuality. In his naming of the two women Remizov clearly intended a pun on the words *bog* (God), *iar* (phallus), and *slavii'* (to celebrate). Lély's 1935 translation of the foreword spells this out for French readers: "Yar, en vieux slave, signifie phallus. Et cette Yaroslavka il est permis de qui est défendue aux autres créatures telles que Boguslavka ou Théodora (bog en russe et theos en grec signifient Dieu)."³⁰ Solomoniia, according to Remizov, is akin to Boguslavka-Feodora and should not have been subjected to the carnality of

Iar. Her fate was, like that of Boguslavka, to serve and celebrate God. Finally, Remizov alluded, rather enigmatically, to "certain secrets" that were unwittingly revealed by the writer of the seventeenth-century tale through numbers and dates.³⁷ Although these secrets are never disclosed in either the text or the commentaries, they reinforce the key notion of the possessed as a medium, a notion indispensable to an understanding of Remizov's mythopoeitics. In the entire foreword, Remizov made only one *minor* concession that must be credited to his knowledge of Amfiteatrov's research. He changed Solomoniia's age from sixteen to fourteen, which is consistent with Amfiteatrov's sociological argument in *Oderzhimaitia rus'*.³⁸

Even more of Remizov's metaphysical interpretation comes out in the correspondence itself.³⁹ The dialogue about the tale started with Remizov's polite mention of Amfiteatrov's 1913 essay: "I am very intrigued by your study, it's a pity that I did not know about it before—it would have been handy for 'Solomoniia.'⁴⁰ To reciprocate, Remizov enclosed *Vilia Rossii* offprints in his letter of August 17, 1930. Amfiteatrov's reaction to Remizov's "Solomoniia" was not exactly glowing: "Solomoniia I liked less. All that you made up to illustrate her [epilep]tic ailment is developed vivaciously and poetically, but you used the material of the tale itself very sparingly, especially the church miracles."⁴¹ Perhaps to avoid seeming too critical, Amfiteatrov blamed his partiality on his long-term engagement with the Kushelev-Bezborodko texts.⁴² He ended the letter with an inquiry about the sources Remizov used for his "Solomoniia."

Apparently it was Amfiteatrov's letter, and his plain lack of understanding of what he wanted to convey, that prompted Remizov to spell out his ideas for the first time (this correspondence preceded the preface placed in the *Ruski Arkhiv* edition). In reply to Amfiteatrov's criticism, the writer acknowledged that he used the same sources (i.e., the Public Library and the Buslaev manuscripts published by Kushelev-Bezborodko) but pointed out that, in constructing his own narrative, he tried to liberate the events of the tale from the artificial confines of ordinary demonic possession, because the original scribe Iakov fit his narrative into a template: "[Iakov] squeezed the story of Solomoniia into a mold, to fit what is known, not realizing what he was writing down" (*zapis' Iakova sledana po shablonu, on podgonial rasskaz Solomonii pod izvestnoe, ne ponimaia, chto on zapisyvaet*).⁴³ This letter is also where Remizov first mentions the significance of names in the story and hints specifically at the meaning of Laroslavka's name: "and, of course, IARO-slavka has no relation to the city" (*i, konechno IARO-slavka k gorodu nikakogo otnošeniiia*).⁴⁴ Most importantly, the letter introduced the idea of a spiritual/carnal duality in nature that is behind Remizov's poetic interpretation of the tale. He offers the characterization of Solomoniia as an "initiate"—*posviashchennaia*. Since his argument in the tale is that because of her spiritual nature Solomoniia should not have been exposed to

the carnality of life, he explains to Amfiteatrov that such unwelcome familiarity inevitably will lead to her suffering: "Solomoniia—is an initiate and thence comes all her torment" (*Solomoniia—posviashchennaia i otsiuda vsia ee strada*).⁴⁵ Remizov reinforced this opposition of carnal and spiritual by revealing that the water demons (*vodianyie demony*) who seize and violate Solomoniia are not the Russian *vodianyie* to whom Amfiteatrov devoted an entire chapter in *Oderzhimaitia rus'*.⁴⁶ These demons, according to Remizov, come "from the breed of 'Vii,' from the essence of 'sex,'—'tadpoles,' to put it decently" (*ot porady "Viiia," essentsii "pola,"—"golovastiki," vyvazhaia's' tsenzurno*).⁴⁷ By presenting the dreary consequences of the forced mingling between the bearers of the essence of sex and the "inductee" Solomoniia, he urges the separation of the two realms. This idea, which Remizov first lays out in his September 4, 1930, letter to Amfiteatrov,⁴⁸ will make it into the foreword added to the *Ruski Arkhiv* publication, and eventually, into the relevant passages from the "History of the Tale" ("Istoriia povesti") that he will place in the 1951 edition of the story.⁴⁹ The writer's main addition to the seventeenth-century text was the subplot of marriage (or its threat) being the cause of Solomoniia's possession.

Why would Remizov present marriage as such a moral trap? I would argue that the story reflected the real-life dilemma of its author. When he wrote the tale, he was braiding personal mythology into an outside source as he had done many times before and after "Solomoniia."⁵⁰ Remizov's ambivalence toward matrimony has its origins in his own nonfictional predicament. In 1903, while in exile in Vologda, he married Serafima Pavlovna Dvogello, who as an adolescent promised herself to the service of God. Serafima Pavlovna succeeded in keeping her promise, but only until she met Alexei Remizov, for whom she broke her vow of chastity. In 1904 their first and only child, Natasha, was born. The birth was complicated and the mother's health, both mental and physical, was compromised for the rest of her life. A few years later, strained finances and family pressure forced the Remizovs to give up their daughter to be raised on the estate of her maternal grandmother. This further aggravated the couple's shared psychological burden, and Remizov, in his typical fashion, assumed the guilt for it.⁵¹ In a letter to his wife written on the occasion of her birthday in July 1912, Remizov speaks of her "suffering" caused by him alone and promises to take care of her "to his last breath" (*Znaia, chto vina vsexh reoikh stradanii ev mne zakliuchaetsia. Do poslednego moego izlykhaniiia budu bodit' za toboi*).⁵² He is even more explicit in the postscript to this 1912 letter added after her death in 1943:

My fault—if only I had realized it right away—everything would have been different. All illnesses (liver, and then the deterioration of the central nervous system, as the doctors were saying) begin with Natasha's birth.

S[erafima] P[avlovna] should not have gone beyond "the green fence,"⁵³—the fullness of life was not for her. She was born completely different, unlike us. Through me she stepped into "life" against her nature, she should not have married, and I should have understood her soul. But I did not, and I led her into our regular life of "torment."⁵⁴

Natal'ia Reznikova, who was for many years close to him and Serafima Pavlovna, confirms Remizov's anguish and offers a further glimpse into how it was resolved: "For him S.P. [Serafima Pavlovna] was not like any other person. Her very nature did not allow her to follow the path of an average woman. In her childhood she was shown a different path—that of following God. Having married her, and having had a child with her, A.M. [Alekssei Mikhailovich] crossed a line that he should not have crossed. Through his entire life A.M. carried a persistent feeling of guilt for his 'crime' . . . A.M. assumed the guilt for S.P.'s departure from the path dictated to her by her spiritual nature."⁵⁵ Reznikova's mention of the "crime" is supported by Remizov's otherwise enigmatic words from his 1950 notebook: "T h r o u g h c r i m e. In my nature—through crime. Once, I touched what I should not have touched, that was 'perverse' to touch."⁵⁶ Reznikova believes that in his devotion to literature Remizov dealt with his guilt by transforming it into fiction.⁵⁷ To support her thesis, she cites two passages. The first comes from his late novel *In the Pink Glow* (*V rozovom bleske*), where Serafima Pavlovna is fictionalized as Olia.⁵⁸ Remizov traces Serafima Pavlovna's demise not to her final ailment during the war, but to her decision to marry Remizov some forty years earlier: "The catastrophe began not on June 3, 1940, not from the bombing of Paris and the destruction of our apartment, but from that minute when Olia dared, against her nature, which she comprehended and which was revealed to her by Norma, to get married"⁵⁹ (figure 5.2).

The second passage to which Reznikova refers readers is a scene where young Serafima promises herself to God. Remizov treated the story of this broken promise in his semifictional⁶⁰ account of Serafima Pavlovna's early life, suitably titled *Olia*.⁶¹ Its first part, "In the Azure Field" ("V pole blakitnom"), which describes her childhood, is followed by "Fate" ("Dolia"), about her gymnasium years. The third, "With Fiery Jaws" ("S ognennoi past'iu"), takes up Serafima Pavlovna's life until the time of her Vologda exile. The three parts were compiled in the book (1925) published in Paris in 1927.⁶² In the "promise scene," a sort of fairy-tale grandmother of Olia/Serafima's friend, Princess Shakh-Bulatova, commands her to devote herself to God: "ty dolzhdna posviatiť sebia Bogu." The girl empathetically agrees (*Olia*, 96). Although the context of this tête-à-tête conversion as it appears in *Olia* suggests it was only a dream, elsewhere Remizov emphasizes the "inner" importance of Olia's decision, thus presenting it as tangle and true.⁶³ Following the promise, Olia turns down



FIGURE 5.2 Photograph of Serafima Pavlovna Remizova-Dovgello, 1904. Rossiiskii Gosudarstvennyi Archiv Literatury i Iskusstva (Russian State Archive of Literature and Art), RGALI F. 420, op. 4, no. 52, 1.1.

several offers for marriage, in each case causing her suitors to go insane or commit suicide or both—all this while she enjoys their attention and even returns the affections of some of them.

The promise given to the old woman sets up the dichotomy of marriage versus God, which soon turns into marriage versus integrity. In the chapter "Forbidden" ("Nel'zia") this dichotomy is developed by Olia into a theory that divides all people into "simply good" and "remarkable." The latter are ready to sacrifice everything and have nothing purely personal. When Olia meets a middle-aged activist who left her husband "for the Revolution" (the chapter where Il'ina is introduced is tellingly called "The Ideal"), she perceives her as "remarkable" (*Il'ina, —govorit', —kbot' i byla zamuzbem, no muzba brosilia dlia revoliutsii*) (270). Therefore, if one wants to become "remarkable," one should not marry ("*zhenit'sia ili vyiti zamuzb—nel'zia!*"). As far as her own fate goes Olia declares that she would sooner go to her grave than enter a marriage (240). Still, personal celibacy was not sufficient for the energetic Olia and her friends. In their craving for action they set up a "divorce committee" (*brakonazvodnyi komitet*) whose goal was to "prevent marriages" and, when it was not possible, bring about a divorce (*a esli ne udast'sia, to razvodit'*) (239). Olia's youthful maximalism in the matter causes the first serious fight with her closest friend, Zina, when Zina allows that she might get married one day although she certainly does not plan for it now. The only instance in the novel when Olia considers becoming a wife is brought on by her perty for the young man and his family, and has more to do with her kindness and her willingness to sacrifice herself than with her acceptance of matrimony.

For Olia, whose desire for self-sacrifice is growing stronger by the day, marriage signifies a wasted life. Revolution, on the other hand, presents a perfect venue for sacrificing oneself for the good of humanity (271). Her newfound revolutionary zeal suggests to Olia her future path. The shift of her loyalties from God to the Revolution is confirmed in her second dream encounter with the Princess Shakh-Bulatova's grandmother, the old woman who extracted her initial promise. Incidentally, the grandmother had died a few years earlier on the day of her granddaughter's wedding "because she had become upset"—or "out of spite" as it was suggested (338). In the dream, Olia comes into the same house, through the same garden, as in the scene of the original promise. The grandmother says that she has been waiting for Olia, to tell her that she will "regret it someday" (342). The warning reveals itself in the second part of the dream when Olia sees a swan that separates from his flock, catches fire, and falls to the ground. This dream seals Olia-Serafima's fate, transporting her from the cloistered existence of her intended service to God into the fiery whirlwind of the Revolution, and from here into her marriage, the very thing she solemnly promised to avoid.

The other tropes depicting Olia also conjure up the possessed Solomoniia,

perhaps not coincidentally, as Remizov's work on the texts of his Russian language versions of *Solomoniia* and on his books about Serafima Pavlovna takes place around the same time—in the early to mid-1920s and then the early 1950s. Throughout the novel, Remizov presents Olia as different from her peers, pointing out her strange behavior. Her otherness is especially vivid in the chapter "Against the Grain" ("Naperekor")⁶⁴ where Remizov uses, in parentheses, the word *nepokhozbaia* (different) to describe Olia/Serafima. He also called her *nepokhozbaia* in the 1912 letter, quoted above. This is telling, because Remizov picks the exact same word to introduce Solomoniia: "*nepokhozbaia, zhivii ona v gorode ee nazvali by monasbka*" ("different, if she lived in the city, she would be called a nun").⁶⁵ Suitably for a nun, both Solomoniia and Olia prefer solitude to the bustle of life: "Olia's disposition prevented her from spending much time with other people; they would soon burden her" (*Olia vooobshe byla tak ustroena, chto ne mogla dolgo nakhodit'sia na liudiakh,—oni nachinali tiagotit' ee*) (174). Solomoniia, during her stay in Ust'ug, begs to be left alone if only for one day: "*I kbot' by odin den' . . . —adnoi, tikho—chto by ne trogali*" (81). Both girls are pure in thought. Solomoniia, in her innocence, is "far from these inevitable, conquering temptations, she does not even think about them" (*daleka ot etikh neminuemykh, pokoriainskikh cheloveka soblaznov, u nee i v mysliakh net*). And Olia too "did not know and did not find those desires in her heart" (*ne znala i ne nakhodila v svoem serdse etikh zhelanii*).⁶⁶ Instead, much like Solomoniia, Olia has a heightened interest in the spiritual and loves following church rituals (89). The keystones of Olia's image—purity and innocence⁶⁷—are shared by Solomoniia who, at least in the beginning of the tale, "is pure and without vice" (*Solomoniia chista i neporochna*).⁶⁸ To anchor this image of purity Remizov uses color symbolism. Blue, which stands for Solomoniia's innocence (cornflowers), her premarital bliss, and the Virgin,⁶⁹ is the color of Olia-Serafima. Already the title of the first part of Olia, "In the Azure Field" ("V pole blakitnom")—a reference to the blue field of the Dogello coat of arms—introduces it as the color of Olia's childhood purity; for Olia, blue has "some special significance."⁷⁰

Yet Olia-Serafima, this paragon of innocence and pure consciousness who as a young girl promised herself to God and as a student activist harassed others who would dare to even think of entering marriage, in the end herself decided to marry. The ensuing guilt seemed to haunt Remizov, her willing accomplice, for as long as Serafima Pavlovna was alive. Faithful to his promise made to Serafima Pavlovna in the above-quoted 1912 letter, Remizov tried to make up for this "guilt" all his life, succeeding only as he took care of his ailing wife in the months before her death when, in his own words, he "worked off" (*ottrudil*) his guilt, and finally felt free of it.⁷¹ But for as long as Remizov struggled to redeem himself, this guilt continued to resurface in his fiction.

Olia was not the first book where Remizov juxtaposed marriage and piety. A heroine in his story "Wandering One" ("Bespriutnaia"), written from 1917 to 1922, faces a similar choice between the corporal and spiritual.²⁷ Niuta, the *bespriutnaia*, is an orphan who flees the house of her abusive uncle only to wander from one family to another. All of the families treat her with kindness and, wishing her the best, they all try to marry her off. When the domestic preparations for one such well-meaning marriage are under way she gets cold feet and tries to resolve her dilemma by appealing to the Virgin for advice. She places two pieces of paper behind an icon of the Virgin; one of them reads "marry," the other "do not marry" (33). Niuta pulls out the second note, and decides to make a pilgrimage to avoid the wedding and to end her commitment. But when she becomes a pilgrim and enters a nunnery to prepare for her initiation ceremony (*postrig*), Niuta again starts having second thoughts as she begins to realize the gravity of her pending pledge: "I got scared . . . it was too early to part from the worldly life" (*ispugalas' . . . rano eshebe s mirom rassstavat'sia*) (46). She admits to herself that the reason for her fear is a "secret thought about marriage" (46). This secret thought was caused by Niuta's realization that people find her attractive and that she herself finds certain men attractive. Troubled by these thoughts, Niuta tries to find solace in intensive prayer, but instead she has a dream in which Christ appears to her directing her to return into the secular world (49).

As she leaves the nunnery, Niuta receives a proposal from a rich old widower, the merchant Kabakov. At first, she angrily refuses him (she still harbors the thought of marrying for love); even the pleas of the Mother Superior who presents the marriage as an act "pleasing to God" cannot change her resolve (61). But what could not be done through the intrigue and encouragement of the Mother Superior can be done through Niuta's faith. She again writes two notes, "to marry" and "not to marry," and places them behind the icon of the Virgin. This time she draws "to marry," and when in her incredulity she tries a second time, the note again tells her "to marry." Although Niuta does not find passion in her marriage to Kabakov (on her wedding day she crossly announced to her fiancé that she would not love him: "*ia vos lubit' ne budu*"), she unwittingly finds piety in it (61). After giving birth to five children in five years, Niuta has a vision of the Virgin and the archangel with a fiery sword. Following the vision, Niuta moves into a separate wing of the house and begins a pure and spiritual existence that turns into a strict monastic regime after she becomes a widow (64).²⁸ The last chapter of the story, "A Bitter Cup" ("Gor'kaia chasha"), is a tale of her own passing and the trials (*mytarstva*) of her soul after death.²⁴

Although "Wandering One" evokes Serafima Pavlovna's choice between the spiritual and the corporal, this choice in both "Wandering One" and

"Solomoniiia" is faulty by nature. Niuta and Solomoniiia have to decide between serving God and marrying without love. When fate (in the form of a father, a Mother Superior, etc.) pushes them toward a loveless marriage, they can either lead the life of a nun within such a marriage (Niuta) or start having visions of men younger than their husband visiting them in packs of six (Solomoniiia). In this respect, the dichotomy of marriage and service to God as it is described in *Olia* and *In the Pink Glow*—the two overtly biographical narratives about Serafima Pavlovna—is of an entirely different kind. For all his guilt and his sense of crime, Remizov wanted to believe that his wife's choice was redeemable because *Olia*/Serafima chose marriage for love. Her choice is between two genuine "loves": earthly (corporal) and celestial (spiritual). For Remizov, the two kinds of love are of the same root: "undivided whole love may be divided into high love and simple love—Divina et l'amore profane" (*nedelimuiu edinuiu liubov' deliat na vysokuiu i prostuiu—Divina et l'amore profane*).²⁹ These two loves correspond to two forces of nature that are also equal in their opposition: "[T]here are] two forces in the world—the force of 'mothers' (mother nature) and the force of spirit. Both are created by God, neither one is higher. You cannot say: one is low, the other is high" (*Dve sily v mire—sila 'materiei' [materii prirody] i sila dukha. Obe sozdany Bogom, ni odna ni vyshbe ni nizhe. Nel'zia skazat': odna nizhsheia, drugaia vyshsheia*).³⁰ The two forces are represented respectively by fire, red burning coal (*razozzhennyi uglek v krovii*)³¹ and the "white, the hottest and the most penetrating light" (*bel[yi] —sam[yi] zhar[k]i[i] i sam[yi] protivostoi[n]yi svet*).³² The earliest instance I encountered where Remizov links himself with earth and Serafima Pavlovna with light is a 1909 letter to his wife: "you [come] from light, all [immersed] in light" while "my roots are deeply set in the soil, so that I could never attain to your light" (*ty ot sveta, vsia v svete . . . a ia gluboko korniama v zemle, ia iz zemli i mne nikogda ne dostic do svetlo sveta*).³³ Like Solomoniiia, and the "wandering" Niuta who was "created on earth not for earth but for heaven" (*sozdan chelovek na zemle ne dlia zemli, a dlia neba*), Serafima should not have gotten married.³⁴ People that come "from the white light"³⁵ are "born for the heavens" and are unlike those who are "born for the earth" (*Odni rodiatsia dlia zemli, drugie na zemle dlia neba*).³⁶ Remizov used these very words to describe the fateful juxtaposition of two different kinds of people in his late-life explanation of "Solomoniiia": "one is born for the earthly, another for the celestial" (*odin rodiatsia dlia zemli, drugi dlia neba*).³⁷ Those "born for the celestial" must not be subjected to the earthly. This is why Solomoniiia's marriage goes against nature: "Solomoniiia is . . . of the white light and not of the red mothers. First touch—an explosion—the laws of nature are broken" (*Solomoniiia . . . ot belogo sveta, a ne ot krasnykh materiei. Pervee prikosnovenie—vzryv buri—naruseny zakony prirody*) (114). In Remizov's mind, Serafima Pavlovna, who was also "from the white light," "from some

other source" (*ot kakogo-to drugogo nachala*),⁶⁴ should not have been introduced into the world of "red mothers."⁶⁵

This image of Remizov's wife as "noble" (*blagorodnaia*),⁶⁶ different in her very nature, opens up the autobiographical elements in Remizov's version of "Solomoniiia." In her recollections about the 1951 Opleshnik edition, Natal'ia Reznikova confirmed how very close the story of Solomoniiia was to Remizov's life: "The theme of Solomoniiia is intimate for Remizov: he often returned to it, it was his personal theme. Solomoniiia's being is 'of the moon' (i.e., sexless)."⁶⁷ In a letter from 1928 (the year he wrote "Solomoniiia"), Remizov confessed to Serafima Pavlovna: "and for you, the moon, the light of my dream is from the moon and . . . I told the other one yesterday about the light of your moon" (*a dlia tebia luna, i svet mogeo sna ot lunny i ot . . . Ia toi vchera skazal kakoi svet tvoei lunny*).⁶⁸ The *lunnaia* (of the moon) Solomoniiia, based on *lunnaia* Serafima, is a most vivid example of personal mythology interwoven into an existing narrative.

As I tried to explain in the previous chapter, Remizov makes a link between possession and creativity through blood. At the same time, consistently with the inspiration/downfall dichotomy of "Solomoniiia," blood in Remizov's mythological nature also signifies guilt (*krav—vinovnost*)⁶⁹—the guilt that he assumed for marrying Serafima Pavlovna. The abatement of this guilt after the death of his wife in 1943 led to the ninth and final publication of the tale. Natal'ia Reznikova, in her discussion of Remizov's self-deprecating sense of "crime," was baffled because in his remorse Remizov had "as if forgotten about their burning and faithful mutual love to the end" (*on kak budto by zabyval o ikh goriachei i vernoi vzaimnoi ljubvi do konca*) (Reznikova, 52). She must not have realized that the 1951 edition of "Solomoniiia" was Remizov's hymn to that love, a reaffirming response to the earlier doubts about the consequences of his "crime." The final incarnation of "Solomoniiia" was the book *Possessed*,⁷⁰ for which Remizov designed a symbolically bloodred cover.⁷¹ This time, the new interpretation of the tale was hidden not in the notes, but in the other story included in the book Remizov's recently written version of "Savva Grudtsyn" also came from Kushelev-Bezborodko.⁷² He drastically reworked this seventeenth-century tale about the demonic possession of a passionate young man into a declaration of the overriding power of love.⁷³ While the protagonist of the original tale is a barely literate youth seduced by an evil and lecherous woman, Remizov's Savva is bright and even capable of murdering his fickle lover. As for the nameless woman herself,⁷⁴ in Remizov called Stepanida, Kushelev-Bezborodko's conniving and sexually insatiable adulteress turns out to be an affectionate young woman whom life forced into a loveless marriage, just like Niuta from *Wandering One*. When the remorseful Stepanida stops the affair, Savva stabs her to death. His subsequent grief is a genuine outpouring

stemming from the irretrievable loss of a loved one, but he kills Stepanida because she preferred the spiritual to the corporal, celestial love to earthly love. For Savva, her decision was faulty because in his mind "love can erase sin itself" (*liubov' pokraet i samyi grabh*).⁷⁵

Unlike "Solomoniiia," whose textology has been obscure,⁷⁶ "Savva Grudtsyn" has been extensively studied by Alla Gracheva, who established a strong connection between the story and Remizov's life.⁷⁷ As she explains, Remizov began work on the Kushelev-Bezborodko text immediately following his rewriting and editing of his late wife's archive (192). Gracheva points out that Savva's confession is stylistically and emotionally similar to Remizov's text "Through the Fire of Mourning" ("Skvoz' ogon' skorbei"), devoted to the last years of Serafima Pavlovna.⁷⁸ Personal details entered the tale from its inception, and by the third draft, the tale became "a variation of the author's myth of his own fate" (*variant avtorskogo mifa o svoei sud'be*) (201). Gracheva analyzes "Savva Grudtsyn" as a part of Remizov's cycle "Legends Through the Ages," a group of eight stories written from 1947 to 1957, which she describes as a "transformation of the idea of Love in Remizov's artistic worldview" (310). But while Gracheva sees Remizov's inclusion of "Solomoniiia," the only previously written text in the cycle, as due to the shared theme of demonic possession in the two stories (312), I would argue that the common element was their autobiographical core. Because "Solomoniiia" is built upon autobiographical material as much as "Savva Grudtsyn," it is not an exception that should be set aside from the rest of the cycle (312), but is an intrinsic part of it. "Solomoniiia," as I hope to have shown in the course of this chapter, is consistent with such themes of the cycle as "the antithesis of two equally great origins: earthly and celestial love" and "the progression from the low (earthly) to the high (celestial)" (313). Because it treats the history of Remizov's love for his dead wife, "Solomoniiia," as it was presented in the printing in *Possessed*, is as much a component of Remizov's "author's myth" as any other story in the "Legends Through the Ages" cycle.

Just as the 1928 "Solomoniiia" arose from the context of Remizov's works ridden with guilt and anxiety, the *Possessed* version is part of the love saga he was writing after Serafima Pavlovna's death. Even if Gracheva is right, and Remizov never resolved "the antinomy of earthly and celestial love" (205), his last version of "Solomoniiia" lifted the load of self-imposed guilt. The progression in his interpretation of "Solomoniiia" from a story of guilt to a story of love spanned nine publications and almost a quarter of a century. But only in his last edition of "Solomoniiia" did Remizov absolve himself of his "sin" by the power of Love: "love can erase sin itself."⁷⁹ Through combining the two tales in *Possessed*, Remizov finally reconciled Serafima Pavlovna's urge for self-sacrifice with his striving for passionate love. In a workbook entry that postdated the last version

of the Savva Grudtsyn text, he declared that love and sin are incompatible: "*esli govoriat' grekb, // znachit, net liuboi' / liubov' iskluchaet grekb,*"¹⁰⁰ thus linking the idea of Love Absolutist to the idea of Love Sacrificial: "*Zbertva! . . . / liubov' vsегда i zbertva.*"¹⁰¹ Still, despite its ultimate presentation in *Possessed*, the story's message of love had eluded its readers—Remizov complained that the theme of love in "Solomoniia" went unobserved: "my tale about love opens with Solomoniia and Grudtsyn. Nobody noticed it!"¹⁰² Not surprising, perhaps, since the story's interpretation had taken some quarter of a century to evolve through a series of subtle personal and aesthetic revisions.

I would like to conclude my discussion of "Solomoniia" by returning to the role of visual images in its textual history. On a metaphorical level, by starting out with the drawings that released his imagination, Remizov mimicked the progress of his possessed heroine, whose visions were triggered by manuscript illuminations. On a more tangible level, as Remizov revealed in the Amfiteatrov correspondence and in the preface to the Opleshnik edition, his work on the Kushelev-Bezborodko texts actually began with drawings. In the September 4, 1930, letter to Amfiteatrov, Remizov explained the rationale for starting his tale with images and not words: "I do this often: when you draw, the entire SKEL-ETON of the story is clear" (*ia tak chasto delaiu: kogda narisuesh', ves' KOSTIAK isien*).¹⁰³ This statement suggests that words obscure the essential meaning of a story, whereas drawings allow it to be conveyed more lucidly. Such function of drawings as replacements for verbal sketches is the inverse of drawings representing a "thought not yet verbalized" (*risunki pisatel'ia . . . obertaniia ego "nevykazavsheisia" mysl'i . . .*).¹⁰⁴ In both cases words are set aside to allow the direct connection between image and imagination. As Remizov explained in another letter to Amfiteatrov, his drawings, while "uncultivated," "reveal a lot of what is lost in words" (*risunki khotia i "dikie" mnogo obnaruzhivaiut, chto teriaetsia v slove*).¹⁰⁵ The writer's reliance upon drawings stemmed from what he perceived as habitual insensitivity to words: "*ochen' uzb k slovam privykli.*"¹⁰⁶ So he forced his audience to see the hackneyed images anew by changing the medium of access from the worn-out words to inspired drawings. The formalists famously called this "estrangement" (*ostranenie*); only through such estrangement and renewal can one enter Remizov's universe, his act of imagination.

Chapter 6

SHAMANISM AND THE MISSING TEXT

Remizov counted the 1940 album *Siberian Tale (Sibirskii skaz)*, now in the Reznikoff collection, number 258 out of 260 on the most complete list of his illustrated albums.¹ This makes it, effectively, one of the very last manuscript-format albums before his switch to nonmonumental line drawing. As such, *Siberian Tale* could be seen as a summation of Remizov's album-making efforts of the 1930s. But the album's timing is only a part of its landmark character; perhaps even more important is its departure from the format Remizov used for his pre-1940 albums. In its overall arrangement the Reznikoff *Siberian Tale* scarcely recalls the medieval manuscripts that Remizov reinterpreted in his modernist version of handwritten illustrated books. Unlike any other album executed prior to 1940, it is missing the text, the title page, the dedication page, and the *zapis'* page. In fact, the only authorial writing in the album is its name, "Sibirskii skaz," calligraphically inscribed in the upper portion of the cover.² Similarly unusual is its size: 328 x 257 mm (about 100 mm larger in each dimension than the albums of the late 1930s). The break from the traditional design carries over into both its support and its medium. Instead of using a different material for the cover, Remizov constructed the entire album of heavyweight ochre-colored paper, pasting the images on the verso of each page over rectangles of gray cardboard. Besides the usual combination of india ink, pastel, and watercolor, we find some other pigment, possibly gouache, which

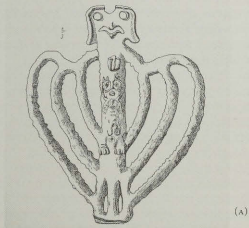
renders the pictogramlike segments in the drawings almost three-dimensional. Visually, the size of the pages, the quality of the paper, and the texturally lavish character of the fourteen drawings that constitute the album bring *Siberian Tale* closest to Albert Skira's deluxe monographic editions of the late 1930s. It is particularly reminiscent of Skira's 1938 folder of Toulouse-Lautrec's works or the 1939 folder of Cézanne's, both fine-quality folios of only a few pages.³ This folio appearance of *Siberian Tale* is reinforced by the fact that the album is not bound. The lack of binding (the majority of the extant albums I had a chance to examine were bound) suggests that the Reznikoff album was to include additional pages with handwritten text. Most likely, the Reznikoff *Siberian Tale* is only one part of the album, the rest of which is now kept in the Russian State Archive of Literature and Art (RGALI). This second segment, a namesake of the Reznikoff *Siberian Tale*, contains ten loose leaves with texts of three tales written out in *skoropi's* and is illuminated by in-text illustrations and three additional pasted-in india-ink drawings.⁴

In 1919 Remizov published his fairy tales based on Siberian folklore,⁵ changing the original name of the volume for a subsequent publication three years later. *Chakhhchhygys-Taasu: Sibirskii skaz* incorporated the proper name of a Yakut shaman, Chakhhchhygys-Taasu, from the tale "Constellation of Seven" ("Stozhary").⁶ The in-text illustrations from the RGALI manuscript, which presents three tales based on cosmogonies of the Siberian people, are just that, but the Reznikoff portion of the album, which consists of fourteen images representing various animals (with the exception of a single image that also shows human subjects), has ostensibly little connection to the published tales. Although some of the texts in *Chakhhchhygys-Taasu* describe the animals from the album (reindeer, crow, squirrel, hare), most animals in the album do not actually appear in the published texts. Remizov had already illustrated these tales in a conventional way: first, in the fourteen drawings of a 1935 illustrated album of one tale (number 158 on the above-mentioned list),⁷ and, significantly, in 1940 in the pages of the RGALI portion of *Siberian Tale*. *Siberian Tale*, in its entirety, is likely to be the first album where the text, with its accompanying india-ink illustrations, while thematically related to the pasted-in color plates, allows the images to carry the semantic meaning of the work. I will argue here that the purpose for depicting the animals had little to do with proper illustration. As is the case with the synesthetic content suggesting the synesthetic form of the 1938 album *Maroun*, in the Reznikoff portion of *Siberian Tale* the subject matter of the album is in a symbiotic relationship with its form. The absence of text there is consistent with the inherently image-driven and nontextual source of its inspiration—Siberian shamanism. Conforming to the rules of the shamanistic ritual in which the shaman summons his animal-helpers, the album functions through nonverbal means, mimicking the ritual of *kamlanie*

(a shamanistic act), in which the magic is performed through recollection and communication of images.⁸ The Reznikoff *Siberian Tale* is an instance of aesthetic *kamlanie*, a unique record of the writer's engagement with the shamanistic culture, a testament to his appropriation of shamanistic imagery and his self-fashioning as a shaman.

Remizov's first exposure to shamanism, even by the most cautious account, came in 1900 during his exile in Siberia, in the Zyrian town of Ust-Sysolsk.⁹ Three years of living in a province populated by christened shamanists prompted his interest in Zyrian folklore. In a 1903 letter to Serafima Pavlovna, Remizov tells about a visit from a certain *zyrianiin* (a Zyrian) Nalimov, who retold to Remizov the old legends he had been recording.¹⁰ Nalimov left some of his materials with Remizov, and less than a month later the writer finished his own compilation of "short prose poems" based on the legends; he combined them under the title *The Zyrian World* (*Zyrianskii mir*).¹¹ Probably around the same time, Remizov began to read ethnographic studies by prominent authorities on Siberian culture—M. Khangalov, A. Anokhin, N. Kharuzin,¹² D. Anuchin, V. Mikhailovskiy, V. Bogoraz, and A. Spitsyn.¹³ While for the most part their books described the mythology and practice of shamanism, some of the volumes were simply illustrated catalogs that contained photographs or sketches of objects and artifacts used in the *kamlanie*. Among these catalogs were the popular *Russian Antiquities in Artifacts* compiled by Tolstoy and Kondakov (1890) and Savenkov's tome *On Ancient Artifacts from the Enisei River* (1910).¹⁴ That year shamanism was such a pervasive topic that even the popular newspaper *Birzhevye vedomosti* ran installments of Anuchin's ethnographic essay "Spiritism and Shamanism."¹⁵ Those readers who wished to see the described artifacts with their own eyes could visit one of many extensive private, municipal, or imperial collections.¹⁶ Even aside from any ethnographic concerns, shamanism gained popularity as a generic metaphor for magic. One of the most informed of Remizov's contemporaries, the well-known turn-of-the-century anthropologist Valdemar Bogoraz, acknowledged that the shaman's "tricks strangely resemble the doings of modern spiritualists" (1904–9, 439).

When we consider the multiplicity of references to the various aspects of shamanism and related Siberian cultures in Remizov's works, it is clear that shamanism entered his artistic vocabulary from the outset. His very first text, *A Girl's Lament Before Marriage* (*Plach detushki pered zamuzhestvom*) (1902), is based on Zyrian folklore.¹⁷ The title of *Sunwise* (*Polulon*), the collection of fairy tales published in 1907, derives from the notion of a tree from which a shaman's drum is made, and which must grow *po-soloni*, sunwise, "toward the sun."¹⁸ Sunwise is also the direction in which the rings of the shaman's drum should move during the *kamlanie* ceremony.¹⁹ Remizov's books *Siberian*

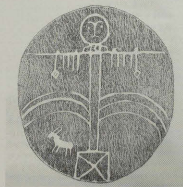


Gingerbread (*Sibirskii prianik*, 1919) and *Siberian Tale* (*Sibirskii skaz*, 1922) consist of cosmogony tales that owe much to the folklore of the Yakut, the Karagas, the Chukchee, and the Menegr tribes (at the time the first three groups were christened shamanists, and the Menegr simply shamanists).²⁰ His well-known tale *The Indefatigable Drum* (*Neuemyi buben*), as Greta Slobin has shown, is based in the concept of shamanistic trance.²¹ Among the more prominent visual references is the cover Remizov designed for his book *Zvenigorod oklikannyi*, where Remizov has cited a detail from a Khakas drum, an illustration of which was published by Klements in 1890.²²

The drawings in *Siberian Tale* show a similar affinity to anthologized shamanistic images, although most of them are not necessarily traceable to any particular illustration. Rather, they were inspired by the aesthetics of shamanism. The third drawing (plate 9), for example, may be based on the several following prototypes. First, the creature in Remizov's drawing is akin to an owl, published in illustrations at least twice: in an essay by Anuchin on the beliefs and the art of the tribe called Priuralskaia Chud' (translated loosely as the Ural Region Strangers), and in Spitsyn's atlas of shamanistic images²³ (figure 6.1A). Both of these publications, as we will shortly see, triggered other images in the album. Second, Remizov could have had in mind a traditional decoration in the shape of appliqued ribs from a Karagas shaman costume (figure 6.1B),²⁴ or an Altai shaman costume. Third, it could have been derived from a *sulde* image published by Spitsyn²⁵ (figure 6.1C). Fourth, the drawing could refer to the Altai tradition of representing a deceased shaman on the surface of a drum.²⁶ In such a case Remizov's drawing would depict a shaman's



FIGURE 6.1 (A) Owl (*Filin*) (Spitsyn 1906); (B) Karagas shaman's costume (Anokhin 1924); (C) *Sulde* image (Spitsyn 1906).



(A)



(B)



(C)

FIGURE 6.2 (A, B, C). Altai drums
(Anokhin 1924).

head, in the upper portion of the drum, and a sacred tree, in the lower right portion (figures 6.2B and 6.2C). Last but not least, the source of inspiration for the drawing may have been Bogoraz's annotated publication of indigenous drawings of "ground spirits" (figure 6.3, spirit *a*).²⁷

According to the ethnographer's description, "most of the 'ground spirits' have no special names; but the Chukchee agree that they are numerous, and have faces that do not resemble anything on earth. The ground spirits often appear in dreams and visions as a crowd of black beings and act collectively, unlike other types of spirits, who act individually and mistrust one another."²⁸

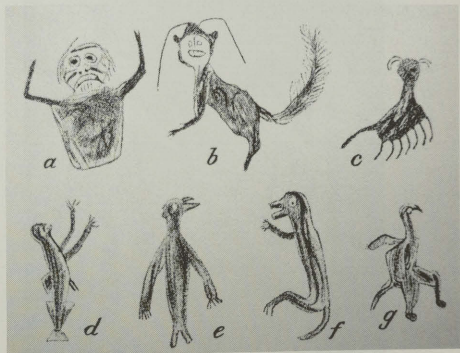


FIGURE 6.3 Ground spirits (Bogoraz 1904-9).

The pages of the album harbor at least five such ground spirits. The spirit labeled "d" resembles the animal in Remizov's eighth drawing (figure 6.4).

The tenth drawing (plate 10) recalls the spirit-insect labeled "c" that begs to be compared to the so-called "fantastic animal with bristling hair on its back"²⁹ from the drums of the Khakas and the Teleut.³⁰ The fantastic animal traces its genealogy to the "lizardlike beast" of the Permian animal style. This beast was traditionally seen as "the antagonist of the sun, representing hostile beginnings, a progenitor of evil, death, and darkness."³¹ On Teleut drums, evil, represented by the fantastic animal, is countered by good. There the beast is



FIGURE 6.4 *Siberian Tale (Sibirskii skaz)*, Alexei Remizov, 1940. India ink, watercolor, and gouache, 173mm x 115 mm. Reznikoff collection.

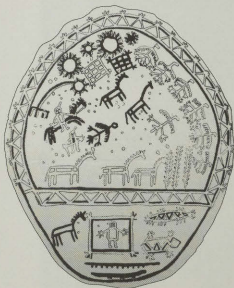


FIGURE 6.5 Schematic drawing of Teleut shaman drum (now in the Museum of Anthropology and Ethnography, St. Petersburg).

depicted along with three larch trees in whose branches nests "the mother of all birds" from the last extant drawing in the album³² (figure 6.5 and plate 11). It is quite possible that the bird in the drawing is "the prophetic gagara" described by Anuchin as a sacred bird sent by the shamans³³ (figure 6.6). The "mother of all birds" reappears in the line-up of the ground spirits (figure 6.3), labeled "e." Compare these birds with the one from the album (plate 11). The twelfth drawing from the album shows a harelike creature that looks a lot like the spirit labeled "b" (figure 6.3). Its alternative prototype was published by Spitsyn³⁴ and described by Zelinin³⁵ (figure 6.78). The last of the ground spirits, marked "f" (figure 6.3), corresponds to the subject of Remizov's fourth drawing (plate 12). This drawing shows an animal holding something in its paws. An analogous creature can be found in Anuchin and in Spitsyn. In Anuchin the spirit is named "an anthropomorphic creature";³⁶ in Spitsyn, less lavishly, "a bear with its prey"³⁷ (figure 6.8).

A bear does appear in the thirteenth drawing of Remizov's album. It evokes a bear from a plaquette illustrated in Spitsyn³⁸ (figure 6.9, plate 13). Another

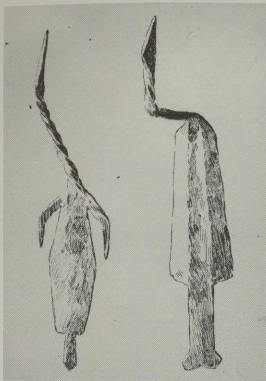


FIGURE 6.6 Bird figurines: *gogoras* (Anuchin 1914).

FIGURE 6.7 (opposite page) (A) *Siberian Tale* (*Sibirskii skaz*), Alexei Remizov, 1940. Indi ink, watercolor, and gouache, 177 x 115 mm. Reznikoff collection. (B) Hare figurine (Spitsyn 1906).



(A)

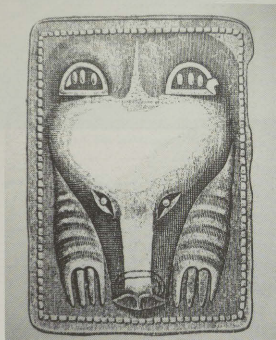


(B)

FIGURE 6.8 Bear with prey
(Spitsyn 1906; Anuchin 1899).



FIGURE 6.9 (below) Plaquette with bear
(Spitsyn 1906).



(A)

FIGURE 6.10 (A) *Siberian Tale* (*Sibirskii skaz*),
Alexei Remizov, 1940. India ink, watercolor, and
gouache, 175 x 112 mm. Reznikoff collection.
(B) Ancient copper frog (Anuchin 1899);
(C) Frog (Spitsyn 1906).



(B)



(C)

anthropomorphic source for this image could have been Anuchin's illustration of a man crouching on a lizard.³⁹

The creature from the ninth drawing (figure 6.10A) is most likely done in imitation of the frog from the Khakas drum⁴⁰ or the ancient copper figurine of a frog published, among others, by both Anuchin and Spitsyn⁴¹ (figures 6.10B and 6.10C).⁴²

I will return to the fifth drawing of the album (plate 14) later in the chapter. For now I will limit myself to a single iconographic reference. According to Zyrian mythology, a duckling, depicted by Remizov on the lower right, represents "the female progenitor."⁴³ The duckling was reproduced in Spitsyn⁴⁴

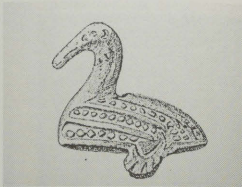


FIGURE 6.11
Duck figurine (Spitsyn
1906).

(figure 6.11) and in Bogoraz, where it is shown along with other talismans on a cord (figure 6.12).

The creatures from the remaining five drawings of the album most likely represent the *ongons* or praying figurines, which were the subject of Zelenin's 1936 book *Kul't ongonov v Sibiri* (*The Ongon Cult in Siberia*).⁴⁵ The animals—a squirrel (first drawing), a snake (second drawing), a seal (sixth drawing), and a reindeer (eleventh drawing)—all figure in Zelenin's *ongon* treatise, where he reproduced some of their prototype images.⁴⁶ Remizov must have been familiar with Zelenin's work from the ethnographer's early collections of northern fairy tales.⁴⁷ Perhaps it was *The Ongon Cult* that refreshed the long-familiar images of the shamanistic artifacts in his memory. Two copies of this book were available at the library of the recently opened Musée de l'Homme (Museum of Mankind) in Paris. Founded in 1937 by Paul Rivet, who became its first director, the museum housed the Siberian collections formerly in the Trocadéro Museum of Ethnography. Remizov corresponded with the Museum of Natural History shortly after he produced the album *Siberian Tale*.⁴⁸

Remizov's use of pigments in the album's drawings serves as further testimony to his characteristic attentiveness to the particulars of his sources. Most figures are done in an outline of black india ink on white paper. The writer must have remembered that, in Kharuzin's famous description, the animal-helpers of shamans could only be black or white.⁴⁹ The alternating yellow and blue probably refer to a Buriat tradition of *ongon*-making from yellow and blue scraps of fabric.⁵⁰ Moreover, the drawings in the album show kinship with the Kulai region bronzes, because the coloring on the inside of the pictographlike contours resembles oxidized bronze⁵¹ (figure 6.13).

Still, as much as these published illustrations of shamanistic artifacts,

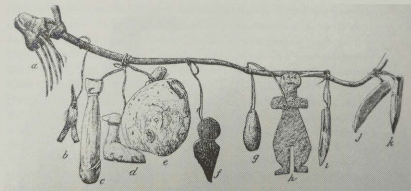


FIGURE 6.12 Charm string (Bogoraz
1904-9).

Spitsyn's atlas of shamanistic images, and Chukchee sketches could have served as models for the drawings in the album, it is probably a stretch to suppose that during his work on *Siberian Tale* in 1940 Remizov had before his eyes the full run of *The Ethnographic Review* or *The Ethnographic Bulletin of the Siberian Division of the Russian Geographic Society*. The album's images are an amalgamation of shamanistic references that add up to a pictorial equivalent of *kamlanie*. The purpose of this *kamlanie* can only be discerned through examining the texts from the RGALI manuscript. A closer look at the texts brings into focus the connection between Siberian cosmogonies and the realities of émigré life in wartime Paris. One of the three tales in the manuscript, the Yakut tale "Constellation of Seven" ("Stozhary"), describes how a shaman by the name of Chakkhchygys-Taasu (Crackling Rock) embarks on splitting a fiery star into a constellation of seven smaller stars so that the winter would end sooner. The theme of unwelcome winter reappears in the album's *zapis* (inscription), which relates the conditions in which the album was created: "Kocheniú / tak zoladno pronzitel'no v komnate / nochniú i s potolka techet" ([I am] freezing / such a shrill cold in the room / and the ceiling is leaking during the night).⁵² As Chakkhchygys-Taasu performs his brand of shamanistic magic to shorten the dreaded winter, Remizov does what he can to alleviate the hardships of his. The result of this aesthetic *kamlanie* is a stunning work of art that he was probably hoping to sell to pay for the badly needed fuel for his apartment, keeping out the "shrill" cold of Parisian winter (the album is dated December 8, 1940). The fictional content of the tale seems to have suggested to the writer a course of real-life action.

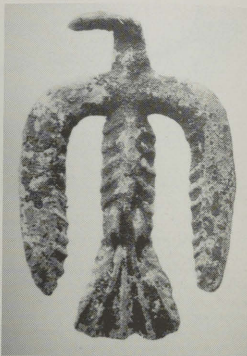


FIGURE 6.13
Bronze figure
(Spitsyn 1906).

Remizov's fascination with the aesthetics of shamanism was only a superficial sign of his affinity with the shamans. Addressing, through his writing, the already deceased Alexander Blok, he openly called himself a shaman: "Somewhere, maybe more than once, we have met . . . you in armor bearing a cross, I in my tall fox-fur hat accompanied by the wailing and the beating of the drum."⁵³ Such self-identification was more than a rhetorical move; Remizov's behavior and his surroundings render a myriad of references to himself as a shaman. Remizov must have found the shaman's persona suitable for his own self-mythologizing because it offered certain traits and attributes already dear to him. An overview of the tenets of shamanism will show what in particular enticed Remizov.

Shamanistic cultures of the Russian North are intrinsically liminal because of their duality of faith or *doeoverie*. Siberians regularly combined a form of supplanted Christianity with native paganism. By the first quarter of the nineteenth century, Christianity (in form) coincided with shamanism (in practice) among the Buriats.⁵⁴ Russian ethnographers and travelers also

observed various manifestations of *doeoverie* among the Yakut,⁵⁵ the Lapps,⁵⁶ and the Zyrian.⁵⁷ As Christianity gained force, shamanism came to be seen as transitory. In his 1912 book on the Buriats, Termen gleefully predicted the impending end of shamanism: "[contemporary] shamanism represents only the last smoldering log from the sacrificial flame of past shamanism; one cannot relate to this last log as to the former fire and see in its thin caustic smoking the energy of the former fire; it is necessary to extinguish this smoldering log."⁵⁸ But some fifty years later, a researcher who traveled to the North described a *kamlanie* ritual that ended with "an improvised prayer to the Christian deities."⁵⁹ This religious duality clearly interested Remizov, who ended his 1922 *Siberian Tale* with an ethnographic commentary on different peoples in the book. In each instance he referred to their beliefs, identifying the Karagas and the Yakut as "baptized shamanists."⁶⁰ Far from sharing Termen's desire that contemporaneous shamanism die out as soon as possible, Remizov drew inspiration from its myths and legends.

Perhaps the most apparent point of attraction for Remizov was the possibility of breaking out of ordinary perception through the shaman's ecstatic experience.⁶¹ As I explain in the introduction, Remizov feared normalcy because in his view it precludes creativity. His belief that an artist must enter some paranormal state in order to create would have made shamanistic ecstasy an appealing model for transgressing normalcy. When a shaman sings himself into an exaltation, he gains the ability to penetrate the world of the spirits. Likewise, through the use of language a writer or a poet opens up his imagination to a new dimension. The shaman's ecstasies, therefore, provided Remizov with an exotic alternative to the occidental cliché of poetic inspiration.⁶² Ironically, if we recall Plato's words, this clichéd occidental inspiration may have originated in the notion of ecstasy: "he who approaches the gates of poetry without inspiration received from the Muses and hopes to become a true poet only because of his skill, is not a poet; and his art is the art of common sense, it vanishes before ecstatic art."⁶³ Such an apotheosis of the poet's ecstatic experience echoes the idea that shamanistic ecstasy is a special gift: "not everybody possesses the artistry of shamanism; it cannot be learned—it is something inborn."⁶⁴ In Eliade's view it is through ecstasy that a shaman joins the ranks of "privileged persons" and becomes the like of "sovereigns, heroes, initiates."⁶⁵

Remizov could have also been drawn to a shamanistic persona by the traditional parallel made between shamans and wizards. According to Nikolai Kharuzin's famous work "O noidakh u drevnikh i sovremennykh loparei" ("About the *Noids* Among the Ancient and Contemporary Lopars"), the *noids*, as the Lapps called them, combined the functions of shaman and wizard.⁶⁶ Mikhailovsky referred to shamans as *valshebniki* (magicians) and *kudseniki* (conjurers) throughout his book,⁶⁷ and Kandinsky used the term *koldun* (sor-

cerer) in his ethnographic study of the Zyrians to describe shamans.⁶⁸ Remizov knew of this association and referred to Lapland as "a country of wizards."⁶⁹ To encourage his visitors to see him as a wizard Remizov even dressed the part. Virtually every description of Remizov at his home includes some mention of the host dressed in multicolored, multilayered garments that give him the appearance of a conjurer. No less frequent are mentions of Remizov's "magical" powers as a performer of recitals: "he does not read, he casts spells," recalled Natal'ia Kodrianskaia.⁷⁰ It is "as if my voice was enchanting them," wrote Remizov in his autobiographical novel *Splinter* (*Sverni*).⁷¹ *Oplesbnik* (wizard), from the verb *opletai'* (to enchant), was the name Remizov chose for the publishing enterprise set up by his friends in the late 1940s.⁷² Significantly, in the same explanation of the word *oplesbnik*, Remizov added that it also stands for "oracle"—another traditional occupational specialty of shamans. In the end, this self-depiction as a magical figure seemed to have worked: Remizov's guests saw him as having "something of the ancient storyteller, something of the . . . performer, something of the wizard."⁷³

Abnormality is another essential trait that separated the shaman from the rest of the tribe, and more than a few of Remizov's acquaintances ascribed to his wizardly character just such a connotation.⁷⁴ Mikhailovsky cited an early source, which explained how before becoming a shaman one must have shown himself "to appear mad, surprised, and fearful."⁷⁵ Other early books and essays equate this abnormality with madness and epilepsy. Many turn-of-the-twentieth-century descriptions of shamans read like studies of psychological deviation. Rychkov, for instance, spoke about shamanism as a "psychopathological condition . . . connected with hysteria, epileptic and extreme nervous seizures."⁷⁶ Likewise, abnormality persists as Remizov's basic characteristic in both biographical and autobiographical literature.⁷⁷ As one whose eccentricity alternatively inspired admiration and annoyance in the people around him, he must have understood that the shaman's abnormality lent him the status of powerful wizard while subjecting him to social ostracism. Interesting in this respect are Remizov's thoughts a year before his death on the subject of being "abnormal": "Stranger from 'strange'—unusual. From here comes the name *chud'*. Not a stranger—our own kind, a song sets off ripples in my feelings and the word; not a strange [song]—[a song] of one earth, of one sky [gold of the moon, silver of the moon]" (*Chuzboi ot 'chuda'—neobyknovennyi, Otiuda i nazvanie 'chud.'* "Ne chuzboi—'svoi,' pesnia vskoilykhnula moe chuvstvo i slovo 'nechuzhdai'a—odnoi zemli, odnogo neba [zolato luny, serebro solnitsa]).⁷⁸ This embittered explanation of the origins of the word *chud'*, perhaps a reference to the Northern tribe known as Priural'skaia Chud' (Ural Region Strangers) mentioned earlier, shows the ambivalence of Remizov's attitude toward being seen as abnormal or strange. Ambivalence also characterized others' reactions:

they were attracted by the writer's "strangeness/eccentricity" (*chudnym*) and repelled by his "strangeness/otherness" (*chuzhim*).

Remizov's contemporaries particularly diverged in their reaction to his dwellings. His peculiar surroundings always surprised visitors; almost all of the memoirs detail—sometimes with amused bewilderment, other times with ill-concealed irritation—his apartments' whimsical decor.⁷⁹ But what seemed extraordinary or preposterous to the uninitiated eye was a fairly accurate replica of the shaman's tent. An attentive reader of ethnographic studies on shamanism would at once notice the similarities between a traditional shaman's string with various amulets arranged on it, such as the string with the duckling published by Bogoraz (figure 6.12), and Remizov's famous rope with talismans.⁸⁰ The Chukchee "wooden spirits"⁸¹ bear a definite resemblance to Remizov's beloved branch-toys,⁸² while his dolls made of fabric, metal, and scraps of leather are akin to the Siberian praying idols, known as *ongons*.⁸³ Unlike the more common interiors that reflect only the character of their human occupants, Remizov's apartments were equally an abode for his toy animal spirits.

Such a treatment of one's living space agrees with Siberian traditions, where the shaman's dwelling is also a sanctuary for his zoomorphic spirit-helpers.⁸⁴ Sharing one's house with the spirit-helpers plays a part in shamanistic egalitarianism when it comes to designating the presence of a soul.⁸⁵ The Chukchee, for example, considered all things to be sentient and thus able to talk and walk on their own.⁸⁶ According to Bogoraz, "ground spirits" reciprocate the equality of relations with people as they hunt men whom they call "little seal," and benignly extend the title of "the ground spirits" to shamans.⁸⁷ Remizov took these beliefs seriously: Natal'ia Kodrianskaia remembered that he treated his toys "as if they were alive."⁸⁸ He fondly said of them that "there are toys which have a heart and they breathe" (*est' igrushki s serdtsiem i oni dychat*).⁸⁹ With a bit of narrative help, in the words of his 1910 interviewer Kozhevnikov, Remizov's toys "gazed from the table and from the walls like some tiny idols," coming to life when their "owner" talked about them.⁹⁰ The toys, in turn, enlivened Remizov's creativity, possibly even kept him alive. If we are to believe fiction, it was the toys that came to his help and "pulled him from under the car" during his 1927 accident in Paris when he was pushed down and nearly struck by a passing car.⁹¹ Were they the "horned, winged [and] tailed" creatures alongside Remizov's self-portrait in his "ladder" drawing (figure A1) I describe in the introduction?⁹² This interesting image first surfaced in a 1926 letter to Piotr Ustimovich,⁹³ where Remizov promised his correspondent to send him similar drawings of his toys, for which Remizov was trying to arrange a new, institutional, home at the time by giving away most of his toy collection to the Pushkin House.⁹⁴ Remizov's "horned, winged, [and] tailed" monsters further enhance his image as a shaman because they correspond to the Lapland *noids'*

usual trio of animal-helpers: a reindeer, a bird, and a fish.⁹⁶ With such a solid base of spiritual support Remizov would make a good candidate for a shaman even in an ethnographer's opinion.⁹⁶

Remizov traced the initial appearance of his toys to the time of his first book, *Sunwise* [*Posolon*] (1907). He told a story of how a Moscow psychiatrist had ordered his female patient to make the toys from Remizov's fairy tales. When, after a few months, the project was complete, the woman, who used to hallucinate about being tortured by monsters (*pered'nei koposbilits'i muchili ee chudishcheba*), felt better; the monsters had disappeared. Remizov inquired about the source of the woman's ailment, which turned out to be of an "erotic nature." Proud of the cure provided by what he called his "seeds of life" (*semena zbitzni*), Remizov ordered copies to be made of these toys and installed them in his Petersburg apartment.⁹⁷ According to Kodrianskaia, it was after he gave up the *Sunwise* toys later in the decade that Remizov began to gather his "bizarre, ossified, wooden creatures," which Kozhevnikov got to know during his visit to the writer.⁹⁸ Among these creatures was the dry twig "Maroun" who became the protagonist of Remizov's 1910 namesake text.⁹⁹

Much like Remizov in the above-mentioned *Utro Rossii* interview, a shaman, inspired by his spirit-protectors and spirit-helpers, becomes a performer and a storyteller. In shamanistic cultures, which granted great power to the spoken word,¹⁰⁰ *kamilanie* was a form of poetry-making, and not just metaphorically. Anuchin, in his seminal 1914 essay on Enisean shamanism, pointed out that the imperative form of the verb *shamanit'* (to shamanize) can be translated as a demand to "sing."¹⁰¹ Later sources confirmed this connection—the Sanskrit word *saman* (*sramana*) actually means "song."¹⁰² In shamanistic cultures a poet is also a prophet and a seer, a mediator between the divine world and the human world, for he possesses the "Word."¹⁰³ Anuchin depicted the storytelling talents of the shamans from the Enisei region in the following passage:

When not otherwise engaged, a shaman is sometimes requested to shamanize without any particular goal, simply for diversion, and in such case he replaces a storyteller. Usually, the shaman tells about countries and peoples, repeating along the way, sometimes with variations, some well-known fairy tale, a legend, a myth. The shamans who are considered the best mimic and gesture as they convey a conversation between characters, attempting to differentiate the speech of each [character] with particular pronunciation, "to speak in different voices." . . . A shaman who is unable to convincingly narrate fairy tales and legends, unable to portray a character, will not be successful.¹⁰⁴

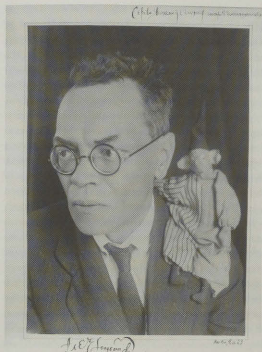


FIGURE 6.14 Photograph of Alexei Remizov, Berlin, 1923. Institut Russkoi Literatury/Institute of Russian Literature (IRLI).

This narrative capacity could be Remizov's credo as a storyteller. First, the shaman is the source of fairy tales, a keeper of folklore—the writer told fairy tales his entire life, starting with his early practice during his Siberian exile when he spent most of the time allotted to his tutorial duties (he was hired to teach academic subjects) in telling fairy tales to his pupils.¹⁰⁵ He was fortunate to have a fairy-tale writer, Natal'ia Kodrianskaia, as his ultimate, now literary pupil. In print, it was the same. Remizov's first book, *Sunwise* (1907), was a collection of fairy tales. Half a century later, in 1957, in his last published book, *The Circle of Happiness* (*Krug sčast'ia*), Remizov used fairy tales and legends as a blueprint for the story of his own life.¹⁰⁶ At the time of his death, he was finishing yet another volume, *With Peacock's Plume* (*Pavlin'im perom*), containing fairy tales and legends of diverse origin. Moreover, shamans'

traditional role as the guardians of folklore was something to which Remizov aspired throughout his life as a writer.¹⁰⁷ Second, the shaman's tales speak of different "countries and peoples," and so did Remizov's tales, with their subject matter deriving from cultures as diverse as Tiungus and Persian. Third, the shaman-storyteller gives a "variation" of a familiar tale or legend. The writer described this kind of narration as "fitting foreign legends to one's nationality: translation of foreign style into contemporary language" (*prinoradivanie chuzhikh skazanii k svoei national'noti: perevod chuzhogo stil'ia na sovremennyy iazyk*).¹⁰⁸ This was precisely how Remizov built many of his texts over the years; it is an especially apt description of his final story cycle of the late forties and fifties, "Legends Through the Ages."¹⁰⁹ Finally, as a good shaman-storyteller Remizov was known for his skillful recitation, his ability to speak in different voices, and his masterful creation of characters. For as long as his failing vision permitted he regularly read to a few close friends; he also gave recitations before large audiences for a fee. Natal'ia Reznikova remembers Remizov's storytelling as "enchanting" and capable of generating genuine fear when the story was scary.¹¹⁰ Remizov's own recollections of his listeners' reaction support Reznikova's memories.¹¹¹

The penchant for masterful storytelling did come with a desirable (for Remizov) side effect: in Siberian cultures a gifted and successful storyteller would always be seen as "abnormal" in particular because of the association between storytellers and shamans. Writers such as Shternberg perpetuated this connection of storytelling to shamanism by calling storytellers "extraordinary type[s], true appointee[s] of the gods" and reminding his readers that "it was not for nothing that the storytellers were most often shamans or their descendants."¹¹² Later scholars even suggested a "genetic relationship of shamans and storytellers," arguing that storytellers descended from shamans in a direct lineage.¹¹³ Remizov accepted, even welcomed the outsider status that would accompany the vocation of storyteller. This much is evident from the rhetorical question that Remizov posed in *Splinter* ("What storyteller can be normal?"¹¹⁴) and from a note in his 1905 workbook: "measuring by the life of a normal man, it is hard to imagine how a storyteller can exist in this world."¹¹⁵

Scholars have already investigated the textual similarities between shamans and Remizov as storytellers.¹¹⁶ This connection is hardly surprising given the importance of Zyrjan folklore for his poetic language.¹¹⁷ Remizov's inventive writings relate to the shaman's sacred language in which they "experimented with words; . . . possessed a range of descriptive means including metaphors, symbols, and allegories, . . . knew how to enrich utterances with rhyme or rhythms, with different kinds of sounds, ornamentation, and contextual content variations."¹¹⁸ The characteristics of shamanistic word usage in fact played a role in Remizov's own verbal constructions. Like Remizov, the shaman-storytellers

incorporated a "wide use of metaphors in descriptive narration; the use of archaic words and formulae; expressions; artificial derivation, declension and conjugation; new words produced by onomatopoeical means and by arbitrary metathesis; loan-words alien to ordinary language."¹¹⁹ An ethnographic linguist who was Remizov's contemporary even suggested that these qualities of the sacral language of the shamans make it a species of poetry.¹²⁰

Perhaps as important as fairy tales to a proper understanding of Remizov's affinities with shamanism are dreams. Remizov connected the two: "A fairy tale is a dream come true" (*skazka—snovidenie v'istv*).¹²¹ He insisted that some legends and fairy tales actually derive from dreams: "A fairy tale and a dream are brother and sister. A fairy tale is a literary form, a dream may take a literary form. Some fairy tales and legends come from dreams" (*Skazka i son — brat i sestra. Skazka—literaturnaia forma, a son mozhet byt' literaturnoi formy. Proiskhozhdienie nekotorykh skazok i legend—son*).¹²² In shamanistic cultures, dreams have traditionally been seen as the shaman's domain, not least because shamans were expert readers of dreams; often the shaman's own instruction happened in dreams.¹²³ Later scholars argued that dreams were also the imaginarium of shamans, who, like any other "fantasy-prone personalities," thrive in their arbitrary mental space.¹²⁴ Entirely in the spirit of shamanistic cultures, Remizov perceived dreams as the continuation of waking reality. He made the writing down and sketching of his dreams into a daily ritual.¹²⁵ His "dream legacy" includes the book *Martyn Zaedka: A Book of Dreams* (1954), an illustrated album (1937) by the same name, and over a dozen volumes of his graphic diaries—a new genre where narrative was based on images with only occasional inscriptions. The diaries, which take the form of albums with ink line drawings, describe real events incorporated into dreamscape (figure 6.15).

Every morning upon waking, Remizov sketched the night's dream, sometimes accurately, at other times altering its content. The graphic diaries that resulted from this "documentation" served as a counterpart to the more conventional diaries Remizov kept at different points in his life. But in contrast to his written journals, Remizov's graphic diaries do not distinguish between reality and imagination. This is intrinsic to the graphic diary's genre because of its position on the border between the realms of dream and waking. They were also arguably Remizov's most eccentric and controversial art form, in which he probed the limits of the acceptable. Their drawings often depicted Remizov's acquaintances in rather compromising circumstances, so much so that one of them, the poet Vladislav Khodasevich, once demanded that Remizov cease dreaming about him.¹²⁶ The genre of the graphic diary became increasingly indispensable with the passage of time. As Remizov's friends gradually died off, it remained as one of the few ways for him to communicate mentally with



FIGURE 6.15 Page from a graphic diary, Alexei Remizov, 1939. Reproduced in N. Kodrianskaia, *Alexei Remizov* (Paris: N. Codray, 1959). Institut Russkoi Literatury/Institute of Russian Literature (IRL).

the departed.¹²⁷ Hundreds of pages of Remizov's graphic diaries depict friends already dead alongside the living. "Through dreaming a man can penetrate 'the other' world, it is the only little entrance thereto," he wrote in a draft to one of his later books.¹²⁸ The implied parallelism between the living and the dead is characteristic of shamanism. Lapps, for example, believed that the dead lived in a world similar to the world of the living.¹²⁹ When shamans go on their "magical flights" they bring back messages from the world of the dead

to the world of the living.¹³⁰ In the myths of Tuva, only shamans could see and hear the dead man's soul and speak with dead men as if they were alive.¹³¹ The traditional Yakut shaman costume even has a small spherical ornament—*kun*—a metaphorical sun meant to light the shaman's way in the twilight land of the spirits.¹³² And it is often in the dream-space that the shaman meets the dead.¹³³

Remizov must have appreciated the Siberian shamans' talent for conversing with the dead. In his dedication for Serafima Pavlovna's copy of the 1922 *Siberian Tale*, he called it *knig[a] mertvykh* (book of the dead).¹³⁴ The reference suggests the role of the author as a shaman who leads the souls of the deceased on their final journey.¹³⁵ But whereas the 1922 book and even the 1940 album can only be considered as "a book of the dead" metaphorically, in 1943, the year of his wife's death, Remizov actually drew a chilling composition titled "From the Book of the Dead" ("Iz knigi mertvykh").¹³⁶ The drawing consists of three vignettes—a larger composition and two smaller segments. It shows a dying person's last vision, the corpse with the guardian angel, and the burial proper. The text, which is dispersed in boxes next to the segments, suggests that the subject of the drawing is Remizov, who himself (symbolically) dies and is buried in the same cemetery (Bagneux) as Serafima Pavlovna. This imaginary last journey proves how deeply Remizov had absorbed the mythology of the book of the dead.

The shamans' ease of communication with the dead extends into their ease of communication with animals. In the land of Siberian shamans, animals were supposed to live just like people, with their own households and even their own country.¹³⁷ The spirits were also part of this equation because originally all spirits had animal form.¹³⁸ Remizov accepted the parity that the Russian North granted to the animals¹³⁹ and used it in the 1922 tales of *Siberian Tale*. In them people and animals love and trick each other as if they belonged to the same species.¹⁴⁰ This mixing of man and beast happens in the album as well. In the fifth drawing (plate 14), Remizov pictured himself alongside a group of people and a creature from the animal world, thus fulfilling the shamanistic function of connecting the anthropomorphic and the zoomorphic.¹⁴¹ (A decade later, in 1950, Remizov published his *Tale of the Two Beasts: Ikhnelat*, in which anthropomorphic animals act alongside the only human of the story, its central character, Ikhnelat.)¹⁴² It is hardly coincidental that the animal in the picture is a duckling, a bird that was considered a female progenitor among the Zyrian people. By its implication of a union between the female progenitor and the artist, whose likeness is represented in the figure facing the bird, the fifth drawing—the only image in the album that brings together the human and animal world—reiterates the theme of creation through the shaman's *kamlanie*. This key scene also strengthens the connection between the

Siberian Tale pages from RGALI and its namesake illustrated album from the Reznikoff collection. The composition of one of the drawings from the pages of the RGALI manuscript (figure 6.16) is particularly close to that in the fifth drawing of the Reznikoff *Siberian Tale*, only in the album the man on the right is replaced with the duckling.

This substitution can be easily explained: the RGALI image is an illustration to the story, the text of which it follows, while the more cosmogonic drawing of the album fits in well with its overall shamanistic creation theme and its outcome, the animals featured in the album. The menagerie of the album owes to one of the texts featured in the RGALI manuscript. The Manegr narrative "Liudi i zveri" ("People and Animals") is a creation tale that culminates in the "making" of animals; the animals of the album are brought into existence by the artist whose self-portrait vis-à-vis the duckling-progenitor appears in the fifth drawing.¹⁴³

Last, but not least, the shaman's position as "an inspired intermediary" who establishes contact through ecstatic experience¹⁴⁴ is seminal to understanding Remizov's self-fashioning as a shaman. A good shaman is defined by his skillful communication with that which is inaccessible to others. Already Mikhailovsky spoke of shamans as "singularly gifted people, intermediaries between their tribesmen and those enigmatic forces."¹⁴⁵ The shaman becomes a medium between people and spirits or people and animals by making "symbolic representations in word and action" of the ineffable.¹⁴⁶ The poet does much the same.¹⁴⁷ This mediating component, which parallels Remizov's own liminality, must have legitimized his vision of himself as a shaman. Throughout his long life he balanced on the verge of times, spaces, styles, and norms of behavior. His artistic talent was in his ability to combine things that often lay on opposite sides of the dividing line. In a genuinely shamanistic way Remizov could turn that which was accessible only to him into "spiritual" food for his kin, a minor miracle that he never took for granted: "what force there is in a man, . . . a shaman can breathe out fire."¹⁴⁸

While Remizov was perhaps most thoroughgoing in his self-association with shamans, he was by no means the only one of his generation to use shamanism in configuring his own aesthetic program. Much of the appeal was in the shamanistic ritual itself. *Kamianie* could be seen as an art form that incorporates sound, image, word, lighting, and movement,¹⁴⁹ and its synthetic quality is consistent with early-twentieth-century aesthetic aspirations. The Russian symbolists held that poetry was a form of revelation through the ecstasy of the author-thurge. They were drawn to the shaman's image as inspired medium, as well as to the ritualistic quality of shamanism.¹⁵⁰ Peg Weiss¹⁵¹ and Anthony Parton¹⁵² offer detailed studies of the way Siberian shamanism came to reflect upon the art of the Russian avant-garde from the second decade of

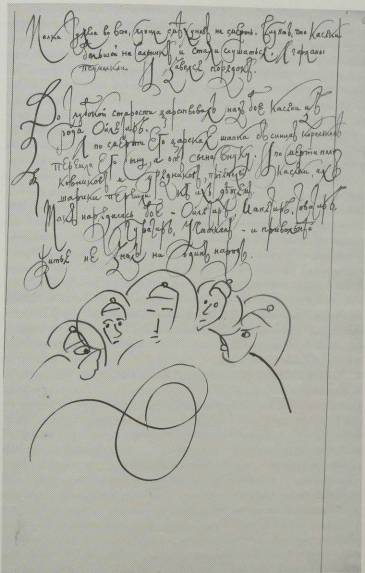


FIGURE 6.16 Page from *Siberian Tale* (*Sibirskii shazh*), Alexei Remizov, 1940. India ink on paper. RGALI, f. 420, op. 6, no. 4, p. 6.

the twentieth century. According to Parton, Mikhail Larionov showed interest in the ethnographic details of Northern art, and even bought one sacred Buriat drawing and a copy of Khangalov's 1890 monograph on Buriat shamanism. Larionov's interest in Buriat shamanism is evident in the images of *Starinnaia liubov'* (1912), *Mirskontsa* (1912), and *Pomadna* (1913).¹⁵³ For him, as for Remizov, shamanistic reference was only one of many references to various indigenous folklores (for example, Scythian, Egyptian, and Turkish). Weiss explains Larionov's use of Siberian shamanism as a representation of primitive art that was "closest to home" (132). But unlike Remizov's ethnographically accurate immersion into the shaman's persona and his surroundings, Larionov's attraction to shamanism expressed itself aesthetically.

Western European poets and artists, much like the Russian symbolists early in the century, were mostly drawn to the image of the shaman as a frenzied intermediary and a magician. This interest was at the root of Jules Monnerot's *La poésie moderne et le sacré* published in 1945 by Gallimard. The surrealist Leonora Carrington painted a portrait of her then-lover Max Ernst as a shaman only a year before Remizov put together his album.¹⁵⁴ Remizov's contemporary, the saturnine Hungarian poet Endre Ady (born like Remizov in 1877) considered himself to be a shaman.¹⁵⁵ Georges Bataille is said even to have aspired to become a shaman.¹⁵⁶ Michael Richardson has made a convincing argument about Bataille's shamanistic sensibility.¹⁵⁷ In Richardson's view, Bataille's narration in his *Inner Experience* and *Guilty* mimics the tropes of a shamanistic journey, and his concept of "inner experience" is best understood in terms of the shaman's ecstasy.

Vasily Kandinsky's relationship with shamanism, as Peg Weiss explains in *Kandinsky and Old Russia: The Artist as Ethnographer and Shaman*, is much more complicated. Kandinsky took part in the 1889 Ust-Sysoi'sk expedition and published his findings in *Etnograficheskoe obozrenie*.¹⁵⁸ His scholarly studies gave him a thorough knowledge of Siberian shamanism. The artifacts of Zyrian culture (including shamanistic art) are at the core of Kandinsky's early images, and his interest in shamanism goes beyond the simple aesthetic borrowing that Larionov engaged in. Weiss maintains that Kandinsky even seemed to identify with the shamanistic illness that precedes one's initiation into shamanism, compared the painter's canvas to a shaman's drum, and appreciated the subtleties of the shamanistic trance that results in some form of artistic performance.¹⁵⁹ Still, while Kandinsky's ethnographic explorations were certainly more than mere iconographical building blocks for his art, Weiss nevertheless concludes that in Kandinsky's case one could only speak of metaphorical association with the shaman's persona.¹⁶⁰ This is in stark contrast to Remizov's adaptation of the shamanistic persona in its most characteristic capacity—that of the intermediary.

The Kandinsky Museum at the Centre Georges Pompidou holds eight of the drawings Kandinsky made around 1923 as illustrations to Remizov's short stories.¹⁶¹ These drawings were to serve as a point of departure for a joint publication (Remizov's texts, Kandinsky's engravings) that the two had attempted in the second half of the 1930s. Weiss addresses this planned collaboration in her book,¹⁶² rightly seeing shamanism as a source of overall inspiration for both artists, and particularly for Kandinsky's illustrations of Remizov's texts¹⁶³ (figure 6.17).

Until now, the circumstances of the initial stage of the project have been unclear.¹⁶⁴ Although Remizov and Kandinsky both lived in Berlin in 1921 and 1922, their first face-to-face encounter took place only in Paris, on December 31, 1936.¹⁶⁵ Their existing correspondence, which spans the short period from 1936 to 1938,¹⁶⁶ suggests that the meeting happened in the aftermath of Kandinsky's exhibition in the gallery of Jeanne Bucher.¹⁶⁷ Remizov preserved Kandinsky's handwritten invitation of December 3. Some three weeks later, on December 23, Remizov wrote to Kandinsky, telling him of his visit to the exhibition and apologizing for having missed a chance to express his respects in person at the vernissage, which he had missed.¹⁶⁸ Remizov then telephoned Bucher to find out if Kandinsky could meet him at the gallery on the following Thursday. In his response of December 28, 1936, Kandinsky returned Remizov's compliments and confirmed their meeting. It was probably then that Remizov and Kandinsky first raised the possibility of an artistic collaboration. The subsequent two letters, which they exchanged in early 1937, confirm this supposition. On January 21, 1937, Kandinsky wrote Remizov that he intended to discuss their project with Bucher, a potential publisher. He mentioned that she seemed interested in the idea, but he wanted to speak to her about it in detail, away from the distractions of her busy gallery. Meanwhile, Kandinsky instructed Remizov to bring French translations of his texts to Bucher. Remizov responded that he would copy out the French (and if French was not available, German) translations of the tales in order to show them to the gallery owner.¹⁶⁹ This initial collaboration never materialized—perhaps Bucher was not persuaded to sponsor the publication. The letters stopped for almost a year, and when the correspondence was resumed neither Kandinsky nor Remizov mentioned her name in connection with their endeavor.

Remizov was the first to break the silence in early November 1938. This time he proposed that the book be taken to the French surrealist publishers Lévis Mano and Roger Bonon (they had just printed a multi-author book on dreams containing Remizov's translations and drawings),¹⁷⁰ and he attached a list of fifteen tales that were to make up the volume.¹⁷¹ Remizov's intended title was *The Merry Islands (Scandalous Tales from the Fourth Dimension) [Les îles joyeuses (Récits scandaleux de quatrième dimension)]*. Kandinsky wrote back

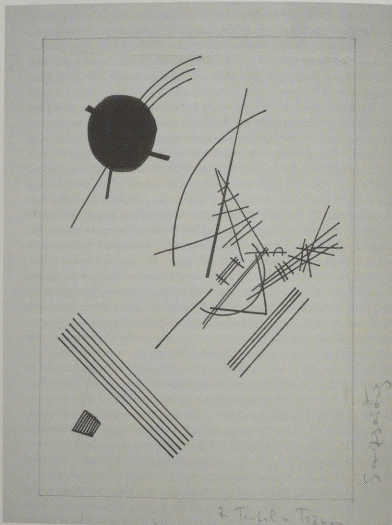


FIGURE 6.17 Illustration for Remizov's "The Devil and the Tears" ("Le diable et les larmes"), Vasily Kandinsky, circa 1923. Crayon and india ink on paper, 89 x 148 mm. Photograph copyright © CNAC/MNAM, dist RMN / amanaimages.

with an apology: he could not locate the proofs of his 1923 engravings, whose exact number and textual sources he no longer remembered after so much time had elapsed.¹⁷² He followed up this letter with another one only five days later, announcing to Remizov that, happily, he had found the prints, all seventy-four of them (ten *bors-texte* and the rest vignettes).¹⁷³ Kandinsky also said that his intention was to "redo the *bors-texte* images in the abstract manner" (*ispred'ns*). Complaining that he still had nothing to illustrate, he asked Remizov to send him the texts of at least the fifteen tales from the list included in the previous letter. He ended with a request for a phone conversation. Remizov did not respond to this letter, Kandinsky's last, but he wrote his own last extant letter to Kandinsky the same day, on November 16, 1938. There he blamed the delay in the project on Mano and Bonon's relocation of the press and suggested that Kandinsky should submit to the press any clichés he could find.¹⁷⁴

The book was not published at the time, and nothing implies that Remizov ever saw Kandinsky's 1923 drawings.¹⁷⁵ Nor is there any evidence that Kandinsky implemented his idea to rework his fifteen-year-old illustrations of Remizov's tales. It is possible that the publishers could not find the means to fund an edition that would satisfy the authors (in his last letter Kandinsky insisted on high-quality paper; he wanted to avoid a book of "pathetic" appearance).¹⁷⁶ But it is also possible that the project fell through because Remizov wanted to do more than publish his texts with Kandinsky's images. During the 1937–1938 lull in their correspondence, Remizov finished his own illustrated album, which he called *Tales from the Fourth Dimension* (*Récits de la quatrième dimension* [sic]). The album, dated September 15, 1937, consists of the very fifteen tales Remizov included on the list attached to his letter to Kandinsky and that the great modernist artist was supposed to illustrate. Only here the tales are illustrated with Remizov's own india-ink drawings on text pages that face pasted-in india-ink and watercolor compositions (figure 6.18 and plate 15).¹⁷⁷

On the *zapis'* page of the album Remizov suggestively referred to it as a "unique copy prepared for publication" (*edinstvennyi ekzempliar podgotovlennyy k pechatu*). By subtitling his planned collaboration with Kandinsky "*nepodobnye rasskazy iz chetvertogo izmereniia*" ("scandalous tales from the fourth dimension") or "*récits scandaleux de quatrième dimension* [sic]"—"nepodobnye/scandaleux" must have referred to (and emphasized) his semipornographic color images—he clearly linked it to the album. When Remizov proposed that he and Kandinsky attempt a joint publication with Mano and Bonon he told the artist that the publishers "as [he] observed" could "make something out of this publication" only if Kandinsky's name were behind it.¹⁷⁸ Conceivably, before bringing up his joint project with Kandinsky, he approached Mano and Bonon hoping to publish his own illustrated album. When this did not work, he must have decided to promote the original collaboration.

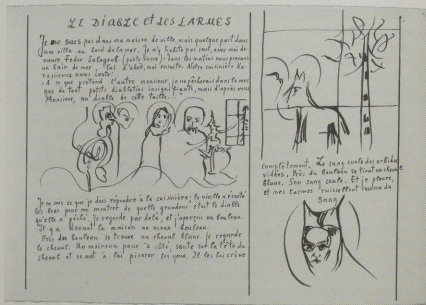


FIGURE 6.18 Black-and-white illustration for "The Devil and the Tears" ("Le diable et les larmes"), *Tales from the Fourth Dimension* (*Récits de la quatrième dimension* [sic]), Alexei Remizov, 1937. India ink on paper, 225 x 285 mm. Houghton Library, Harvard University.

It is important that after their initial failure to publish the shamanism-themed volume with Bucher, Remizov continued to work solo on the formerly joint project. When Remizov visited Kandinsky's exhibition in 1936, he wrote to the painter that he hurt his eyes trying to "look into" how Kandinsky "does" his canvases (*Nu vystavke, razglyadyvaia Vasbi kartiny, perestalsia: 'svoval' sebe glaz, no mne ocheni' khotelos' by-gladet' kak vse eto vy delact*).¹⁷⁰ This shows a surprising, for a writer, degree of interest in the making of paintings. I would speculate that Remizov drew the images of *Tales* because he wanted to compete with Kandinsky in illustrating his own tales, maybe even to see both sets of illustrations in print. Already during his time in Berlin, Remizov made a loaded remark that associated Kandinsky's mythical status in contemporary art with his (Remizov's) drawings.¹⁸⁰ Later Remizov continued to keep track of Kandinsky's fame as one of the leading nonobjective artists. His unpublished scrapbooks from the Amherst archive contain a 1937 newspaper clipping from *Tribune des Nations* that mentions Kandinsky among the great "abstract" artists who could "conquer" the American art market. Remizov preserved this article in which he underlined Kandinsky's name.¹⁸¹ The Bucher exhibit and the *Tribune des Nations* article must have reinforced Remizov's perception of Kandinsky's hegemony. I would conjecture that for Remizov, illustrating the same texts as Kandinsky was a kind of "graphic" duel with one of the best-recognized artists of the century. Remizov, I think, was hoping to win it, too, because unlike Kandinsky, whose drawings of the tales are black and white, he enlisted the help of not only the spare linearity of printer's ink, but also the synesthetic symbolism of color. (This was necessary for him to do because the images of *Tales*, as I propose in chapter 2, open up the fourth dimension—dreams, according to Remizov, could only be accessible through color).¹⁸² For all his skill, Kandinsky's illustrations to Remizov's tales limit their magic to shamanistic iconography,¹⁸³ whereas Remizov's own illustrations of the same tales attempt to captivate the viewer with more sensory snares. This important matter remains outside the Kandinsky-Remizov correspondence. As far as Kandinsky was concerned, the collaboration was to be between a writer who would provide the texts and an artist who would provide the drawings.¹⁸⁴

As with the other albums discussed in this book, there is an ever-personal postscript to Remizov's *Siberian Tale*. On December 13, 1941, the Remizovs' acquaintance E. Kovalevskaia¹⁸⁵ dropped off two Kongus coin-purses (*bourses Youngouz*) on their behalf at the recently opened Musée de l'Homme.¹⁸⁶ The next day the vice director of the museum, Marcel Griaule, signed a letter addressed to Remizov in which he expressed the museum's intention to purchase the items for its Siberian collection. Should Remizov be interested in completing the transaction, he was to visit the museum office (or send "Mme Khovalevskaia [sic]" if his health did not permit him to come in person). Griaule also wanted to know the provenance of the purses. In a draft of his response,¹⁸⁷ Remizov

traced the purses to his friend, who brought them from the Siberian town of Tomsk in August 1910.¹⁸⁸ The month was added on top of the line, probably as an afterthought. Remizov must have recalled that he got the purses while staying at the house of his friend R. V. Ivanov-Razumnik on the Finnish island of Vandrok.¹⁸⁹ The August 1910 visit turned out to be a source of inspiration for much of Remizov's personal mythology. There he also found the toy spirit, Maroun, that Kozhevnikov described in the interview that I cited earlier in the chapter:

In the center of the collection, on top of a cardboard pedestal is "Maroun" (from the Latin *mare*)—a branch with a growth on it, recently found by the writer on a cliff, on the island Vandrok. . . . This sea creature is the tsar of the Bur-Barun (or Vandrok) island. Underneath him is his sword and shield. . . . and finally two "stone" (ossified) fishes: "Simpā" and "Fluindra" on which the island rests.¹⁹⁰

Maroun the toy later came to be associated with Alexander Blok, and this fictionalized memory is the basis of the Houghton *Maroun* album. An inscription on Serafima Pavlovna's copy of his 1919 collection of "short poems in prose," *Siberian Gingerbread* (*Sibirskii priamik*), one of the versions of his *Siberian Tale*, tells about Vandrok's meeting with a lakut and a Buriat, thus linking the Siberian tales to the island as well.¹⁹¹

Some years after he sold the Tungus purses, and after Serafima Pavlovna's death in 1943, Remizov remembered the island once again in an allegorical scene picturing his heart as a little bird that flies into his wife's heart. The two hearts merge into one as she shares his vision.

We lived on the Olanda Islands: Vandrok Island—a gloomy Northern desert: cliffs and the sea. . . . And I sensed that my heart is a bird, I look down from the rock and I see: there, near the forest, was a cranberry bog. I felt my heart flying into her heart—at that moment she looked down from the rock and saw: there, near the forest, was a cranberry bog. . . . Our eyes, our hands, our heart are forged,—a palimpsest of rays.¹⁹²

This short poetic fragment is Remizov's hymn to love and an integral part of his author-myth. In dispensing with the Siberian purses, he let go of perhaps his last memento of the island.¹⁹³ From then on Remizov confined his memory of Olanda and all it stood for to his texts and drawings, his illustrated albums.

Conclusion

THE JOURNEY OF A "WRITER-DRAFTSMAN"

The dictionary *Artists of the Russian Emigration* refers to Remizov as an "amateur graphic artist . . . [b]etter known as a writer."¹ This description goes straight against his wish not to be seen as a writer who dabbled in drawing. Yet, unfair as this label may be, it is not so much a reflection on Remizov's actual achievement in graphic arts as it is a sign of how little we know, and, subsequently, how much there is to learn about his graphic heritage.

The Reznikoff archive contains a two-hundred-and-sixty-item list of Remizov's illustrated albums.² This list is exceedingly valuable because it provides not only the names and dates but also the number of illustrations and text pages of all the albums up to 1940. Together with more than three dozen albums from the 1930s I was fortunate to find and examine, it gives a fairly clear picture of the text-to-image dynamic from the earliest to the latest albums.³ While each of the albums has its own peculiar mythology, when taken as a body of work, the albums show Remizov's progression along a broader artistic path from the textual to the visual. The list confirms that in the first two years, 1932 to 1933, the majority of albums repeat the same simple format of one to three drawings accompanied by five to eight pages of calligraphically rendered text. The drawings almost always represent the actors in the story. Among these early works are the 1932 *Ziuzi-Morozy* (Cambridge, no. 2);⁴ *Domozbil Domovoi* (Jaine de Fabres, Paris, no. 6); *Kourinas* (1932, Amherst, no. 7); the

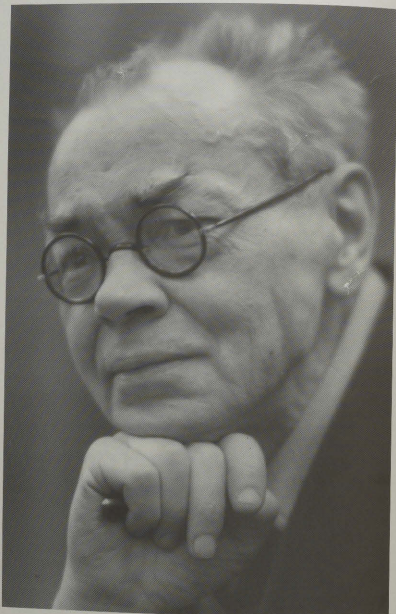


FIGURE B1 Photograph of Alexei Remizov, 1939. Institut Russkoi Literatury/Institute of Russian Literature (IRLI).

1933 *Liutyv zveri* (Guerra, Paris, no. 36); and *Sudia* (Syracuse, no. 42). By the midthirties Remizov began to increase the number of drawings and to use them for the proper illustration of the text. Examples of this are the 1934 *Volk-Samoglot* (no. 77) and the 1935 *Solntse i mesiats* (no. 129), both in the Amherst collection. Although he continued to make albums in this format through 1939, sometime in the midthirties he started experimenting with the script of the text, often entirely replacing his famed *skoropis'* with block lettering that becomes part of the image. The lettering expands on what used to be just inscriptions accompanying the images, now set in white against the black india-ink background. The 1934 *Iz Leskova* (From Leskov, Reznikoff collection, Paris, no. 108) and the 1935 *Sorachinsk' Fair* (no. 173) and *Propavshaiia gramota* (The Lost Letter, no. 175), both in the Lempert collection in Paris, are good examples of this new cartoonlike text.

Remizov also used the script/image combination in the 1934 Amherst *Solomoniiia* (no. 103) and the 1935 *Chizhov Solomoniiia* (Guerra collection, Paris, no. 133). As we have seen in chapter 4, the three *Solomoniiia* albums present a particularly interesting case, because each album conveys the narrative through a different combination of text and image. While the Chizhov album works in the familiar paradigm of images illustrating certain parts of the text (i.e., its narrative comes from the text), and the Amherst album relates the narrative through both text and images, only the arrangement and choice of drawings carry the story in the 1935 *Solomoniiia* (Reznikoff collection, no. 132).

A look at the album list of this period reveals a large number of albums where the number of pages devoted to images becomes equal to or greater than the number of text pages.¹ In 1937 Remizov compiled one of his biggest and most lavish albums to date, *Tales from the Fourth Dimension*, number 225 on the list and now in the Houghton collection. The thirty-two drawings of this album, in india ink and watercolor, are pasted in facing the pages where the text is interspersed with illustrative sketches.² In my analysis of the album in chapter 2, I argued that the drawings represent narratives other than the stories told on the opposite page—specifically, dreams—and are not meant to be deciphered.

The 1938 *Maroun* (Houghton collection, no. 239) also shows how Remizov takes advantage of this newly found facility of expression through drawing. *Maroun* is where synesthetic ideas bring about the metonymical relationship between text and images.

Remizov ends his list with seven albums from 1940. Dispensing with the format of the rest of the list, he does not cite the number of pages for any albums of the preceding two years. The 1940 cut-off date, which excludes his drawing notebooks of the late 1940s from the album count, supports the idea that the illustrated albums of the 1930s were a training ground for the writer who aspired to be an artist as well.³ As I discuss in the first chapter, partly because of

the embarrassments of his formal artistic training, partly because he knew that the public tends to resist any changes in one's creative medium, Remizov was reluctant to declare himself a visual artist. But he had a strong urge to draw, and already by the late twenties, as we learn from his Amfiteatrov correspondence,⁸ Remizov initiated his creative process by drawing. This gave rise to his album art—he began by incorporating already-existing drawings into handmade books. In a way, Remizov entered the world of artists through the back door of manuscript books, his “native” art form. As much is supported by the history of his exhibitions, which show the progression from illustration-type drawing to drawings that could be considered visual texts in themselves. Following the 1932 *Chisla* show of drawings by writers, the artist Nikolai Zaretsky arranged another exhibition of writers’ drawings, this time in Prague, where Remizov showed around one thousand of his own works. Here, apparently for the first time, separate albums appeared on display as well. These exhibits, which firmly linked Remizov’s writing and drawing, marked the start of systematic album production. For the next eighteen years he walked the line between two media, which allowed him to develop his draftsmanship without the inherent risks of venturing out of his perceived field of specialty. As a writer, Remizov had nothing to lose—at the very least his albums provided him and his wife with badly needed money. Pasting his drawings of the 1920s into albums, then making new ones during the 1930s, the writer gained confidence in the legitimacy of his drawing talent.⁹ The albums turned out to be the metaphorical threshold that he had to cross in order to become a graphic artist; once Remizov felt that he had “reached the circle of Lermontov and Baudelaire, writer-draftsman,”¹⁰ the album’s purpose in his artistic career was fulfilled.

Remizov’s later buoyant attitude toward drawing is summed up in the words, “above all, draw with boldness and strength,”¹¹ a phrase that aptly describes his subsequent practice. After the last “textless” albums of the early forties, Remizov, for the most part, abandoned his painterly games with color, texture, and composition. From now on, he would draw in a concise but utterly expressive manner (figure 82).

The Reznikoff collection has several of these remarkable albums from the late 1940s and early 1950s. Most of them are not handmade in the sense the 1930s albums were: Remizov either used ready-made drawing notebooks as support or sent stacks of numbered drawings to a bindery. These late albums are no longer modernist reconstructions of medieval manuscripts like the ones from the 1930s; they are just about drawings. The 1951 *Tristan and Isolde* (*Tristan i Izolda*), for example, was professionally bound during Remizov’s lifetime.¹² Remizov devoted its 175 pages to portraying the book’s characters: sometimes without any inscriptions (page 92), at other times with simple identifications (page 112), or with additional explanations concerning the

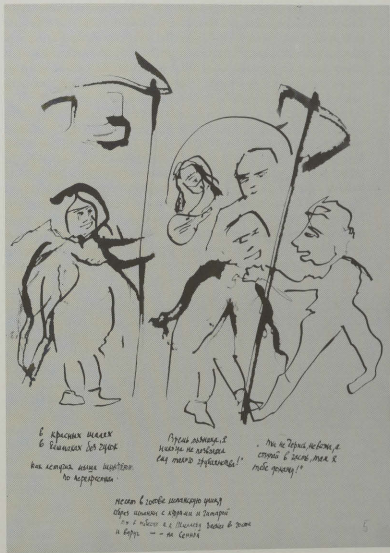


FIGURE 82. Image from *From Gogol* (*Iz Gogolia*), Alexei Remizov, 1952. India ink on paper, 315 x 235 mm. Reznikoff collection.

persons depicted (page 114) or the actions in which they are involved (page 141). Furthermore, unlike the albums of the thirties whose drawings were ends in themselves, the drawings of the later period are mainly fragments in Remizov's creative process.¹³ Figuratively speaking, *Tristan and Isolde* is the last mile of Remizov's path in drawing. What began with the ink outlines of his writing and developed in the colorist bravura of the 1930s albums came to a conclusion in the pictographs of Remizov's late images.¹⁴

Although it is hard to pinpoint the timing of the change in Remizov's drawing style with absolute certainty, the earliest linear drawings I have located are in his 1943 album *Alice to Me, Dead Flowers* (*Zhivye mne mertvye tsvety*). This album, which I briefly discussed in the introduction, consists of eight dried-flower-and-colored-paper collages (plate 1). The flowers belonged to Remizov's late wife, and the album itself is dated May 13, the day of her death. There is only one drawn image on the second page of the album's commentary; it shows a stylized self-portrait of a pitiful-looking Remizov next to what could be the cross on Serafima Pavlovna's grave or a cross-shaped window frame. A catlike creature, which we see from behind, sits to the left of the cross, mirroring Remizov's *en face* self-portrait (figure B3). *Alice to Me, Dead Flowers* seems to

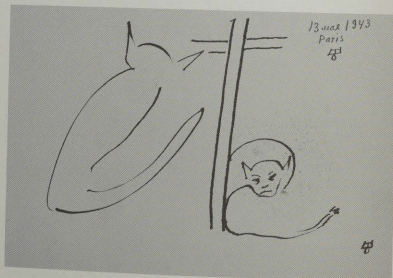


FIGURE B3 Inscription fragment from *Alice to Me, Dead Flowers* (*Zhivye mne mertvye tsvety*), Alexei Remizov, 1943. India ink on paper. Reznikoff collection.

be the sole album Remizov made between the "textless" works of 1940 (such as *Siberian Tule*) and his later "novels in pictures" (such as *Tristan and Isolde*). We can only hypothesize about whether it was his personal loss that produced this poignant image of a linear, almost shorthand, nature, an image that contrasts starkly with his earlier ornamental compositions. In any case, when Remizov resumed drawing and writing in 1948, his graphic style had changed.

Remizov pursued drawing for as long as he could see—through the early fifties—as he gradually went blind. He lamented his physical inability;¹⁵ still, the wish to draw persisted to the very end. In 1957, he shared with Kodrianskaia his most fervent desire on the occasion of his eightieth birthday: to draw again.¹⁶ Then, only days before his death, he dictated for his diary: "Wanted to draw myself—I caught and drew myself. This before every chapter, this is unending . . . unending . . ."¹⁷

APPENDIX: CATALOG OF EXTANT
ALBUMS IN PRIVATE COLLECTIONS

This appendix contains entries for the albums in private collections in Paris that I had a chance to catalog in 1997 and 1998. Because of restricted access to these albums and, in many cases, their fragile condition, I tried to include as much detail as possible in the entries below. I used the following abbreviations: ULC—upper left corner; URC—upper right corner; LLC—lower left corner; LRC—lower right corner. Small capitals are used for inscriptions rendered in block printing. One slash signifies a break between words and two slashes signify a line break.

Andreev Holdings

Bear Lullaby (Medvezb'ia kolybel'naia), 1932, 295 x 220 mm

Cover of coral-colored paper with green, purple, and printed gold leaf; wrapped in glassine and bound with a string. Text in *stolbetz* with signature, margins; on medium-weight, white woven paper.

First page (title page): Thin paper with title (in English) inscribed in calligraphy in india ink on the upper third of the page and the author's name on the bottom third; Remizov's sign in the LRC; 10 mm pattern in india ink along the left edge.

Second page: ULC inscribed in ink "no. 8"; in the LRC "Alexei Remizov, . . . [illegible] / . . . Rue Boileau, Paris, XVI."

Third page (another title page): Inscribed calligraphically in the upper two-thirds of the page: "*Medvezb'ia kolybel'naia*"; below it, in small printed letters: "*medvezb'ia kolybel'naia / iz paroloni.*"

Fourth page: Text written in Russian in *stolbetz* with 20 mm margins on both sides; line drawings in india ink above and below the text.

Fifth page: Illustration in india ink (20 x 67 mm). Outer frame (110 x 102 mm) is pasted matte black paper, with inner insert (66 x 70 mm) of blue paper.

Sixth page: Text in English in *stolbetz* in printed letters with some angle; line drawing in india ink below the text.

Seventh page: Two bars with musical notation for the English text in the upper half of the page, calligraphic swirl in the lower half.

Eighth page: Russian commentary on the text in calligraphy, with margins on either side, takes up middle three-quarters of the page (mentions that Alexei Remizov read the text to Mikhail Kuzmin, who later put it to music).

Thirteenth page: Pasted drawing in india ink and red, pink, brown, yellow, and blue colored pencil, with india-ink frame. Drawing on graph paper. Drawing, 190 x 160 mm. Frame, 210 x 164 mm. Signature sign in the LRC of the drawing.

Fourteenth page: Pasted drawing in india ink and red, blue, and green (blue on yellow) colored pencil on wrapping paper. Pasted india-ink frame. Drawing, 157 x 118 mm. With frame, 172 x 131 mm. Beneath the frame is an inscription in printed Latin characters, in ink: "DANS L'OCCASION / AERIEN / . . . PLANCHES / HORS / TEXTE / EXEMPLAIRE / AUTOGRAPHE / UNIQUE." In the upper portion of the drawing is an inscription in printed Russian characters: "ALBOM 'NA / VOZDUSHNOM / OKRANE' / 30 RISUNKOV / ZAKONCHEN / NA / SVIATKACH 1935 G. / BUMAGA / DR. KAHAN."

Fifteenth page: Pasted drawing in india ink on white paper with india-ink frame. Drawing, 52 x 55 mm. With frame, 56 x 70 mm. Signed below in longhand in Latin characters.

Sixteenth page: Image removed, remnants of glue on the page.

Fierce Beasts (Liutyje zveri), 1933, 295 x 210 mm

Provenance: Paris auction; purchased in 1991.

Cover with jacket of wrapping paper and lining in thin scarlet paper. The album is sewn together with thin brown thread and consists of pages folded in two. In the URC of the cover are two pasted triangles in colored paper (silver and red).

First page (cover page): In the ULC in black ink: "no. 36." In the lower right inscribed "A. Remizov, 3 bis Av. Jean Baptiste Clément, Boulogne s/Seine." In the LLC, pasted-in invitation to Remizov's recital with his signature in longhand (left lower portion), his signature sign (right lower portion), stamped "no. 29" (upper right), and inscribed in ink below the stamp: "Isc / 31 mars 1933 / vendrédi / Lutetia." All in black ink.

Second page (title page): In the center in large letters the title and Remizov's name in longhand. Below it: "LIUTYE ZVERI / SKAZKA A. REMIZOVA IZ 'POSOLONI.'"

Third page: Russian text of the tale written in *skoropiis* in *stolbetz*. With outlined 20 mm margins. All subsequent pages are numbered in pencil in the URC.

Fourth page: India ink and magenta pencil drawing on graph paper in triple frame (black india ink, white paper, red paper). The first frame is that of the drawing. The drawing is inscribed in printed letters along the edges. Vertically, from top to bottom along the left edge: "Liutyje zveri"; along the right edge: "A. REMIZOV / EN / SUIVANT / LE / SOLEIL." Below the last inscription is Remizov's sign and, below it, "Paris 1925" in the LRC. Along the bottom of the drawing: "LIUTYE / ZVERI / A. REMIZOV / POSOLON / REMEZ / A. REMIZOV / DER / SONNE / NACH I." Below it, inscribed in Russian in small characters: "igruška / pedarii / andrej / beljij / Moskva / 1911." Drawing, 83 x 78 mm; first frame (white), 115 x 95 mm; second frame (red), 150 x 122 mm.

Fifth page: Russian text.

Sixth page: India ink, blue pencil, and yellow watercolor drawing pasted to a black frame. Drawing, 97 x 63 mm. Frame, 142 x 115 mm. The lower portion of the drawing is inscribed "Zaiatz" (left) and "A. Remizov / Posolon" (right).

Seventh page: Russian text continued. Numbered in pencil in the URC.

Eighth page: Just above the center in the middle of the page is an inscription in printed Cyrillic characters: "Etu skazku 'Liutyje zveri' perepisal iz 'Remeza'—iz moej knigi 'Posolon' / A. Remizov, Posolon, Izd. Tair, Paris, 1930." In the LRC underneath Remizov's sign inscribed: "Paris / II III 1933." Numbered in pencil in the URC.

Frosty Flowers (Moroznye tsvety), 1934, 315 x 205 mm

Cover made of thick paper with dusty pink jacket. In the URC is a silver triangle. Condition: water stains along the upper edge of the jacket. The album consists of pages folded in half and sewn together with red and white string.

Dedication page: Numbered in ink in the ULC ("64"), inscribed: "Glebu Bladi-mirovichu Chizbovy o ego gor'ke odinokie dni / moia pamiat' o Rossii." Signed in *skoropiis*. To the right and below the inscription, dated: "28. IV. 34. Paris." In the LRC signed "A. Remizov, 7 Rue Boileau, XVI."

First page (title page): Title in *skoropiis* with sign underneath. In the bottom of the page, in the center, in printed letters: "Unkrada / A. Remizova."

Second page: Text in *skoropiis*, in Russian, written in *stolbetz* with two-centimeter margins. All subsequent pages are numbered in pencil in the URC.

Third page: Pasted india-ink drawing on white paper. In three layers: outer, white paper (212 x 148 mm); middle, black paper (208 x 129 mm); inner, the drawing itself (165 x 100 mm). The drawing is signed and dated in the LRC: "Berlin 1922." Inscriptions on the margins of the drawing: left, "Moroznye tsvety" (top to bottom); right, "A. Remizov / La / tragédie / deludá"; bottom, "Moroznye / tsvety / A. Remizov / tragedia / luar / Unkrada"; top, "saczvetu / togda / okna / moroznymi / tsvetami / zamet / pu / pristym / snegom // les / verres / le / couweront / de / fleurs / de / vivre // die / fenster / werden / mit / protolammen / bedeckt."

Fourth page: Text in Russian continued, with ink line drawing in the center of the page.

Fifth page: Pasted india-ink drawing on white paper. In three layers: outer, white paper (202 x 123 mm); middle, black paper (196 x 121 mm); inner, the drawing itself (162 x 82 mm). The drawing is signed and dated in the LRC: "Berlin 1921 IX." Inscriptions on the margins of the drawing: left, "Lit"; right, "A. REMIZOV / LA / TRAGEDIA / DE / IUDA" (left column) and "A. REMIZOV / TRAGEDIA / O / IUDE / PRINTZE / ISKARIOTSKOM / UNKRADA"; bottom, "LIT / LETIT / A. REMIZOV"—[left portion] and "TRAGEDIA / O / IUDE / UNKRADA"—[right portion]; top, "A / VO / VOZDUKHU / LIT / LETIT / NIZET / SKATNYI / PEREBRANNYI / ZHEMCHUG // DIE / RIJF / FEET / DURCI / DIE / ZUGT / REHT / AUF / DIE / ASTE / KOLLENDE / AUSSE // LE / GIVRE / VOLE."

Sixth page: Russian text. In-text drawings all over the page.

Seventh page: Russian text continued, with line drawing in the lower half of the page. Numbered in pencil in the URC.

Eighth page: Inscribed "UNKRADU' / PERIPISAL IZ KNIGI 'ZENIGOROD OKLIKANNY' / IZD. ATLAS, PARIS, 1924 / ONA ZHE I V 'TRAGEDIH O IUDE.'" Signed and dated in the LRC: "20 iii 1934 / Paris."

Ninth page: Pasted black and white photo of Remizov seated at the balcony, with signature beneath and a swirl around the photo.

Patty-cake (Ladushki), 1934, 312 x 202 mm

Cover made of thick paper with orange jacket. In the URC is a silver triangle with Remizov's sign inscribed on it. The album consists of pages folded in two and bound with undyed string.

First page (dedication): Inscribed in *skoropis'*: "Etot album Serafimiy Pavlovoy peredatu/v sobranie Gleba Vladimirovicha Chizbova/[in darker ink and added later than the inscription below]—Kholmka . . . [illegible] ob moei shteditsiatoi/ovsianoi kudriashkoi i goluboi lentshkoi i podnosbu moei materi/ileri i god moego razhdaniia / 24 iunia 1877/MOSKVA/ALEKSEI REMIZOV." Dated below the inscription: "8 III 1944/ Paris." In the LRC: "A. Remizov, 7 Rue Boileau, Paris XVI." Numbered in ink in the ULC: "no. 59."

Second page (title page): Title of the text in the middle of the page; below it, Remizov's signature in printed letters.

Third page: Russian text written in *skoropis'* and *stolbetz* with outlined 20 mm margins. Subsequent pages are numbered in pencil in the URC.

Fourth page: Pasted india-ink drawing on white paper. In three layers: outer, white paper (252 x 167 mm); middle, black paper (246 x 165 mm); inner, the drawing (231 x 143 mm). The drawing is on rough, textured paper that contrasts with the smooth black border surrounding the outer frame. The drawing is signed and dated in the LRC: "Berlin 1923." Inscriptions on the margins of the drawing. Left: "LADUSHKI"; Right: "A. REMIZOV/LES/TROGNES/MAQUELLES [left portion] and A. REMIZOV/KRASHENIYA/LAYLA"; bottom: "LADUSHKI/A. REMIZOV/KRASHENIYA/RYLA/TEAT'/I/KNIGA"; top: "LADUSHKI/ETO/ROT/KRYLATYCH/ZVERUSHEK/ILI/KRYLATYIE/KARLIKI/USIADUTSIA/ZASTOL/KASHU/EST'/SAMI/MALEN'/KIE/MOKHATEN'/KIE/GOLOVA/BOL'SHUSCHAIJA/MISKI/SKORLUPKA/ORECHOVAJA/LADUSHKI/LADUSHKI/KAK/BYLI/U/BABUSHKI/SHTO/ELI/KASHU/SITO/ILI/BRAZHKU/SHTO/POLETELI/NA/GOLOVKU/SELI/LADUSHKI/ZAPELI/LADUSHKI/LADUSHKI."

Fifth page: Russian text continued. Page numbered in pencil in the URC.

Sixth page: Inscribed in printed letters, "PEREPISAL 'LADUSHKI'S RUKOPIS'." Signed and dated in the LRC: "19. III. 1934/Paris."

Sixth page, verso: Russian text in *skoropis'*/printed letters about Remizov's wet nurse whose picture (with Remizov on her lap) is pasted on the facing page. The text is dated: "III. 1944/Paris. 'Kogda ia smotriu . . . Mne togda ispolnilos' sem' mesiatzev zbirni.'"

Seventh page: Pasted reproduction of the photograph of Remizov on the lap of his wet nurse. The photograph is signed on the bottom, "Moiska, 7mi mesiatzebo." Below it is Remizov's signature (twice), once in Cyrillic and again in Latin characters. Remizov's sign is below. On the bottom of the page is the inscription in printed letters: "A. Remizov a l'age de sept mois avec sa nourrice/Moscou."

The Witch (Ved'ma Koscha), 1934, 312 x 202 mm

Cover made of pink cardboard. The album consists of pages, folded twice and bound by blue and brown string.

Dedication page: inscribed in *skoropis'*: "Arkadii Dmitrievichu / Shapovalovu / na shtatu'z." Signed in *skoropis'* and dated "20. V. 1934/Paris." In the LRC: "A. Remizov, 7 Rue Boileau, Paris XVI." Numbered in ink in the ULC: "no. 86."

First page (title page): "Ved'ma Koscha" signed in *skoropis'*; below, in the middle of the page in printed letters: "VED'MA KOSCHA/A. REMIZOVA/SAKAZKA." Subsequent pages are numbered in pencil in the URC.

Second page: Russian text in *skoropis'* in *stolbetz* with outlined two-centimeter margins.

Third page: Text.

Fourth page: Pasted-in india-ink-and-colored-pencil drawing in ochre, pink, and green. Signed and dated: "Berlin 1923." On the bottom, along the frame of the drawing: "V/T'MA/KOSCHA//A. REMIZOV/NOCH'/TEMNAIA/POSOLON'" (122 x 94 mm).

Fifth page: Text.

Sixth page: Text.

Seventh page: Text.

Eighth page: In the middle of the page, in printed letters: "VED'MU' PEREPISVAL IZ 'POSOLONI,' IZD. TAIR, PARIS, 1930 G./SAKAZKA 'NOCH' TEMNAIA.'" Bottom of the page signed and dated: "20. V. 1934/Paris."

Ninth page: Pasted india-ink sign with Remizov's signature in *skoropis'* underneath, 43 x 55 mm.

Verso of the back cover: stylized line drawing of a running man.

The Legend of Solomon and Kitovrast (Legenda o Solomone i Kitovraste), 1937, 310 x 200 mm

Provenance: Purchased at Paris auction in 1990. Described in the catalog *Georgette et Rose Livres et documents dont la vente aux enchères publiques aura lieu à Paris Hotel Drouot, December 15, 1990* (no. 271, p. 270).

Cover of orange cardboard with a jacket of thin scarlet paper. On the jacket: in the URC, a triangular piece of silver foil with Remizov's sign in pen on it; in the ULC, numbered in ink "194" and beneath it, in Russian, "Kitovras." On the cover: in the URC, a triangular piece of silver foil with Remizov's sign in pen on it; in the ULC, numbered in ink, "no. 194," and beneath it, in Russian, "Kitovras."

First page (title page): Numbered "194" in the ULC, inscribed: "A. REMIZOV, 7 RUE BOILEAU PARIS XVI."

Second page: Pasted cardboard collage in colored paper and india ink, 272 x 155 mm. Subsequent pages are numbered in pencil in the URC.

Third page: Russian text written in *skoropis'* in two columns with 20 mm margins outlined in india ink.

Fourth page: Pasted india-ink drawing on white paper (111 x 83 mm) in a frame of purple (not hand-colored) paper with ink drawing over it (124 x 96 mm).

Fifth through seventh pages: Russian text with in-text line drawings.

Eighth page: Pasted india-ink drawing on white paper (93 x 72 mm) in a frame of burnt sienna (not hand-colored) paper with ink drawing over it (109 x 84 mm).

Ninth through thirteenth pages: Russian text with in-text line drawings; text ends on page thirteen in one column. Lower third of the page is clear.

Fourteenth page: Pasted india-ink-and-colored-paper collage on brown cardboard, 231 x 173 mm.

Fifteenth page: Text in Russian, in printed letters, explaining the origin of the legend in the album.

Sixteenth page: Pasted endpaper drawing in india ink on white paper (112 x 73 mm) outlined in black ink. In the bottom right corner of the drawing, the framed inscription: "Portrait de l'auteur /Alexei Remizov/ mein soesbildit." Below the drawing is Remizov's signature in longhand and the date "30.V.1937/PARIS."

Attached: (1) Eleven-page text of the legend "La mort d'Abraham," handwritten in French, in printed letters on graph paper, 270 x 210 mm; (2) Two pages of handwritten text in French explaining the legend, not by Remizov; (3) A postcard addressed to René Char.

Lempert Holdings

Provenance: Now in Lempert collection (since approximately 1982), originally from the collection of Leonid Lifar (1906-82), brother of the dancer Serge Lifar (1905-86).

The Sorochinsk Fair (Sorochinskaia iarmarka / La foire de sorochinets), 1935, 330 x 255 mm

The album is made of taupe-colored, medium-weight corrugated paper. On the cover is a collage of silver foil and colored (ready-made) paper of red and mint-green in a frame of ready-made glossy black paper. The collage is covered with glassine that is pasted on top of it along the edges. A design in black ink along the bottom edge of the frame is inscribed with the title of the album in Russian and French. The collage is 225 x 155 mm. The pages are folded in two but not bound. There is a 2 mm accretion in the RLC and two abrasions along the lower edge (six centimeters from the left). Page numeration starts on the cover in the URC, in pencil. The edges are slightly yellowed.

First page: Pasted india-ink drawing on white paper with red ink and pink, green, and yellow pencil. The upper half of the image is a drawing consisting of five fragments. Beneath the image is a passage from *Sorochinsk Fair* in two columns. The text is in printed letters in boxes. The size of the script is about 1 mm. Beneath each column of text is a drawing. The image is pasted onto black glossy paper, 299 x 187 mm. The top drawing has Remizov's sign in the LRC. The page is numbered in pencil in the URC, "2."

Second page: Pasted india-ink drawing on white paper with red ink and yellow,

pink, orange, and blue pencil. The upper half of the image is a drawing. In the lower half, most of the space is taken up by text and a rectangular drawing along the lower edge of the page. The image is pasted onto glossy black paper, 292 x 185 mm. The page is numbered in pencil in the URC, "3."

Third page: Pasted collage of colored paper (ready-made charcoal, silver, burgundy, pink, scarlet, blue, gold, and green), with india-ink overdrawing, 255 x 162 mm. The collage is pasted over glossy black paper. There is a design in ink along the lower edge inscribed in French, "La Foire de sorochinets / 4 planches / exemplaire unique / A. Remizov."

The Lost Letter (Propovsbaia gramota / La missive perdue), 1935, 328 x 255 mm

The album is made of taupe-colored, medium-weight corrugated paper. It consists of three sheets folded in half. The sheets are not bound. On the cover is a pasted collage (210 x 160 mm) of paper and various types of metal foil covered with a layer of glassine. The collage is pasted onto glossy black paper. Beneath the lower edge is a pattern in black ink with the inscription of the title of the story in Russian and French. Page numeration in the URC, in pencil. Slight yellowing around the edges.

First page: Pasted india-ink drawing on white paper with red ink and blue, lilac, orange, pink, and yellow pencil, 260 x 180 mm. The upper half of the image is a drawing consisting of five fragments. The lower half contains a passage of text from *The Lost Letter* in two columns. There is a smaller drawing at the bottom of the left column in the LLC. The text is in printed letters in boxes. Size of the script is about 1 mm. The image is pasted over black glossy paper. The drawing is signed with Remizov's sign in the LRC. In the URC, the page number "2" in pencil.

Second page: Drawing in black and red ink and blue, pink, and yellow pencil, 291 x 185 mm. The drawing is signed with Remizov's sign in the LRC. The inscription in the halo of the central figure reads "Ded Maxim." The drawing is signed with Remizov's sign in the LRC. The page is numbered "3" in the URC.

Third page: Drawing in black, red, and blue ink with pink, yellow, orange, and blue pencil, 300 x 195 mm. The image is pasted over shiny black paper. The inscriptions in the halos of the figures on the left and in the center read "Ded Maxim." The inscription in the band in the center reads "Besovskie obmorachivanie." The upper two-thirds of the page is taken up by the image, and the lower third has the text. The drawing is signed with Remizov's sign in the LRC. The page is numbered in pencil "4" in the URC.

Fourth page: Drawing in black, red, and blue ink and pink, yellow, and blue pencil, 225 x 188 mm. The drawing takes up the upper half of the page. Below it is the text. Beneath the text is a drawing along the lower edge. The drawing is signed in the LRC. The page is numbered in pencil "5" in the URC.

Fifth page: Pasted collage in green, blue, lilac, violet, and glossy and matte silver paper with india-ink overdrawing, 253 x 153 mm. The collage is pasted onto black glossy paper. The band design below the lower edge is inscribed: "LA MISSIVE / PERDUE / 6 PLANCHES / EXEMPLAIRE / UNIQUE / A. REMIZOV." There is a 20 x 10 mm accretion in the URC.

Reznikoff Holdings

Provenance: The collection was left by A. Remizov to Yegor Reznikoff's mother, N. Reznikoff.

Contemporaries and Ancestors (Sovremenniki i predki), 1934, 313 x 215 mm

The album used to be sewn together. Cover of thick, orange-colored paper with pages folded in two. The rest of the album is on glossy white paper. Multiple abrasions (less than 5 mm each) along the right edge of the cover. The cover is signed in the URC, "Alexei Remizov," in printed letters; below it, in longhand, "N. Reznikoff." Slightly above the middle of the cover in printed letters (by Remizov): "SOVREMENNIKI I PREDKI." In the LLC, in black magic marker: "a447" (collector's mark).

First page (dedication page): Numbered "95" in the ULC, in Remizov's hand. The bottom portion of the page is inscribed by Remizov, in longhand: "etot album ia kapil za 3,500 frs 4 maia 1953/0 Aleksandra Aleksandrovicha Parfenieva-Parfenieva." In the LRC, in small printed letters: "A. Remizov, 7 Rue Boileau, Paris XVI."

Second page (title page): In the middle of the page is the title of the album with Remizov's *skorpis'* signature and sign below.

Third page: Pasted collage portrait of Lev Shestov, 163 x 85 mm. Frame of glossy black paper over a collage of layered pink foil with patterns and letters, glassine paper, and clear wrapping paper. The drawing itself is in india ink over glassine. It is inscribed with Shestov's name in French, German, and Russian. Remizov's sign. Signed and dated "Paris//1926." Another piece of glassine is pasted along the top edge, with the remaining three sides loose. LRC: "4"; URC: "5" (the latter in Remizov's hand).

Fourth page: Pasted india-ink-and-pencil portrait of Valerii Briusov. The image (20 x 20 mm) is on graph paper in black and purple ink in a double frame (80 x 80 mm) of yellow paper with black india-ink overdrawing and pink pencil (3 mm wide). Inside the yellow frame is a vertical inscription of Briusov's life dates, "1873-1924," and the date of the drawing, "Paris//1926," with Remizov's sign. The outermost frame is in india ink (90 x 82 mm). It is inscribed on the bottom: "Valerii Iakovlevich Briusov"; LRC: "5"; and URC: "7."

Fifth page: Pasted india-ink drawing of Andrei Bely. Mostly in black ink with fragments of purple on white paper pasted onto black paper frame (116 x 84 mm). The drawing is inscribed with Bely's life dates, "1880-1934," his name, "ANDREI BELY/BORIS/NIKOLAEVICH/BUGAËV," and the date of the drawing, "Berlin//1922 I." Remizov's sign. The dates of Bely's life were drawn in after Bely's death—they are also in slightly lighter ink. LRC: "7"; URC: "10."

Sixth page: Pasted-in portrait of Andrei Bely in india ink with blue, yellow, and pink pencil on lined paper. The drawing (42 x 50 mm) is surrounded by black india-ink overdrawing on a yellow frame (with inscription, 72 x 65 mm) and by india-ink overdrawing on a white paper frame (also with inscription, 81 x 67 mm). The background of the drawing imitates mosaic. Dated "1929" with Remizov's sign in the LRC. The yellow frame reads: "ANDREI BELY/USELEDOCHNYE/KHYOSTKI/S'EDENNYIE//IM/P'ERED/ZVANNYM/OBEDOM/ZA/CHTO/BYL/STROGO/

NA//KAZAN'I/SOKIRANIL/VECHNIU/PAMIAT'." The outer frame is inscribed with Bely's life dates at the top and his name at the bottom. The page is numbered "8" in pencil in the LRC. Above this number is an inscription in Remizov's hand in pencil: "Sovremenniki//i predki//zakazani//o 1934 godu." URC: "11."

Seventh page: Pasted portrait of Semion Iushkevich (73 x 44 mm) in india ink and red pencil in double black frame (outer in ink [101 x 53 mm]; inner in ready-made glossy black paper [95 x 52 mm]). The portrait is on graph paper, signed with Remizov's sign, and dated "Paris//1926." A 5 x 5 mm yellow accretion is to the right of center. The outer frame is inscribed on the bottom: "SEMEN/SOLOMONOVICH/IUSHKEVICH," LRC: "10," URC: "12."

Eighth page: Pasted india-ink full-sized portrait of Igor Severianin in profile (97 x 45 mm), in double frame: inner frame, 122 x 64 mm; outer frame, 132 x 65 mm. The drawing is signed with Remizov's sign and dated "1930/Paris." The outer frame is inscribed on the bottom: "IGOR/SEVERIANIN." LRC: "11"; URC: "13."

Ninth page: Pasted india-ink portrait of Semion Frank (125 x 70 mm), in double frame: inner frame, 145 x 92 mm; outer frame, 150 x 92 mm. The center drawing is signed with Remizov's sign and dated "Berlin//1922." The outer frame is inscribed "SEMEN/LIDVIGOVICH/FRANK." LRC: "15"; URC: "18."

Tenth page: Pasted india-ink portrait of Sergei Gorodetskii (113 x 55 mm) with glossy red background paper in india-ink frame (134 x 65 mm). The drawing is signed with Remizov's sign and dated "Paris//1926." In the bottom of the drawing is "SERGEI/GORODETSKII," in the upper corner, toward the right edge, in English: "WE WILL ROUSE ANTIENT CHAOS//WE WILL SHATTER CHAINED COSMOS//FOR WE CAN, WE CAN, WE CAN." LRC: "16"; URC: "19."

Eleventh page: Pasted portrait in blue, light brown, and taupe colored pencil of Nikolai Gumiliev, 148 x 110 mm. Outlined by india-ink frame (1 mm wide). The drawing is signed with Remizov's sign and dated "Paris 1932" in the LRC. In the bottom of the drawing is an inscription in Cyrillic in taupe pencil outlined in black ink: "NIKOLAI/STEFANOVICH/GUMILIEV." Below it, in Latin characters, "N. GUMILIEV" and in very fine Cyrillic letters in black ink in the LRC, "grafobezsvetopolud." LRC: "17"; URC: "20."

Twelfth page: Pasted portrait of Ivan Puni (32 x 26 mm) in india ink and green, pink, yellow, and red colored pencil in a triple frame: first, 61 x 42 mm; second, 83 x 57 mm; third, 85 x 57 mm. The drawing is signed and dated "Paris 1927." The background is done in imitation of mosaic. The bottom of the outer frame is inscribed in Cyrillic, "Ivan/Al'bertovich Puni." LRC: "18"; URC: "21."

Thirteenth page: Pasted india-ink portrait of Pinegin (134 x 92 mm) in double frame: inner frame, 145 x 113 mm; outer frame, 152 x 113 mm. The drawing is signed with Remizov's sign and dated "Berlin, 1921" in the LRC. On the top of the drawing is a Cyrillic inscription: "KUSIKOV/NAPISAL/STIKHI/OTCHEGO/V/BERLINE/VOROB'I/NE/CHIRIKAIUT//NO/V/STIKHAKH/NICHEGO/NE/SKAZAL/OTCHEGO/PINEGIN//V/BERLINE/GOVNA/NET/CHTOBY/POKLEVAL/VOT/NE/CHIRIKAIUT." The bottom of the outer frame is inscribed: "NIKOLAI/VASIL'EVICH/PINEGIN/SAMO[GOROZ]"; LRC: "19"; URC: "22."

Fourteenth page: Pasted typographically printed drawing by Remizov on light green-gray paper, 55 x 45 mm. Inscribed (in print) in the LRC: "O NEM NIKTO NICHEGO NE...//EGO NIKTO NIKOGDA..." (right portion cut off). URC: "57."

Fifteenth page: Pasted printed sign and *skoropiia* signature around it. URC: "58."

Drawings removed from the album:

Photographic reproduction of a portrait of Alexander Blok, 157 x 103 mm. Signed with Remizov's sign and dated "Paris 1926." The original of the portrait is in RGALI, f. 420, op. 1, no. 49, p. 3.

Pasted india-ink drawing of Sokolov-Mikitov and Iaschenko in triple frame: first, 184 x 164 mm; second, 175 x 157 mm; third, 170 x 153 mm. The bottom of the middle frame is inscribed: "K. S. Sokolov-Mikitov/i/A. S. Iaschenko/v/Berline." Middle frame is of ready-made black paper.

Pasted india-ink drawing of Sokolov-Mikitov and Pinegin (193 x 156 mm) in double frame: inner, 200 x 159 mm; outer, 215 x 165 mm. The bottom of the inner frame is inscribed: "I. S. Sokolov-Mikitov/i/N. V. Pinegin/v/Berline." Middle frame is on ready-made black paper.

Pasted india-ink portrait of Schegolev (82 x 113 mm) in a double frame. The drawing is inscribed along the top in Cyrillic: "A. REMIZOV/ROSSIIA/V/PIŠ'MENAKH/KUKHIA/VZVIKHRENNIA RUS'/KRASHENNYIA/RVLA/SEVERNENYA/AFINYI//ZA/VSE/LITERATURNYE/GODY/NE/BYLO/TAKOI/REAKZII/ILI/TAKOGO/LITERATURNOGO/PREDPRI//ATIA/BE/POKOINYI/NE/OKHTRILSIA/POLICHTI/AVANS//A/VESIL/ODINNADZAT'/PUDOV." On the bottom of the drawing is Remizov's sign and the date "Paris//1926." The inner frame (112 x 123 mm) is of cinnamon-red paper with india-ink overdrawing. The outer frame (120 x 125 mm) is in ink on white paper. It is inscribed along the bottom edge: "PAVEL/ELISEEVICH/SHEGOLEV" and along the top edge: "1877-1931."

Pasted portrait of Fedor Stepun (77 x 81 mm) in india ink and purple, pine-green, red, and yellow colored pencil in double frame: inner, 98 x 97 mm; outer, 113 x 97 mm. The background of the drawing imitates mosaic. The drawing is signed with Remizov's sign and dated 1927. Along the bottom edge of the outer frame is the inscription: "F. A. Stepun."

Pasted portrait of Konstantin Mochiul'sky (139 x 104 mm) in india ink and red, light brown, pink, yellow, blue, green, and orange colored pencil in double frame: inner, 180 x 139 mm; outer, 186 x 142 mm. The background of the drawing imitates mosaic. The drawing is signed with Remizov's sign and dated 1928. Mochiul'sky's birth date: "(1892)" is below, in parentheses. The bottom of the drawing reads: "KONSTANTIN/VASIL'EVICH/MOCHUL'SKY."

Pasted india-ink portrait of Maksim Gorky (114 x 85 mm) on thin white paper with traces of red pencil, in a double frame: inner, 145 x 90 mm; outer, 155 x 94 mm. Inside the drawing on either side of Gorky's head are his life dates, "1892-1932." The drawing is signed and dated in the LRC with Remizov's sign and the date 1932 (correction over 1931); below it: "Paris//IX." The inscription on the drawing itself is intended to be read vertically but gives an interesting view when read horizontally.

Vertically it reads: "PROSPECT//GOROD//PLOSCHAI//ULITSIA//SOCHINENIJA//KRAI/DOM." Below, in the middle: "GOR//KAGO." The bottom of the outer frame reads: "ALEXEI/MAKSIMOVICH/GO'R'KII/PO/SLUCHIAJU/SOKOLOLETTIA/LIT.RABOTY//A. REMIZOV/SOVMENNIKI//PREDKI."

Pasted portrait of Lev Tolstoy in india ink colored in pink and green pencil in a triple frame: first, 95 x 186 mm; second, 115 x 192 mm; third, 118 x 192 mm. The middle frame is of unbleached paper. The drawing is inscribed along the bottom edge in Cyrillic characters: "Lev/Nikolaevich/Tolstoy/1828-1910." The drawing is signed with Remizov's sign and dated: "Boulogne//1930."

Pasted portrait drawing of Ou-yang Hsiu in a triple frame. The drawing is inscribed in German along the bottom edge of the outer frame: "Grosser/chinesischer/schriftsteller/dichter/ou/staatsmann/ou-yang-siu." Below, in Cyrillic characters: "A. Remizov/Sovremenniki i predki." The drawing is signed with Remizov's sign and dated: "Berlin//1922//II."

Leskov, 1934, 305 x 210 mm

This album was taken apart by Nata'ia Reznikoff to lend some of the images to Schemiakín's Palais des Congrès "Unofficial Art from the Soviet Union" exhibition in 1977. The images that were removed from the album but remained in the collection are listed below in an arbitrary order. The album is done in india ink on glossy white paper and was originally bound with thread.

Cover page: Ready-made cardboard folder with ties wrapped in navy blue gift paper with golden stars. In the center is the pasted collector's mark: "a234" (in black felt-tip marker). Same number is in black felt-tip on the recto of the cover.

Dedication page: Empty except for the number in the ULC, "no.108," and an inscription in Remizov's hand in the LRC: "A. REMIZOV, 7 RUE BOULEAU, PARIS XVII."

Title page: Slightly above the center of the page inscribed in longhand is "Lz Leskova," with Remizov's signature in longhand below.

Sheet of white paper (paper different from the rest of the pages) inserted into the album. It contains Cyrillic text written in *skoropiia* in *stilsetz* with twenty-millimeter margin on either side.

Pasted india-ink image (102 x 119 mm) on white lined paper in double frame. The inner frame (113 x 121 mm) is of thin glossy black paper; the outer (169 x 185 mm) is of white paper drawn over with black ink. Inscription along the bottom edge of the outer frame reads: "N. S. Leskov/Zimni/den'/mal'chik'/petr"; inscription in the right lower portion of the drawing is: "sbib-pyeb/šavochmaja/myš"; inscription in the upper portion of the drawing is: "petra/škol'ko/ty/przbił/let-/trindzlat'/-šib/starika/žbit'/horošo/-nichego/-ozbidai/značbit/utsobage."

Pasted india-ink drawing with text beneath. The text portion is pasted over the drawing. The measurements of the entire image are 200 x 134 mm; the text is 128 x 120 mm. The drawing is inscribed along the bottom edge of the frame: "N. S. Leskov/rakushinskii/malamed."

This page has a hand-drawn border in black ink, all around, approximately 10 mm.

In the center of the page is an inscription on two lines: "NIKOLAI SEMENOVICH LESKOV//4 II 1831—21 II 1895."

The last page of the album has Remizov's typographically printed sign (57 x 57 mm) pasted in the center and his signature in longhand.

On the back side of the cardboard folder, beneath a detached piece of blue-and-gold paper, is an india-ink drawing, a bust of a humanlike creature with what appear to be horns on top of its head. This last image is turned upside down.

Images removed from the album (to be identified by the inscriptions along the bottom edge):

Black-and-white india-ink drawing with traces of red ink. The inscription along the lower edge reads: "N. S. LESKOV/NA/NOZHACH/1870—1871/ICH. XICH./BOZHIA APTEKA." 200 x 100 mm.

India-ink drawing with red, gray, and violet blue watercolor. The inscription along the lower edge reads: "N. S. LESKOV/NA/NOZHACH/1870—1871/ZHIVIT/OGON." 202 x 134 mm.

India-ink drawing with blue and green watercolor. The central portion of it is made on thin brown cardboard. The inscription on the bottom reads: "N. S. LESKOV/NA/NOZHACH/1870—1871." 201 x 120 mm.

India-ink drawing with light gray and green watercolor. The central portion of it is made on thin brown cardboard. The inscription on the bottom reads: "N. S. LESKOV/NA/NOZHACH/1870—1871." 200 x 135 mm.

India-ink drawing with purplish blue, light gray, and traces of pink watercolor. The inscription along the lower edge reads: "N. S. LESKOV/SMEKH/I/GORE/GL27—36//POSTELNIKOV." 203 x 135 mm.

India-ink drawing with yellow and red and traces of mauve watercolor. The inscription along the edge reads: "N. S. LESKOV/FAKUSHINSKII/MELAMED." 203 x 139 mm.

India-ink drawing with yellow watercolor and traces of violet blue. The inscription along the edge reads: "N. S. LESKOV/SOBORIANE/1872." 195 x 161 mm.

India-ink drawing (65 x 53 mm) on unbleached paper in double frame. The outer frame (117 x 92 mm) is made of white paper. The central image has traces of yellow, blue, and pink pastel. Incribed along the bottom edge of the outer frame: "N. S. LESKOV/ZAGON/APOFOSIZ//BENCHALAL'NYI/BATIUSHKA." Text in the inside frame (111 x 90 mm) above the image reads: "MIFIM/RASSKAZYVAL/PRO/SERIA/TO/SEKRETI/CHTO/ON/CHEREZ/KA//KOE-TO/OSOBENNOE/DELO/STALO/VI/ROLI/FRANTSUZSKOI/ZHELEZNOI//MASKI/ILI/VIZANT'SKOGO/ VYLEZARIIA//POZVOV/TE/ UZNA?/CHTO/NYNCHIE/VI/GAZETAKH/STOIT/PRO/OT//TSA/IOANNA/VI/GDE/POSECHAEY/TEPEK/POSVIATITEL'//ARMII/FLOTOV:CHTOBY/LA/MOG/EMU/FLOTOV//PROIZNESTI/VSEGO/ODNO/SLOVO/VI/TOGDA/UVIDALI/BI/CHTO/LA/NE//EPIM/A/M. E/EPH. Text in the inside frame below the image reads: "DAMY/UZNALI/CHTO/MIFIM/EST'/SAMYI/USIVITEL'N//VI/VENUAL'NYI/BATIUSHKA/TAKOI/CHELOVEK/DOLZHEN//IMET'/DAR/POMOGAT'/A/GRIAZNYKH/POD-

ROBNOSTEI/TAK//MNOGO.//MIFIM/VI/POSLEDNIKH/CHISLACH/AVGUSTA/1893/GODA//POSHEL//VINNYI/POGREB//SIBGOTSJANTA/ZVONKOVA/VI/IS//PIL//DO/VOLI//ZAKRIACHTEL'I/PERESELSISIA/VI/VECH'NOST'."

Pasted drawing in india ink on white paper (110 x 147 mm) in double frame. The inner frame (137 x 186 mm) is made out of black glossy paper. The outer frame (137 x 195 mm) is inscribed on the bottom: "N. S. LESKOV/NEKUDA/1865//IUSTIN/POMADA/CHUDESNYIA/TRAVY/SIKOLAVN."

Pasted drawing in india ink on white paper (100 x 150 mm) in double frame. The inner frame (125 x 194 mm) is made out of black glossy paper. The outer frame (125 x 205 mm) is inscribed on the bottom: "N. S. LESKOV/NEKUDA/1865//BAL'SAM/TERUSALIMSKII//DOKTOR/KOZANOV/ZHENA/PARMIA/SEMIENOVICH/KARUNNIKOVA."

Black ink on white paper pasted on white paper with shading in red ink. Inscribed along the bottom edge: "N. S. LESKOV/VOEL'NITZA/RASSKAZ/DOMNY/PANTALONY."

India-ink drawing (109 x 112 mm) over a frame of black ink (190 x 202 mm) with traces of red ink. Small pasted drawing in the upper portion. Inscribed along the bottom edge: "N. S. LESKOV/NEKUDA/1868 G./O/VOLSHESTVE I CHUDESAKH."

Solomonie, 1935, 328 x 260 mm

The album has an ochre-colored jacket of heavyweight paper. The rest of the album is on thick paper, unbound. Cover inscribed in black ink; the upper portion has the title in longhand and a swirl around it. To the right and underneath the title is Remizov's sign, 10 x 5 mm abrasion in the LLC.

First page (dedication page): Numbered in pencil in the ULC: "no. 132." Remizov's first initial and last name written in printed letters along the bottom edge, to the right.

Second page (title page): Remizov's calligraphic signature takes up most of the lower third of the page with a whirl going in the upper portion along the right side. In the LRC is Remizov's sign and below it: "30 V 1935/Paris."

Third page: Pasted image in india ink and violet, pink, ochre, light blue, yellow, and brown colored pencil. The image (222 x 181 mm) is on thin white paper pasted onto thin glossy black paper (232 x 190 mm) and then onto the page.

Fourth page: Pasted image in india ink and red, pink, ochre, and light green colored pencil. The drawing (147 x 164 mm) is set in a double frame: the inner ornamental frame in black ink and the outer frame (150 x 165 mm) of matte thick black paper.

Fifth page: Pasted drawing in india ink and pink, light green, yellow, violet, and light blue colored pencil. The drawing is set in a double frame: an inner ornamental frame in black ink and an outer frame of matte thick black paper.

Sixth page: Text in French in two columns. Written in longhand, with printed letters in black ink.

Seventh page: Pasted collage in india ink and glossy ultramarine and matte ochre paper with overdrawing in ink (112 x 173 mm). Inscribed "Solomonie" along the bottom edge of the frame (114 x 185 mm). Remizov's sign in the LRC.

Eighth page: Text continued. An apparent ink leak in the right column was made into a pattern. The device is repeated throughout the album.

Pages nine through fifteen: Text.

Sixteenth page: Pasted drawing in india ink (57 x 59 mm) on white paper over thin blue paper frame (87 x 87 mm) with overdrawing in india ink. Inscribed along the upper inside edge of the frame: "*L'univers est un acte de volupté.*"

Seventeenth page: French explication of the Solomonian legend. Copied from the text of the tale, it is written in printed letters in two columns. There is a small vignette in the left column.

Eighteenth page: Pasted india-ink-and-colored-pencil drawing. The image consists of (1) india-ink drawing over thin white paper (this portion may have originally contained letters later overdrawn in the same type of ink), 228 x 99 mm; (2) vertical fragments of the same thin white paper with drawing in black india ink, green ink, and yellow, red, and pink colored pencil; (3) glossy frame of ruby paper with overdrawing of india ink, 250 x 129 mm; (4) outer frame in india ink drawn directly on the album page. This last frame is inscribed along the bottom edge of the outer frame: "*6 planches en couleur/bors/texts/exemplaires/autographe/unique.*"

Nineteenth page: Pasted black-and-white photograph of Feuermarchen inscribed on the print. Below it Remizov's signature in Latin characters, in longhand with two swirls that continue toward the right margin. In the upper left portion of the photograph is a vertical inscription in Latin characters drawn over letter by letter in black ink, now illegible. In the LLC the photograph is signed: "1932//PARIS."

Siberian Tale (Sibirskii skaz), 1940, 328 x 257 mm

The entire album is on heavyweight ochre-colored paper with images pasted over rectangles of gray cardboard. There is no title page or dedication. All images contain Remizov's encircled sign in the LRC. The images are rendered in a combination of india ink, pastel, watercolor, and gouache. Pages are numbered in black ballpoint by the collector in the LLC of each page.

Cover inscribed in black ink in the upper portion, slightly right off-center with title in longhand and a swirl around it. On the recto of the cover, "a337"; along the top edge toward the right, in black marker, "a 15."

First page: drawing, 176 x 112 mm; frame, 200 x 150 mm.

Second page: drawing, 112 x 178 mm; frame, 160 x 205 mm.

Third page: drawing, 113 x 176 mm; frame, 153 x 200 mm.

Fourth page: drawing, 112 x 177 mm; frame, 150 x 200 mm.

Fifth page: drawing, 115 x 173 mm; frame, 157 x 190 mm.

Sixth page: drawing, 112 x 177 mm; frame, 149 x 200 mm.

Seventh page: drawing, 117 x 171 mm; frame, 150 x 203 mm.

Eighth page: drawing, 115 x 175 mm; frame, 157 x 203 mm.

Ninth page: drawing, 112 x 175 mm; frame, 155 x 200 mm.

Tenth page: drawing, 110 x 177 mm; frame, 150 x 200 mm.

Eleventh page: drawing, 113 x 177 mm; frame, 155 x 202 mm.

Twelfth page: drawing, 115 x 177 mm; frame, 146 x 198 mm.

Thirteenth page: drawing, 112 x 179 mm; frame, 154 x 203 mm.

Fourteenth page: drawing, 114 x 175 mm; frame, 154 x 200 mm.

Fifteenth page: drawing, 115 x 174 mm; frame, 146 x 200 mm.

Sixteenth page: Image missing, glue marks remain.

Seventeenth page: Back of the cover. In the ULC: "a337" in black felt-tip marker; a sticker in the center of the page with the same number (both collector's marks).

Alive to Me, Dead Flowers (Zbivye mne mertvye tsvety), 1947, 333 x 250 mm

The album cover is of thick ochre paper, with the leaves folded in two; the rest of the album is of thick yellowish paper, also folded in two, unbound. There is no text in the album itself, but it contains three pages (284 x 220 mm) of thick white paper inscribed and dedicated to N. Reznikoff.

Dedication leaf (one out of three): "*Moemy angely khranitelii/Natasha Reznikovoi/8 IX 26 VIII 1947 Paris.*" Signed, first in longhand with whirl surrounding the rest of the inscription, then with Remizov's sign underneath. Leaves two and three contain a Russian text in prose written out in strophes. It is dated and signed ("13 May 1943") with Remizov's sign. In the bottom half of the page is an ink line drawing with another of Remizov's signs beneath.

Cover: The name of the album written in Cyrillic letters surrounded by double whirl. To the right and below it is Remizov's sign. In the middle of the lower portion is an inscription: "Paris/1947."

All the images are pasted over large pieces of colored medium-weight cardboard. Page two contains a collage made from an india-ink drawing and a piece of printed fabric.

Fairy Tales III (Skazki III), undated, 315 x 240 mm

A ready-made, stapled drawing notebook, with pink cover and white pages. There is a printed design on the cover page with Remizov's overdrawing in black ink. The pages of the album are stapled together. All images in the album are line drawings in india ink; 16 pages. Condition: yellow accretion about 30 mm all around the edges. Note: Roman numeral "III" in the lower portion of the cover is in pencil, while the rest of the cover is in india ink. All the images and inscriptions are in india ink.

Fairy Tales VII (Skazki VII), undated, 315 x 240 mm

A ready-made, stapled drawing notebook, with pink cover and white pages. There is a printed design on the cover page with Remizov's overdrawing in black ink. The pages of the album are stapled together. All images in the album are line drawings in india ink; 16 pages. Condition: LL corner is bent; tear along the upper edge of the cover, 140 mm from the bottom. The cover is marked "2248" along the upper edge in

black marker. Same mark is on the recto of the back cover. Page numeration inside (ULC) is not original. All the images and inscriptions are in india ink.

Tristan and Isolde (Tristan i Izol'da), 1951, 242 x 180 mm

The album was professionally bound during Remizov's lifetime. The images are in india ink on thick white paper. All images are in india ink and watercolor. Pencil page numeration in the LRC is not original. A piece of nonbleached wrapping paper 65 x 95 mm is pasted onto the bound cover and inscribed in Remizov's hand: "TRISTAN I IZOL'DA // A. REMIZOFF, 1951." Total number of pages: 174.

From Gogol (Iz Gogolia), 1952, 315 x 235 mm

A ready-made, spiral-bound notebook with medium-weight cardboard cover (not bleached) and thick white pages. There are thirty pages in this album. In the URC of the cover Remizov's initial and last name, below it his rue Boileau address and the date 1952. In the middle of the cover, on the diagonal and upside down: "STEPAN PLIUSHKIN" and in the lower portion: "GN'L'I PROREKHA//VSE POCHOZHIE NA PRAYDU VSE MOZHET STAT'SIA S CHELOVEKOM"; to the right of the last words, in the same line, in washed-out ink: "ZHALO VESHCHIE." Recto and verso of the back cover have "no. 2240" inscribed in black felt-tip marker (collector's mark). Note: pagination (in pencil) in the LLC starts with number two. "No. 1" is inscribed on the cover.

NOTES

Introduction

1. Alexei Remizov, *Martyn Zudeka: Book of Dreams*, 1.
2. The drawing, with variations in the design of the main vignette, appeared in several of Remizov's illustrated albums in the 1930s: *The Bear Lullaby (Medvezhia kul'bel'naia)*, 1932; *Writers' Drawings (Risunki pisatelei)*, 1933; *The Omnivore Wolf (Volk-Samoglot)*, 1934; and *The Legend of Solomon and Kitovrast (Legenda o Solomone i Kitovraсте)*, 1937. It also figures in at least one invitation to a public reading by the author, to the tenth Remizov recital in Paris in March 1934 (Alexei Remizov, *Avto-grafy*, 47; see introduction, note 24, for more information on this source).
3. I take his illustrated manuscript *Gnosiev's Tale (Gnosieva povest')*, made in the years following the 1905 Revolution, as the starting point and assume that he did not draw after 1954, when his vision had deteriorated almost completely. For examples of other facets of Remizov's visual work, such as wall collages, charters, and graphic diaries, see the catalog *Vol'ubennyi mir Aleksia Remizova* (Gracheva 1992).
4. It is hard to know the precise number of the albums, partly because Remizov cited two sets of numbers for the albums and for the drawings they contain. Thus a 1954 inscription on a book for N. Kodrianskaia refers to "400" albums made from 1931 to 1949, when Remizov was unable to publish in the conventional way (Reznikova, 92–93). In 1950 he had specified his count at 430 albums and 3,000 drawings (Remizov, *Peterburgskii buerak*, 398). However, the bibliography of his last published book, *The Circle of Happiness* (Paris: Opleshnik, 1957), gives "two hundred plus albums" and "two thousand plus drawings" as his graphic tally for the eighteen-year publishing lull. This later number is confirmed in his most complete list of illustrated albums (see chapter 6, note 1). There, Remizov calculated 230 albums and 2,000 drawings between 1932 and 1937, which accurately reflects the number of albums in the accompanying list (D'Amelia 1987, 143). According to this, between 1932 and 1940 Remizov made about 247 illustrated albums (I deduct 13 other graphic artifacts from his 260 listed items.) The full list is published in D'Amelia 1987, appendix II, 161–66; the original is in the Reznikoff archive in Paris. In the 1950s Remizov became increasingly preoccupied with tracing the whereabouts of his lost drawings, and he tried to salvage what remained. See his letters of March 1, 1952 (Kodrianskaia 1959, 248); July 9, 1952 (255; also in Kodrianskaia 1977, 279); and February 22, 1953 (1977, 312). For published examples of Remizov's illustrated albums see Slobin 1985; Gracheva, "Krug schast'ia," 2000; D'Amelia 2001; and Friedman 2003.

5. Georges Bataille's reference to effacement of the text by the image comes to mind here. See Georges Bataille, *Manet* (London: Macmillan, 1955), 62.

6. Ivan Il'in, "A. M. Remizov's Creative Work." Written during the 1930s, this long essay originated as a lecture delivered January 13, 1931, in Berlin. The manuscript was finished by 1939 but was not published until 1959, after Il'in's death. Eleven of Il'in's letters to Remizov are preserved in the Amherst Center for Russian Culture archive (Alexei Remizov and Serafima Remizova-Dovgello Papers, series 1, subseries 1). For more on Remizov and Il'in see Obatnina 2003.

7. Il'in, 321; italics are Il'in's.

8. V. Khodasevich, "Renata's End" ("Konets Renaty"), in *Nekropolis: Recollections (Nekropol': Vospominaniia)* (Brussels: Les Editions Petropolis, 1939), 7–25. For a selection of essays on *zhibnivorochestvo* see Irina Paperno and Joan Delaney Grossman, eds., *Creating Life: The Aesthetic Utopia of Russian Modernism* (Palo Alto: Stanford University Press, 1994). For a discussion of Remizov's *zhibnivorochestvo*, see Slobin, *Remizov's Fictions*, 33–34.

9. Alexei Remizov, *Along the Ledges*, 15.

10. Remizov, "How to Learn Creative Writing" ("Kak nauchitsia pisat'"), in Gracheva and D'Amelia 2003, 274.

11. Il'in, 307.

12. Nina Gurianova mentions Velimir Khlebnikov's praise of artlessness in Remizov's drawing in her essay "Remizov and the Futurists" ("Remizov i budetliane"). She also points out that the idea of creativity as a game (as opposed to a serious, professional activity) was shared by Remizov and some of the young futurists with whom the writer was in contact around 1910. See Gurianova 1994, 145ff.

13. Kodrianskaia 1959, 104.

14. Il'in, 321.

15. Il'in, 307.

16. For a description of the concept of "inner necessity" see Vasily Kandinsky, "On the Question of Form," in *The Blue Rider Almanac*, ed. Klaus Lankheit (New York: Da Capo, 1989), 147–87.

17. Starting around 1917, Remizov began making india-ink portraits of his friends and colleagues. This is the best-known facet of Remizov's graphic art. Many of these portraits were done between 1917 and 1921. Later, they served as a visual bank of sorts for some of the 1930s albums in which Remizov used his intimate knowledge of his subjects in order to express their cultural significance (as he saw it) to the viewers of these albums. See, for example, Alexei Remizov, *A Notebook of Caricatures of Writers, Artists, and Musicians (Tetrad' s karikaturami na pisateli, khudozhnikov i muzykal'nykh deiateloi)*, 1917–21, f. 634, no. 10, Russian National Library, St. Petersburg. Among these are *Contemporaries and Ancestors (Sovremenniki i predki)*, 1934 (Reznikoff collection) and *Theatre (Teatr)*, 1921–31 (Amherst collection).

18. See Greta Slobin's monograph *Remizov's Fictions*, 22ff.

19. For a list of the events in which Remizov participated see *L'Emigration russe: Chronique de la vie scientifique, culturelle et sociale en France 1920–1940*, ed. L. Mnuhkin, vols. 1–4 (Paris: YMCA Press, 1996). Remizov's outreach to the French writers is akin to the exilic experience of the younger generation of Russian émigré writers as described in Leonid Livak's study; see bibliography.

20. See Elena Sinany's *Bibliographie des oeuvres de Alexei Remizov* (Paris: Institut d'Études Slaves, 1978), nos. 84–113. Fritz Mierau discussed Remizov's Berlin period in an informative article on Russian Berlin, 179ff. The Parisian period of Remizov's life is described in detail by N. Reznikova in her reminiscences *Ognennaia pamiat'*. Also see N. Kodrianskaia's *Alexei Remizov*.

21. Students of Remizov's writing have reiterated the need for a close study of his graphic heritage. See Bowl, 165, and Gracheva 1992, 7. Jean Marcadé complained about the lack of a catalog of Remizov's artwork, and that even the precise number of pieces is impossible to establish (Marcadé 1987, 126). See also Marcadé 1998, 28.

22. When I began working on Remizov's graphic art in 1995, the vast majority of the albums I was able to locate were in private possession. Since then one of the best known of these private collections, that of Thomas Whitney, has been given to the Amherst Center for Russian Culture. The Parisian collector Ygor Reznikoff (the son of Natal'ia Reznikova) and René Guerra still own a large number of albums. More albums are scattered in European and American libraries and archives and in smaller private collections.

23. Alexis Rannit, "Ten Drawings, A. Remizov, A Mannerist Drama," *New Directions International Anthology* 38 (1979), 47–51; Avril Pyman, "Alexei Remizov on Drawings by Writers, with Particular Reference to the Interrelationship Between Drawings and Calligraphy in His Own Work," *Leonardo* 13 (1980), 234–40.

24. The few references to Remizov in Janacek, for example, touch only on his work as a designer of frontispieces for his own texts (Janacek, 120). Even this comprehensive monograph survey of alternative book production in Russia ends with Mayakovsky's death in 1930 and contains no mention of Remizov's subsequent albums (3).

25. See bibliography for the two catalogs. More recently, the Tsvetaeva Museum in Moscow mounted its own small exhibition of Remizov's autographs; it was accompanied by a beautifully printed catalog, containing, among other items, a facsimile reproduction of an entire album from 1936.

26. Greta Slobin is the author of the only English-language monograph on Remizov's prose: *Remizov's Fictions* (DeKalb: Northern Illinois University Press, 1991). A. M. Gracheva published a book-length study, *Alexei Remizov and Old Russian Culture (Alexei Remizov i drevnerusskaia kul'tura)*, 2000, and (with Antonella D'Amelia) edited his recent *Collected Works*, published by the Russian Academy of Sciences. See bibliography.

27. Slobin, ed., *Alexei Remizov: Approaches to a Protean Writer* (1987) and Gracheva and D'Amelia, eds., *Alexei Remizov: Issledovanie i materialy* (1994). Especially useful are the works of Antonella D'Amelia, Jean Marcadé, Yurii Molok, Avril Pyman, and Greta Slobin. In addition to the essays from the above collections I would like to mention John Bowl's astute and helpful 1986 overview of Remizov's visual art, in which he indexes Remizov's stylistic predecessors. The more recent works that have taken up the subject of Remizov's drawing include Elena Obatnina's publication of the materials of *Obezvolopad (The Great and Free Order of Ape)* and *Fire of Things (Ogni Vesel'chob)* at Limbakh publishing house (2001 and 2003, respectively); Alla Gracheva's two chapters in the collection of essays on writers' drawings ("Krug sbiut'ia", 200–250); and Antonella D'Amelia's article "Writing and Drawing: A. M. Remizov's Albums" ("Pis'mo i risunok albomy A. M. Remizova") (2000).

28. Gracheva, "Krug sbeiat'ia," 2000. Significantly, in her article on *Krug sbeiat'ia*, Gracheva expressed her hope that close studies of the illustrated albums will pave the way for future Remizov scholarship. She believes that such studies must come from the joint efforts of art historians and Slavists (226).

29. See, for example, Shane 1987, Macleod 1987, and Wanner 2004.

30. See Dotsenko 1994 and 2003, Kodrianskaia 1959, Markov 1987, Pyman 1987, Reznikova 1980, and Sinitsvly 1987, among others.

31. Wanner 2004, Obatnina 2007, Gracheva 2007.

32. Analogous work has been successfully carried out in the field of French studies, providing an interdisciplinary interpretation of Jean Arp, another key twentieth-century artist whose work is characterized by creative and geographical liminality. In his recent groundbreaking monograph, *Arp: Painter, Poet, Sculptor* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2006), Eric Robertson considers Arp's poetry, painting, and sculpture as "parts of a single creative strategy," proposing an "inherent plurality" in his work. I argue for a similar plurality in Remizov. Exploring the previously ignored media of such multi-artists as Arp and Remizov extends the interpretational range of their already anthologized materials and contributes to the unfolding interdisciplinary discourse on the history of modern art.

33. The Russian artists Balst, Dobuzhinsky, Bilihin, Kustodiev, Larionov, Goncharova, Puni, and Kandinsky, and such French contemporaries as Picasso, Breton, and Eluard, all acclaimed Remizov's draftsmanship. See Marcadé 1987, 126; Kodrianskaia 1959, 98; and Remizov's diary entry from October 1, 1955, in Kodrianskaia 1959, 288. Here Remizov is writing in particular about his illustrated albums.

Chapter 1

1. See Leonid Livak's exhaustive explanation of the myth of the "unnoticed generation" (Livak, 11).

2. For Remizov's systematic subversion and transgression of authority see Slobin, *Remizov's Fictions*, 34–35.

3. Victor Turner, *The Ritual Process: Structure and Anti-structure* (Chicago: Aldine, 1969), 95.

4. Victor Turner, "Liminal to Liminoid in Play, Flow, and Ritual: An Essay in Comparative Symbolology," in *From Ritual to Theatre: The Human Seriousness of Play* (New York: Performing Arts Journal Publications, 1982), 27. Remizov's passionate, lifelong interest in anthropology may well have brought him firsthand knowledge of Gennep's anthropological study *Les Rites de Passage* (1909), which initially developed a theory of liminality. See also Victor Turner, "Betwixt and Between: The Liminal Period in *Rites de Passage*," in *Symposium on New Approaches to the Study of Religion*, ed. June Helms (Seattle: American Ethnological Society, 1964), 4–20, and Turner 1969 (see note 3 above). For commentary on Turner's theory of liminality see Kathleen M. Ashley, ed., *Victor Turner and the Construction of Cultural Criticism* (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1990). For a recent interpretation of liminality see Mihai I. Spariosu, *The Wreath of Wild Olive: Play, Liminality, and the Study of Literature* (Albany: State University of New York Press, 1997).

5. Ashley, xviii (see note 4 above). This kind of probing of the accepted boundaries was part of Remizov's "game" from the onset: in a 1905 letter to his wife, Remizov described his self-presentation as a buffoon: "... kak vsегда, govoria o sebe, o svoikh

veselchakh, ia paianichiu (shuta razzyryvau). V paianichestve est mnogo utizhenia, no inache kak skazbu ia pravdu i ne obidno, a na potekhu. Tot ia paianichiu. (...) as always, talking about myself, about my work, I was fooling around [playing a fool]. There is a lot of humiliation in acting as a fool, but how else can I tell the truth in a way that is funny and not offensive." (Remizov to Serafima Pavlovna Remizova-Dovgello, July 7, 1905, p. 161, Reznikoff archive). According to Slobin, Remizov actually "foreshadowed Bakhtin's seminal ideas about the 'unofficial' culture of carnival, folk humor, medieval folk laughter, and play" (*Remizov's Fictions*, 70).

6. See Seke 2003, 15. For a discussion of Remizov's earlier adaptations of erotic tales see Slobin's "Remizov's Erotic Tales," 54 and 60–64. Slobin argues that Remizov's persistence in working on the inherently marginal material—the censored erotic tale—is consistent with his overall liking of the marginal.

7. "Poslednie gody 1931–49, kogda u menia ne ostalo' nikakoi nadezhdy videt' moi podgotovlennye k pechatii knigi, a v russkikh periodicheskikh izdaniakh okazalo', chto dlia menia 'net mesta' [...] ia reshil tipoz'vevat' svoiu kalligrafiju: ia stal delat' rukopisnye ilustrirovannye al'bomy—v edinstvennom ekzempliare. I za vosemnadnat' let raboty chetyresta tridnat' al'bomov i v nich obsho trekh tysiach risunkov: [...] Sto veselediat' piat' al'bomov tak ili inache' razsuzhit'." Originally published in *Novoe Russkoe Slovo*, July 25, 1954, no. 15,429. Here quoted from "Risunki piatilet' in *Peterburgskii buerak*, 398. Unless noted otherwise all of the translations from Remizov's texts are mine. I tried to preserve Remizov's idiosyncratic punctuation as much as possible.

8. Remizov, *Pliashuchii demon*, 57.

9. See, for example, Natalia Reznikova, for an account of Remizov's success in presenting himself as an underdog, abandoned and undervalued by those around him, 137ff.; Gleb Struve's comments in *Russkaia literatura v izgnanii* (Russian Literature in Exile) (Paris: YMCA, 1984), 259; and Andrei Sinitsvly's explanation of Remizov's self-fashioning as a "pathetic man" (*bednyi chelovek*), 25–40.

10. Remizov unsuccessfully tried to convince one of them, philosopher I. I. Il'in, to publish a translation of his German lecture on Remizov (delivered in Berlin on January 13, 1911) in the journal *Sovremennoye zapiski*; see Obatnina, in Gracheva and D'Amelia 2003, 181–83.

11. *Chisla* 5 (1931), 283–84; hereafter cited in text. Osorgin's essay "About Simplicity" ("O prostote") is quoted in *Chisla* from *Novaya Gazeta* (1931), no. 4. For more context on how these accusations reflected the standoff between "Russian" and "French," "old" and "new" literature in Paris, see Livak, 29–33.

12. Il'in, who was not at all a fan of Osorgin (in a 1931 letter addressed to Remizov he even referred to Osorgin as a "literary loose," cited in Obatnina, Gracheva and D'Amelia 2003, 183), shared the critic's opinion about the need to consider the abilities of the reading audience. Il'in was quite explicit in his argument, saying that a writer must aim to reach the "average" reader, whom Remizov, in his view, mercilessly leaves behind in the pursuit of his "creative act," and that one must create "for others," "the people," and not "for himself" (Il'in, 272–73).

13. N. O., "Chisla Exhibits" ("Vystavki Chisel"), in *Chisla* 6 (1932), 253–54.

14. Kukonnikov (Remizov), "Manuscripts and Drawings of A. Remizov," *Chisla* 9 (1933), 191–94; hereafter cited in text.

15. Albeit the "interior/exterior" model was best realized in the illustrated albums, already in a 1908 letter to his wife Remizov described an ornament he gave to his niece

as a shared joke "visible" but "incomprehensible" to outsiders (*u oseb na vidu, a nichego ne poniat*) (Remizov to Serafima Pavlovna, August 23–24, 1908, book 11, p. 208, Reznikoff archive). Also see Alla Gracheva's presentation of his literary texts using the combination of "eternal" and the "author" myths as blueprints for constructing the texts' narratives (Gracheva, *Aleksii Remizov*, passim).

16. Reznikoff collection, Paris.

17. *Poka ia zhis, et i kartinki budut so mnoi, poniatnye tol'ko mne, a dlia postoronnego glaza—budnye, no vse-taki kartinki*. See also John Bowlit, who comments on what he calls the "introspective" quality of Remizov's graphic art (Bowlit 1986, passim).

18. *Kbotel otnesti na mogilu—polzabit' u kresta, i vidrug podumat: a chto etli skelat' kon-struktsii, kak delala i bumazhnyimi nabelkikami?—Na mogile zavotra razmozet dozhd', a moia raznotsvetnoi geometrii srak—moia zhizn'*. ("I wanted to take it to the grave—to place under the cross and I suddenly thought: what if I make "constructions," as I would of paper stickers?—On the gravestone the rain will wash it away tomorrow, but the timespan to my colorful geometry is my own.") (Remizov, *Alive to Me, Dead Flowers*).

19. Lempert collection, Paris.

20. Houghton Library collection, bMS Russian 31; 762–332. See chapter 3 for the analysis of the album.

21. Alexander Blok, "Without Divinity, Without Inspiration" ("Bez bozhestva, bez vdokhnoven'ia"), *Collected Works*, vol. 6 (Moscow: Gosudarstvennoe Izdatel'stvo Khudozhestvennoi Literature, 1962).

22. Gurianova, in Gracheva and D'Amelia 1994, 148.

23. Aleksandr Beleson, ed., *The Archer: First Collection (Streets: Sbornik pervyi)*, vol. 1 (St. Petersburg: Streets, 1915).

24. See Nikolai Kul'bin, "Svobodnoe iskusstvo kak osnova zhizni. Garmoniia i disonans (O zhizni, smerti i prochenom)" (Free Art as the Basis of Life: Harmony and Dissonance [On Life, Death, etc.]), in John Bowlit, ed., *Russian Art of the Avant-Garde: Theory and Criticism 1902–1934* (New York: The Viking Press, 1976), 11–17; and Vasily Kandinsky, "On the Question of Form," in *The Blue Reiter Almanac*, 147–87.

25. Worringer finished his doctoral thesis *Abstraktion und Einfühlung: ein Beitrag zur Stilpsychologie (Abstraction and Empathy: Essays in the Psychology of Style)* in Bern in 1907. It was used by Die Brücke artists to explain their leanings toward primitive art.

26. For more on Wölffli's life and work see Elka Spoerri et al., eds., *The Art of Adolf Wölffli: St. Adolf-Giant-Creation* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2003) and Spoerri's *Adolf Wölffli: Draftsman, Writer, Poet, Composer* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1997). A museum in Bern dedicated to Wölffli's art hosts a Web site containing many images of his works. See <http://www.adolfwoelfli.ch>.

27. Spoerri 2003, 19–20.

28. *Ibid.*, 20.

29. *Ibid.*, 21.

30. David MacLagan, "Outsiders or Insiders?" in *The Myth of Primitivism: Perspective on Art*, introduced and compiled by Susan Hiller (London: Routledge, 1991), 19–33. For an extensive explanation of Klec's and Kubin's reactions to Wölffli, see John MacGregor, *The Discovery of the Art of the Insane* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1992), 234–36.

31. R. M. Rilke, letter of September 10, 1921, to Lou-Andreas Salome, cited in MacLagan, 25.

32. Felix Klee, ed., *Paul Klee: His Life and Work in Documents, 183–84*, cited in MacGregor, 235.

33. As was the case with Pavel Filonov. See Pavel Filonov, "Ideology of Analytical Art" ("Ideologia analiticheskogo iskusstva"), in *Catalog of Works in the Russian Museum with an Explanatory Text by S. Iakov* (Katalog proizvedenii nabodiashchikhsia v Russkom muzee s ob'siasnitel'nyim tekstom S. Iakova) (Leningrad), 41–52. For a discussion of "madness," see Pavel Filonov, "The Basic Tenets of Analytical Art," in *Pavel Filonov: A Hero and His Fate; Collected Writings on Art and Revolution, 1914–1940*, ed. and trans. J. E. Bowlit and N. Misler (Austin: Silvergirl, 1983), 150.

34. Published in Berlin by Verlag Julius Springer.

35. Here quoted from the English translation of *Artistry of the Mentally Ill*, trans. Eric von Brockdorff (New York: Springer Verlag, 1972), 14–15.

36. Ilia Zhdanevich and Mikhail Larionov, "Pochemu my raskrashivaemsia" ("Why We Paint Ourselves"), in *Argus*, Christmas number (1913), 114–18. Translated in Bowlit 1976, 79–83.

37. MacGregor 1992, 275.

38. For more on this esoteric organization see Remizov, *Kukba*, 38–43. Also see Obatnina 2001.

39. Gracheva 1992, 8.

40. Il'in, 278.

41. A few photographs are reproduced in Gracheva and D'Amelia, eds., *Aleksii Remizov: Issledovanie i materialy* (Moscow: Bulanin, 1994).

42. Remizov, *Along the Lodges*, 79.

43. Reznikova, 21. For a more detailed description of the St. Petersburg apartment see Nikitin, 278–88; Erenburg, 69–76; Il'in, 288–90; and Smirensky, 161–91.

44. Il'in, 288.

45. Reznikova, 21–22. Remizov's own description of the rope is cited in Kodrianskaia 1959, 120. For the list of Remizov's toys from the Pushkin House collection see Gracheva 1997.

46. Remizov cheerfully noted that two of his visitors (E. F. Rubisova and A. A. Evreinova-Kashina) "discovered" that the overdrawing on the table presents "a whole tale." In Alla Gracheva, "A. R. (*Dom otmechennyi evsini*)," in Gracheva and D'Amelia 2003, 305.

47. Much earlier, the juvenile—if not juvenile-delinquent—phase of Remizov's artistic development included a watercolor painting executed on the fur of the family cat (*Podstrizbennymi glazami*, 49, 51); fence graffiti; saliva drawings on wallpaper (63); and chalk impressions on the backs of passersby (52; see also Remizov, *Kukba*, 77). Remizov continued to play naughty tricks well beyond childhood. Memoirs about Remizov abound with episodes where he played the eccentric; see, for example, the memoirs of N. Reznikova, Z. Shakhovskaya, N. Berberova, I. Erenburg, and V. Smirensky.

48. Remizov, *Podstrizbennymi glazami*, 54–55. Remizov described a slightly different version of these events in *Ukhitie' muzyki*, 186–88. There, the incident at the Stroganov art school is expanded to reflect his general nature as ill-fitted for the "normal" world

(Remizov, *Uchitel'* muzyki, 188). Remizov's *Podstrizhennymi glazami* is hereafter cited in the text.

49. Ray Bradbury, interview by Craig Cunningham, January 12–April 11, 1961, typescript, Oral History Program, University of California–Los Angeles, Ray Bradbury Papers (collection 471, box 3), Department of Special Collections, Charles E. Young Research Library, University of California–Los Angeles.

50. *Podstrizhennymi glazami*, 88. “[My] reading passion did not exclude my desire to draw.” *Podstrizhennymi glazami*, 77.

51. Also see Slobin, *Remizov's Fictions*, 34.

52. Kukovnikov (Remizov), “Manuscripts and Drawings of A. Remizov,” 193. Slobin mentions a scroll-formatted manuscript of Remizov's 1906 tale “Gore-Zloshchastie” (“Woe–Misfortune”) (Slobin 1985, 14).

53. I describe the role of the illuminated Russian manuscripts and Remizov's attempts to revive their format in his albums in chapter 2.

54. Gracheva 1992, 8.

55. Gracheva cites Remizov's *Midnight Sun* (*Polunosobnoe solntse*) as an example of this kind of manuscript (Gracheva, “*Krug sbasti'ia*,” 2000, 226, note 5). Another such text is Remizov's manuscript of his novel *The Clock* (*Chasy*), which he submitted to the newspaper *Dela Naroda* in 1905. O. E. Chernova-Kolbasina tells its story in her recently published recollections about Remizov (Reznikoff archive), “Vospominaniia ob Alekse Remizov.” In Gracheva and D'Amelia, ed., 2003, *Aleksei Remizov: Ispovedaniia i materialy*, 315–22.

56. “. . . iziashebno i pribulivco perepisyvaiu samye otvetscnyye bumagi.” (Remizov to Serafina Pavlovna, July 5, 1903, 39, Reznikoff archive.)

57. The inscription in a book he gave to Natal'ia Reznikova explains the situation: “This green book was published in 1931. And then I ended up in a crab's claw: from 1931 to 1949 you could not find any of my books. That year begins my album tinkering. I continued my trade with hand-written albums—18 years. Each album, I myself lost count of them—400—is a dream about a book. 21.III.1954” (Reznikova, 92–93). Also see Remizov, *Peterburgskii buerak*, 398; D'Amelia in Slobin 1987, 143; and the bibliography in Remizov, *Krug sbasti'ia* (Paris: Opleshnik, 1957).

58. Reznikova cites M. I. Barskaya's recollections of such door-to-door distribution: “S etimi al'bomami ia stala khoditi' po bogatym znakomym, i mne udalasi' dostat' no mnogo pradat'. Ia vspominaiu, kak neokbno pokupali blagotvoriteli' etki redkhaiibe risunki.” (I started taking these albums to the houses of my well-off acquaintances. I can recall how unwillingly the benefactors were buying these most rare drawings.) (Reznikova, 82).

59. Izdebskii dictated and signed a leaflet explaining the distribution process: “Kogda Remizovu v 20 godakh v Parizhe bylo material'no tiazhele On perepisyval svoim nepodrazhymom podberkom kakuiu nibud' soi[u] [sic] vesiboh' nebol'shogo razmera i delal k nim sam kraskami illiustratsii. Druz'ia chtoby pomoch' pisaui [sic] pokupali platia priblizitel'no 50–100 dol. na amerikanskiih den'gi.” (When, during the twenties in Paris, Remizov experienced financial hardship, he would copy, in his inimitable handwriting, some short piece of his and make for it illustrations in color. His friends, in order to help the writer, bought these for approximately 50–100 dol. in American currency.) Izdebskii incorrectly dates these activities to the 1920s. He had written this note when

the album *Sud'ia* (1933) was placed in the rare book collection of Syracuse University, where it remains today.

60. Remizov, “Risunki pisatelei,” *Peterburgskii buerak*, 398.

61. Most of Remizov's bills were paid with the proceeds of his recitation evenings and publishing royalties (Reznikova, 81–82).

62. For a discussion of synthesis in the illustrated album *Maroun*, see chapter 3.

63. Vasily Kandinsky, “My Woodcuts” (1939), in *Complete Writings on Art*, ed. Kenneth C. Lindsay and Peter Vergo (New York: Da Capo Press, 1994), 817.

64. Vasily Kandinsky to Arnold Schoenberg, November 16, 1911, in *Arnold Schoenberg—Wassily Kandinsky: Letters, Pictures, and Documents*, ed. Jelena Hahl-Koch, trans. John C. Crawford (London: Faber and Faber, 1984), 36.

65. This essay exists in three versions. The first 1934 version was published in *Novoe Russkoe Slovo*, July 27, 1934 (here quoted from Gracheva 1992, 42–43). The second 1934 version was originally published in *Vremennik obscheitva druzei ruskoj knigi*, 1938, no. 4. Remizov revised it in 1949 for his book *Peterburgskii buerak*, from which I quote here.

66. Remizov, “Risunki pisatelei,” in *Peterburgskii buerak*, 396. Iurii Tynianov's discussion of writers' drawings and other illustrations provides interesting material for comparison. As he rejects the straightforward “illustration” that essentially realizes literary metaphors, Tynianov welcomes the kind of interpretational drawing that translates one medium into another without attempting to match the “specific concreteness” of one art by the “specific concreteness” of another (Tynianov, 501–5).

67. Remizov, “Risunki pisatelei,” in *Peterburgskii buerak*, 396.

68. Vasily Kandinsky, “My Woodcuts,” 817. Compare with Remizov: “I never tricked myself,” he wrote, “and it was always clear to me that 'it is simpler for a hog to get through an ass's ear' than for a writer to become a painter.” (“Risunki pisatelei,” in *Peterburgskii buerak*, 397.)

69. “Vystavka risunkov pisatelei.” In a different version of *Writers' Drawings* he adds, “they [drawings] are always related to books, as its part or its continuation: my manuscript becomes drawing, drawing becomes manuscript, I sign all my drawings” (Gracheva 1992, 42–43). Nina Gurianova suggested that the purpose of Remizov/Kukovnikov's articles was to present the drawings as those of a writer, thus sparing them from the criticism a professional artist's drawings would have received (Gurianova 1994, 147).

70. Remizov, “Risunki pisatelei,” in *Peterburgskii buerak*, 395.

71. Remizov, “Le Courier Graphique,” in *Vstrechi*, 228.

72. Kukovnikov (Remizov), “Manuscripts and Drawings of A. Remizov,” 191.

73. I discuss the relationship between writing and calligraphy, as Remizov saw it, in further detail in chapter 2.

74. Remizov, “Risunki pisatelei,” in *Peterburgskii buerak*, 397.

75. *Ibid.*, 395.

76. Remizov, “Risunki pisatelei,” quoted from Gracheva 1992, 42.

77. Remizov, “Risunki pisatelei,” in *Peterburgskii buerak*, 398.

Chapter 2

1. See Walter Benjamin's "The Work of Art in the Age of Mechanical Reproduction," Here cited from *Art in Theory 1900–1990*, ed. Charles Harrison and Paul Wood (Cambridge, Mass.: Blackwell, 1993), 514.

2. Remizov's debt to the aesthetics of the Old Russian manuscripts has been written about in Slobin 1985, 18; Marcadé 1987, 129–30; Bowlit 1986, 168; and others. For a more extensive discussion see Alla Gracheva's recent essay on the 1948 album *The Circle of Happiness (Krug schast'ia)* (Reznikoff collection) in which she argues the album's origins to be in the Old Russian manuscripts (Gracheva, "Krug schast'ia," 202–3 and 206–24). In her analysis of the album, Gracheva concludes that Remizov supplemented these borrowings with innovations of his own design, making the paleographic irregularities of the album deliberate (207). Later in the essay Gracheva specifies that Remizov supplemented his adaptations of the medieval style with the "elements of modernist play" (225).

3. Stepanova's archive includes several single copies of notebooks with typewritten poems and drawings (Compton 1993, 72).

4. This copy is in IMLI, f. 11, op. 1, ed. 40, cited in Janecek, 119.

5. Gerald Janecek discounted Remizov's other graphic experimentation as a retrograde's attempt "to preserve the culture of writing in an age of print" (120) in his seminal 1984 study on Russian typography because he was not aware of the existence of Remizov's illustrated albums at the time he wrote *The Look of Russian Literature* (oral communication with the author).

6. Sobolevsky 1902, 41.

7. *Ibid.*

8. Nekrasov, 74. Also see Slobin 1994, 158.

9. Kashin, 56.

10. Vasilii Rozanov, *Uchelnennia*, 5. First published in 1911.

11. Cited in Sidorov, 21. In his well-known speech (later twice published in article form), Veiner discussed books as another legitimate art form where what mattered most was the "personal artistic tension, as in any other creative labor." From the presentation "Artistic Appearance of Books," delivered at the 1912 Kiev artists' conference, cited in Sidorov, 23.

12. For the history of alternative printing in Russia see Compton 1978, Janecek, and Marcadé 1987. More recent essays can be found in *The Russian Avant-Garde Book 1910–1934* (New York: MOMA, 2002).

13. From *Manifesty i programmy russkikh futuristov*, ed. V. Markov (München: PINK, 1967), 60.

14. Janecek, 55–56.

15. "Krasnaia strochka. V starinu byla odna—edinstvennaia, ee pisali kinovar'iu, otsiuda i krasnaia. . . . Vod' i znakov: zapiatykh i vsiakikh mnogotsebitii i tire ne bylo. . . . Rubkopis' priblizhaetsia k partiturne" (Kodrianskaia 1959, 140).

16. Colored rubber-stamping is later used by Remizov in his album *Teater*; see Slobin, 18.

17. Janecek, 79–80.

18. Janecek, 113.

19. See Gurianova 2002, 24–25. Kruchonykh's works would, however, satisfy Veiner's

desire for a book-making revival, because, according to Veiner, what really matters is "true submersion into the spirit of past creativity." Cited in Sidorov, 21.

20. Still, Kruchonykh's books were mass-produced, even if in limited editions (Compton 1993, 72).

21. Nina Gurianova, ed., *Iz literaturnogo nasledia Kruchonykh* (Berkeley: Berkeley Slavic Specialities, 1999), 190. Cited in Gurianova 2002, 25.

22. A. Kruchonykh and V. Khlebnikov, "From *The Word as Such*," in *Russian Futurism Through Its Manifestos*, Lawton and Eagle, eds. (Ithaca, N.Y.: Cornell University Press, 1998), 61–62.

23. Kulovnikov (Remizov), "Manuscripts and Drawings of A. Remizov," reprinted in Gracheva 1992, 41.

24. Gracheva lists several such books; see Gracheva, "Krug schast'ia," 203, note 7.

25. Remizov, *Russia in Writ*, 98.

26. For Remizov's use of the other aspects of Old Russian culture in his work see Alla Gracheva's recent book *Aleksei Remizov i drevnerusskaia kul'tura*, 2000.

27. Antonella D'Amelia discusses *Russia in Writ* in her recent article ("Kniga bez kontsa: *Rossia v pis'menakh*" ("A Book Without End: *Russia in Writ*")). See also Edward Manulian's essay "Imperiia tekstov: Rossiia v pis'menakh i Rossiiskoe Bibleiskoe Obshchestvo" ("The Empire of Texts: *Russia in Writ* and the Russian Biblical Society"). Both in Gracheva and D'Amelia 2003, 125–40 and 142–48, respectively.

28. The reference is to the Makariievskii Heliographic Calendar (Chet'i-Minei), in Remizov, *With Clipped Eyes*, 37, 121–22.

29. Among the Remizov holdings at Houghton are the original of an eighteenth-century sales draft (*kupchaia*) with Remizov's published transcription of it ("bMS Russian 31; 62M–337) and an annotated transcription of another 1701 document ("bMS Russian 31; 62M–329).

30. From "Parisian Treasure," cited in Gracheva and D'Amelia 2003, 137.

31. D'Amelia, in Gracheva and D'Amelia 2003, 136–37.

32. See also Slobin, who briefly discusses Remizov's application of the medieval scribes' devices in his graphic work (Slobin 1991, 32–33).

33. Although in some instances the information provided by the authors is no longer considered up-to-date, here I emphasize Remizov's adherence to the rules they outline, rather than more current (and no doubt more accurate) paleographic scholarship.

34. Hinceforth *Tales* (Houghton Library, Harvard University, bMS Russian 31; *62M–335).

35. Sobolevsky 1908, 20–21.

36. Shepkins, 50. Sobolevsky 1908 also uses the term *chernila* in his discussion of ink (43), as does Brandt, 22.

37. Sobolevsky 1908, 71.

38. *Ibid.*, 31, 35.

39. Amherst collection, albums and supplementary materials, series 2, box 2, folder 4.

40. The first inscription reads: "32 plates besides the text of which 17 [are] in color and 15 [are] in black. Autographed unique copy. 15 IX 37. Paris. Alexei Remizov." The second is discussed below in detail.

41. Mneva and Postnikova-Loseva, 478. See also Slobin on Remizov's emulation of the culture of Old Russian manuscripts (Slobin 1991, 162).

42. Mneva and Postnikova-Loseva, 467.

43. *Ibid.*, 468.

44. Likhachev, 107.

45. Shchepkin, 42.

46. G. K. Vagner and T. F. Vladyshevskaia, *Iskusstvo drevnei Rusi*, 148.

47. For the progression of color, see Shchepkin, 80–81.

48. Sobolevsky 1908, 20–21.

49. *Ibid.*, 74.

50. Houghton Library, Harvard University, bMS Russian 31; *62M–332.

51. This hypothesis about Remizov's accuracy in rendering different calligraphic styles is supported by the fact that the German text of one of the Houghton albums (*Monashek*; bMS Russian 31; *62M–330) is written in a version of Gothic script with which Remizov was familiar.

52. P. K. Simoni, cited in Kashin, 42.

53. Remizov's contemporaries saw more independence from the traditional designations of scripts in his calligraphic exercises. In her recollections about Remizov (Reznikoff archive) O. E. Chernova-Kolbasina describes his manuscript of the novel *The Clock (Chasy)* as an example of Remizov's own variation on the Old Russian scripts: "Eto svoie pi'mo, vyrabotannoe neizvestnym Aleksem Remizovym po starym nachertaniyam, no sobstvennoe i osobennoe." Remizov prepared this manuscript for submission to the newspaper *Volga Naroda* (O. E. Chernova-Kolbasina, "Vospominaniia ob Aleksee Remizove" in Gracheva and D'Amelia 2003, 316).

54. Kodrianskaia 1959, 97.

55. Brandt, 39; Kashin, 36–37.

56. Kashin, 36–37. In the early twentieth century *skoropis'* was accused of being the beginning of the degradation of the art of writing; see N. Fedorov, "Pis'mena," *Vesy*, 1904, no. 4.

57. Sobolevsky 1902, 44; Brandt, 33.

58. Compare the album text with the printed 1930 edition of the story published in Remizov's *Samwise (Posolon)* (Paris: TAIR). Remizov wrote the original text of the prose poem "Maroun" in 1910 and later published it in Russian several times, the last time in his album of 1938. See Sinay, pages 36, 74, and 124.

59. Sobolevsky 1902, 53–58; Brandt, 35–38.

60. Remizov, *With Clipped Eyes*, 151. Nina Gurianova believes that Remizov shared his interest in the phonetic aspects of the text with Kruchonykh (Gurianova 1994, 143–44).

61. This is a translation of an excerpt from "Parizhskii klad 1701–1723," a chapter destined for the third (unpublished) volume of *Russia in Writ*. See Gracheva and D'Amelia 2003, 137.

62. See Slobin for an extended discussion of the relationship between sound and the written word in Remizov's work. She correctly identifies the Old Russian culture as the source of Remizov's proclivity for the spoken word (Slobin 1994, 157–64).

63. Brandt, 28; Mneva and Postnikova-Loseva, 467. While in the other arts the donor system remained strong throughout the centuries, in book-making it was

generally abandoned with the introduction of printing. Remizov is an exception to this rule.

64. Thus some albums were dedicated before they were finished: for example, *There's a Ball at Fax's* and *The Willows*, dedicated on July 12 and finished on July 18, 1939. Others were made before they found their owner: for example, *The Little Monk*, made February 1 and dedicated October 1, 1936; *Tales*, made on September 15, 1937, and dedicated November 4, 1939; and *Maroun*, finished July 16, 1938, and dedicated July 12, 1939.

65. Remizov, *With Clipped Eyes*, 146.

66. Remizov to V. V. Peremilovskii, July 14, 1931, *Russkaia Literatura*, 1990, no. 2, 216.

67. Reznikova, 74.

68. Kodrianskaia 1959, 287. In all, Remizov claims to have sold or given away 185 albums out of the 435 he made between 1931 and 1949 (Remizov, "Risunki pisatelei," *Peterburgskii buerak* 398).

69. Remizov, *The Dancing Demon*, 57.

70. Houghton Library, Harvard University, bMS Russian 31; *62M–329.

71. *Ibid.*, *62M–330.

72. *Ibid.*, *62M–334.

73. For more about the history of this album, see chapter 6.

74. An anonymous correspondent mentions having seen Poliak in Paris in a letter to Remizov from August 13, 1941 (Amherst archive, series 1, subseries 1, box 8, folder 2, item 31). I speculate that Poliak eventually immigrated to the United States because his Remizov albums turned up in Cambridge, Massachusetts, in 1962. But since the Harvard University records are sealed for a period of eighty years, it will be impossible to know more about the album's provenance until 2042.

75. Slobin 1992, 65–66.

76. Paris: Navarre, 1949.

77. In the book Remizov gives an accurate historical account of the history of the beginning of printing in Russia. Compare with what is still one of the most respected sources, S. M. Soloviev's *History of Russia from the Ancient Times* (Moscow: Mysl', 1989), 181–82 (S. M. Soloviev, *Istoriia Rossii s drevneishikh vremen* [Moscow: Tip. Glazunova, 1861] 7: 257–60).

78. Remizov, *The Dancing Demon*, 65.

79. Remizov, *With Clipped Eyes*, 125–31.

80. Note that the book Remizov was working on at the time of his death had the name *Parvin'im perom* (*With Peacock's Plume*).

81. Also see Shchepkin, 53, and Brandt, 21.

82. Remizov, *The Dancing Demon*, 68. Compare with the ancient practice described in Sobolevsky 1908, 27–29; and Brandt, 30.

83. Besides the monks and artisans, amateur enthusiasts "of various vocation and age" replicated old texts at their own leisure (Sobolevsky 1908, 27–29). Brandt insists that the majority of scribes came from the clergy and viewed copying as a pious act, while others were artisans (30). He points out the difficulties of distinguishing between scribes and artisans, because both received monetary compensation for their labor (Brandt, 31–32).

84. Remizov, *The Dancing Demon*, 69.
 85. Remizov imagines himself to be the arsonist of the first publishing house in other stories as well; see also "Three Magi" ("Tri volkhva") (Remizov, *Vstrechi*, 213).
 86. Remizov, *The Dancing Demon*, 83.
 87. *Ibid.*, 100.
 88. Brandt, 26-27.
 89. Sobolevsky 1908, 29-30.
 90. Marcadé believes that Remizov's idiosyncratic copying of his own texts is unique and represents an entirely new artistic field (Marcadé 1987, 131).
 91. See Roger Chartier, *The Order of Books*, trans. Lydia Cochrane (Palo Alto: Stanford University Press, 1994), 28.
 92. The notebooks he compiled in the process are in the Reznikov archive. Olga Raevsky-Hughes likens Remizov's late dream diaries to a chronicle (Raevsky-Hughes 1994, 10). Indeed, after the death of his wife Remizov devoted much of his time to copying her letters and diaries, or, in other words, to chronicling the events of her life (Reznikova, 99-100).
 93. *The Moscow Chronicle 1357-1678*, October 5-9, 1938.
 94. Remizov, *With Clipped Eyes*, 45-46. Also see "Three Magi" ("Tri volkhva"), where Remizov refers to the mid-sixteenth century as "the last years of the manuscript masters to whom my calligraphic art is indivisibly linked" (Remizov, *Vstrechi*, 213).
 95. Remizov, *The Dancing Demon*, 65.
 96. See Siniavsky, 25-39.
 97. Remizov, *With Clipped Eyes*, 125.
 98. Kodrianskaia 1959, 21. Throughout many years Remizov kept diaries of dreams, textual and graphic. Although he gave away many of the dream diaries, as of 1955 he still possessed about twenty thick notebooks of them (Kodrianskaia 1977, 242 and 30).
 99. Pyman 1987, 54.
 100. Remizov, *The Dancing Demon*, 75.
 101. Kodrianskaia 1977, 378. Also see Reznikova, 25 and 79. For a discussion of the fourth dimension in Remizov, see D'Amelia 1986, 152-55.
 102. Remizov, "Sonnik," a chapter from the unpublished book *Merlog*, in *Minusvob*, 229. The chapter was first published in *Voia Rossii*, 1926, books 8-9, 232-33, as a book review of *Orientalisches Traumbuch von Mariette Lydis* (D'Amelia 1991).
 103. *Hippocrate*, 1933, no. 3, 529-87.
 104. See Chuzeville's foreword to *Sentiers vers l'invisible: Nouvelles* (Paris: Les éditions du Chêne, 1945), 8.
 105. Struve, 260.
 106. Zadeka was a famous nineteenth-century interpreter of dreams and author of a popular dream book.
 107. "Le Courrier Graphique," in Remizov, *Vstrechi*, 226. See also Kodrianskaia 1959, 111: "A drawing conveys a dream more precisely."
 108. "Sonnik," 229 (see note 102).
 109. Sobolevsky 1908, 1-2.
 110. "Vystavka risunok pisatelei," first published in *Pоследnie novosti*, December 30, 1933. Quoted from the reprint in Gracheva, *Volubelny mir*, 42-43.

Chapter 3

- Houghton Library, Harvard University, BMS Russian 313; *62M-332. In Remizov's most comprehensive list of illustrated albums (see chapter 6, note 1), *Maroun* is marked "239," which coincides with the number of an album from Remizov's list of his illustrated albums (c. 1940). But while the number of pages and drawings matches entry #239 of the list, the title of the entry—*Momoun*—is different. I believe that this is a result of a mistake in transliteration: the title of the album as it is spelled out in cursive Cyrillic, "*Momoun*," is similar in appearance to the latinized "*Maroun*." The list is from Natal'ia Reznikova's archive and was published by A. D'Amelia as an appendix to her 1987 essay (in Slobin 1987, 161-66).
- It was reprinted in 1911 in Remizov's collected works and in 1930 in Remizov, *Sumvse (Povolen)*, 206-7. A French translation slightly different from the French text in the album came out in 1947 in Remizov, *Où finit l'escalier*, 61-62. A different text loosely based on the original tale, also entitled "Maroun," came out in the September 1920 issue of the journal *Krasnyi khaltiati*. This last text is written in verse.
- Shum vremeni (The Hum of Time)* is the title of Mandelstam's autobiography (Leningrad: Vremia, 1925).
- Remizov, *The Dancing Demon*, 33-33.
- From a letter dated October 6, 1953 (Kodrianskaia 1959, 301).
- For more on "Russianness" as the uniting element of Remizov and Blok, see Minz, 71, *passim*.
- Kodrianskaia 1959, 103.
- From Remizov's diary, November 19, 1956. Cited in Kodrianskaia 1959, 301.
- Remizov, *Akhru*, 27.
- Sinany, 18.
- Raevsky-Hughes 1990, 54, note 11.
- For a detailed discussion of disagreements about the significance of Blok's death, see M. Chudakova's commentaries on Tynianov's essay: Iurii Tynianov, *Poetika: Istoriia literatury: Kino* (Moscow: Nauka, 1977), 437-41.
- "Pamiati Aleksandra Aleksandrovicha Bloka" ("In Memory of Aleksandr Aleksandrovich Blok"), *Zhizn' iskusstva*, 1921, no. 804.
- Petrograd: Kartonnyi Domik, 1921.
- "Smert' eta—ne vana v dushakh nashibk, kotoriia zatianetia, zazhivet; smert' eta—ne vazrezala, a otrezala; ne poroz, no vazryzo, ne vana, no amputuzia. Smert' Bloka—simvol; on umer—amerla tselata polsua zhizni." A. Bely, Ivanov-Razumnik, A. Shteinberg, *Pamiati Aleksandra Bloka (To the Memory of Alexander Blok)* (Petersburg, 1922), 54.
- "On umer potoma chto byl luchshe nas." A. vat my-my chto zhitom" (*ibid.*, 62).
- "I ostae: byt' ili ne byt'?" ("And [the question] arises: be or not to be?"). V. Khodasevich, "Tri pis'ma Andreia Belogo," in *Sovremennye zapiski* 55 (Paris, 1934), 258.
- For the text of Bely's speech see A. Bely, Ivanov-Razumnik, A. Shteinberg, 8-34. According to A. Lavrov the trauma of Blok's death led Bely to create a whole new image of the deceased poet; see Andrei Bely, "Romantika pomoinovnia," in *O Blake* (Moscow: Avtograph, 1997), 5-6.
- Bely 1997, "Blok—poet tseloi Rossii," 449. Upon visiting Blok's body Bely pronounced that the dead poet is internalized in those who were left behind: "*Poniat chto Blok—ne zdel', a v nas*," 450.

20. Marina Tsvetaeva, *Collected Works*, ed. T. Gorkova (Moscow: Terra, 1997), vol. 1, 288–99.

21. Anna Akhmatova, *Collected Works*, ed. T. Gorkova (Moscow: Ellis Lak, 1998–2005), vol. 1, 356.

22. Anna Akhmatova, *Anno domini MCMXXI* (Petersburg: Petropolis, 1922), 24. It is worth noting that Akhmatova's description of the funeral in "Our Lady of Smolensk" mentions a silver-plated casket (the actual coffin was white), associating Blok with silver.

23. "... skoncalsia Aleksandr Aleksandrovich. Pomniu: uzhas, bol', gnev—na vse, na vsesh, na sebia. Eto my vse vinovaty—vse. My pisali, govorili—nado bylo orat', nado bylo bit' kulakami—otbity spasti Bloka. Pomniu, ne vyderzhal i pozovonii Gor'komu—Blok umer. Eto ego nel'zia nam vsem—prostit'." From Evgenii Zamiatin, "Aleksander Blok" (1921), in *Litva (Faces)* (New York: Izd. Im. Chekhova, 1955), 27.

24. Zamiatin, "O sintetizme" (1922), in *Litva*, 243.

25. "Sud'ba Bloka" ("Blok's Fate") in *O literature (About Literature)* (Moscow: Sovetskii Pisatel, 1987), 356.

26. Iurii Tynianov, "Blok," in *Archaisty i novatory (Archaists and Innovators)* (Leningrad: Priboi, 1929), 512.

27. In Roman Jakobson and Dmitrii Sviatopolk-Mirskii, *Smert' Vladimira Maiakovskogo* (The Hague: Mouton, 1975), 8–34.

28. Georgii Adamovich, *Odnobestov i svoboda (Solitude and Freedom)* (Moscow: Republika, 1996), 287–88.

29. Nina Berberova, *Alexandre Blok et son temps: Suivi d'un choix de poèmes* (Paris: Editions du Chêne, 1947).

30. Remizov, "Risunki pisatelei," in *Peterburgskii buerak*, 398.

31. "Krasii alia menia zvezdat. Edi by ia byl muzykantom, ia po kraskam peredal by ikh melodiui, no ia ne muzykant i oni poiat vo mne." From a letter dated July 4, 1949 (Kodrianskaia, 1977, 126). "In my soul," he elsewhere writes, "dwells an abundance of music" (Remizov to Kodrianskaia, May 15, 1952, in Kodrianskaia 1977, 264). See also "word, sound and color are the same" (Kodrianskaia 1959, 89). Three years later, in another letter, he promises Natal'ia Kodrianskaia a drawing that will sound: "I will draw a picture for you: 9 purple nuts, spring—5 streams. If you try to listen attentively, the music of the stream—I hear it" (Remizov to Kodrianskaia, November 22, 1952, in Kodrianskaia 1977, 302). See also Remizov to Kodrianskaia, June 7, 1952: "In me everything sounds and draws, what is said I translate into drawing." For the sound origins of Remizov's texts, see Slobin 1994, passim.

32. Kodrianskaia 1977, entry for 1951, 50. Nina Gurianova cited a previously unpublished 1917 letter from Remizov to Kruchonykh where Remizov practically suggested to Kruchonykh his trisensory dictum from the "Declaration of the Word" (Gurianova, in Gracheva and D'Amelia 1994, "Remizov i 'budetliane,'" 143–44).

33. In *On the Spiritual in Art*, Kandinsky draws parallels between colors and sounds: yellow-high-pitched fanfare (181); light blue-flute (182); dark blue-cello; still darker-double bass; deep blue-organ (182); white-silence, pause in music (185); bright warm red-fanfare+tuba (187); vermilion-loud drum beat (188); cold red-violin (188); warm (raspberry red)-medium-toned church bell, powerful contralto voice,

viola playing a largo (188); violet-bassoon (186) (Kandinsky 1994).

34. Remizov identifies dark red as his personal color in a letter dated July 6, 1952 (Kodrianskaia 1977, 278). According to V. P. Nikitin, Remizov's Parisian neighbor, dark red was the dominant color of the large collages placed in one of the rooms in the apartment (287).

35. Remizov, "To the Stars," in *Vzvikhbrennaia Rus'*, 385.

36. Remizov, "Po serebrianyim nitiam," in *Peterburgskii buerak*, 335.

37. I refer here to a small black-and-blue ink drawing with red and blue pencil. It is from a dream of November 3, 1939. Now in the IRL collection, f. 256, op. 1, no. 48, 7.

38. Remizov, *With Clipped Eyes*, 14–15.

39. Entry from December 31, 1956, cited in Kodrianskaia 1959, 305. Remizov also mentioned "Zacharovannyi Lunnyi Blok" ("Enchanted Lunar Blok") in his working notebook from the 1950s, published in Gracheva and D'Amelia 1994, 221.

40. "Tysiachi niti—lamnye, solnechnnye i zvezdnye. Zvezdy—sud'ba ... I vot pochemu v muzyke ia razlitchaiu golos i uznaiu ego. Muzyka ot zvezd" (Remizov to Kodrianskaia, May 15, 1952, in Kodrianskaia 1977, 264).

41. The theme of China is important in Remizov's artistic imagination: in *With Clipped Eyes* the chapter "China" ("Kitai") tells of Remizov's identification with a Chinese man (79) and mentions his "Chinese calligraphic habits" (84). See D'Amelia 1987, 149–50, and S. N. Sokolov-Remizov, "Iz semeinogo arkhiva" ("From a Family Archive"), 373–405.

42. Remizov, *With Clipped Eyes*, 40.

43. "Zakruglainschiesia ili rassibekplaiiuschiesia zavotki priminali samye raznosbraznye formy, i legko bylo naiti ... samye zamyslavayzhe kitaiskie paitsoiki." From Kuko-vnikov (Remizov), "Manuscripts and Drawings of A. Remizov," *Chisla 9* (1933), 191. Greta Slobin offers an interesting discussion of his self-identification with Chinese literati as she draws parallels to W. B. Yeats's poem "Lapis Lazuli" (Slobin 1991, 145).

44. Remizov, "Risunki pisatelei," in *Peterburgskii buerak*, 397. See also: "all my two-dimensional drawings come from calligraphy with the central figure, composed of crisply traced lines, against a background of an airy spider web of flourishes, strokes, curlicues, and all sorts of spirals" (Remizov, *With Clipped Eyes*, 42).

45. Kukovnikov (Remizov), "Manuscripts and Drawings of A. Remizov," 191–94.

46. See introduction.

47. "Privoda vsiala svoc...—tiansluo rassvyriviat' pero po listu v igre—kak Bog na dusbu polozhit, t. e. k samomu nastoiashchemu iskusstvu" (Kukovnikov (Remizov), "Manuscripts and Drawings of A. Remizov," 192).

48. This and the following citations concerning calligraphy and painting are from Remizov, "Risunki pisatelei," in *Peterburgskii buerak*, 395–98.

49. Ibid., 224. Remizov's contemporary, the artist Yuri Annenkov, noticed the connection between Remizov's drawings and calligraphy: "Remizov's graphic art crosses over into handwriting, and his handwriting, which originated in old Russian texts, became a calligraphic symphony of corners, hooks, and flourishes, which one may admire without attending to his contents" (Annenkov, 228).

50. The three sisters further develop the theme of Blok in a letter of 1947 written

within days of the sad anniversary of Blok's death, Remizov mentions them in one breath with the "lunar shadow." The letter is dated August 10, 1947 (Kodrianskaia 1977, 70).

51. Iulova, 91. Remizov also talks about the fishes in his 1910 interview with Kozhevnikov; see chapter 6.

52. Iulova, 99.

53. Blok, vol. 4, 22-60; hereafter cited in text. My translation.

54. The drawing is in the Russian State Archive of Literature and Art (RGALI), published by Iulova, 138.

55. "Vystupat' peredo mnoi litso cheloveka s upornymi besposobnymi glazami, cheloveka, okamenelogo v tom nremdom ubezhdenii, kotore dvoizbet gerami, on smotrit, ne zakryvaia glaz na eto peniaschevicia, bul' kaisushchec, gonimoe, gonimoie i vstriakhiivaemoe vikbrem... to zhe litso cheloveka, s glazami, pogryzhenymi v slukku, cherez 'chernoe, chernoie nebo' v bushiuvshchee sud'binnoe. A smotret' tak besposhadno i 'ubezhdenno,' okamenue... slusbat', obraschennomu tada, za cherep' 'chernogo, chernogo neba.' mozhbet tol'ko chelovek po vorozhdennomu strashnomu daru 'slukku.'" (Remizov, "Desiat' let," in *Peterburgskii buerak*, 333.)

56. "I takim strannym—durakami—i kak necheleovekam dan velikii dar: ukho—kakozto, ne naebe. Blok slyshal muzyku. I ne tu muzyku—instrumental'nuu—pod kotoruiu na muzykai'nykh vocherakh libatiteli, litudi sur'eznye i oosue ne strannye, a kak sabaki mukh loviati, net, muzyku. Pomiuiu, v 1917 godu... Blok skazal mne, chto nad vsemi sobytiiami, nad vsem uzbasom slyshil on—muzyku, i pisat' 'produet. A eto on Dvenadstas' p'isal.'" (Ibid., 384.)

57. "Est' taina 'slukku,' a dar 'slukku' tonibe i vybie dara 'zrenenii'. No etot dar 'vnutrennego slukku' tak ne prokhodit: chto-to, kak-to, i kogda-to slushaiiia, i vot—chelovek propal." (Remizov, "To the Stars," in *Peterburgskii buerak*, 334.)

58. "Bloka ne stalo... Eta smert' alia menia—rakovoi chavoz bot: chvucstuiu, chto chast' menia samogo ubila s nim. Ved' vot: ne vidalii', pochi ne govorili, a prasto 'byti' Bloka na fizicheskom plane bylo alia menia, kak organ zrenenii ili slukku; eto chvucstuiu teper.'" (V. Khodasevich, "Tri pis'ma Andreia Belogo," *Sovremennye zapiski* 15 (1934): 257-58.)

59. On the same day (the day of Blok's death), Bely wrote in his diary: "On [Blok]—organ voospriiatiiu muzyki mnou; muzyka est' alia menia poka ia ne oglobk; muzyki net—ia oglobk. Bloka net: stalo byt' ia naveki stal kalekoi (lisibilia slukku). Tak voospriat' ia v pervuiu minutu smert' Bloka..." (Bely 1997, 448.)

60. Remizov to Kodrianskaia, August 10, 1949 (Kodrianskaia 1977, 136).

61. See Pyman, who in her memoirs of meetings with Alexei Remizov speaks of a portrait of Blok that he gave her, describing it as a "drawing of Blok's tragic face peering out of the shards of the shattered world" (Pyman, in Slobin 1987, 111).

62. In a 1911 letter to Blok, Remizov refers to Europe as the land of "gray stones." Later he also wrote of his belief that stones store up "the soul" of the events that transpire around them—a sense of time that the stones can later convey back to people (Iulova, 96). The "old stones of Europe" once again reappear in the memorial essay on Blok in Remizov, "By Silver Threads," *Peterburgskii buerak*, 335; and in Kodrianskaia 1977, 396.

63. Remizov, "To the Stars," *Peterburgskii buerak*, 391.

64. Remizov continued to associate his losses with the images of the album for

years to come. Thus, in a letter to Natalia Kodrianskaia of August 10, 1947, he writes about approaching autumn as the time when "the sisters of the wind come out of their hiding" and speaks of the "shadow of the moon" with which leaviness must begin (Kodrianskaia 1977, 70).

65. "Kak... izbyti', nichego ne zabycuaia, obuiavobuii teska?" (Kodrianskaia 1977, 64.)

66. Remizov, "Desiat' let," in *Peterburgskii buerak*, 333; hereafter cited in text.

67. This text is quoted from the most recent publication in Remizov's collected works, *Sobranie sochinenii, Vozvikhrennaia Rus'* (Moscow: Russkaia Kniga, 2000), 380-91.

68. For a recent discussion of Remizov's expression of this loss see Gracheva and D'Amelia 2003, 123-27.

69. Kodrianskaia 1959, 104.

70. Remizov, "To the Stars," in *Peterburgskii buerak*, 384. Iulova writes that the drawings were collected in an album with texts in Russian, French, and German on the tenth anniversary of Blok's death; the album was exhibited at the *Chida* show in Paris (Iulova, 140, note 10). It is now in the RGALI in Moscow.

71. In his later recollections of the hardships in Paris under the German occupation, Remizov complained the "the words (were) gone, there is only an empty space... instead of the words came the drawings, it is easier that way" (Remizov, *In the Pink Glow*, 338).

72. During the hard years of World War II, Remizov continued to draw despite the deteriorating physical conditions "in my kitchen with its leaky ceiling and often enraged after waiting in line" (Kodrianskaia 1959, 19). Also: "sometimes it seems to me, that it is easier for me to draw, than to express [myself] in word" (Remizov, *With Clipped Eyes*, 77, 93).

73. The end product of this writing experiment was Kandinsky's 1912 volume of poetry *Klänge*.

74. Kandinsky to Schoenberg, November 16, 1911 (Hahl-Koch, 36).

75. See Bowlit 1986, 167.

76. When writing his late interpretation of the tale of Tristan and Isolde, Remizov found that his text "coincides with Wagner's music"—and immediately changed it (Remizov to Kodrianskaia, August 6, 1952, in Kodrianskaia 1977, 286). For a different opinion see Marcade 1987, 122.

77. The program was drawn up by Kandinsky: "Program for the Institute of Artistic Culture" (Kandinsky 1994, 455-72). Paradoxically (yet characteristically), Kandinsky declared that the initiative for producing such monumental art must come from "composer-musicians," thus recapitulating music's leading role in a composition consisting of equally important art forms (466).

78. Gracheva notes that as a modernist Remizov participated in the synthetic tendencies of his times and that old Russian literature was instrumental in the formation of Remizov's synthetic ideas (Gracheva 1992, 7).

79. For a discussion of Remizov's later writings modeled on music, see D'Amelia 1983, xxii.

80. "Trebovat' ot nego, chtoby on pol' p'isat' i pisal kartiny... nevozmozhno: i nevozmozhno počemu trebovat' ot nego stremlenia k sintezu; eto stremlenie vyrazilo' by v odichanii, v vozvrate k primitivnym formam dalekogo proslogo; a pervobytnoie tvorcestvo,

razvivaiasi' estestvenno, i privelo ikusstvo k subbestvuishei slozhnosti form." He was also firmly skeptical when it came to viewing synthesis as the way for the art of the future: "No, the roots of the art of the future do not lie in synthesis" (Andrei Bely, "Budushchee ikusstvo" ["The Future Art"], in *Simbolizm i filosofia kul'tury* [Symbolism and the Philosophy of Culture] [Moscow: Respublika, 1994]). This text first appeared in *Simvolium* (Symbolism), Moscow, 1910, 449-53.

81. Bely 1994, "Net, i ne v sinteze ikusstvo nachalo ikusstva budushchego!" (142-43).

82. Tylianov, 508-11.

83. "Slovo—muzyka—zbiropi'—tanets, eto' edinoe i mnogo, e v vniagogo svoi ritm, svoia mera. Slovo edobkhoriti muzykanta, no obitat' pod muzyku ne vyidat. Dozbe i zbiropi'iu: kartina vyzovet slovo, no obitat' slovo—pastoe delo. Grafika... no potomu chto mysl' i vyrazhaisushchie ikh slova lineiny, odnoi porady. Nitakogo stianiaia ikusstvo. Razve ritmicheskoe soprikoosnoenie. Potomu chto material i sredstva vyrazheniia i kazhdogo svoe i raznoe. Kak redko laditsia slovo—muzyka—zbiropi'—tanets, a chashche kto v les, kto po drova. 'Edinoe' osushchestvleno v mnogoobrazii 'prirody' i chto gavnet s poslednim vzgliadom na zemnoi mir. No ikusstvennoe ob'edinii' mnogo' sozmozhno li cheloveku i kak?" (Remizov, *The Dancing Demon*, 9.)

84. For more on Remizov's ideas of "rhythmic coexistence," see Kir' Tribil's recent article "Ritmicheskoe soprikoosnoenie ikusstv": torcheskaia istoriia tsikla p'ies 'Rusaliia,'" in Gracheva and D'Amelia 2003, 69-84.

Chapter 4

1. Paris: Oplëshnik.

2. Henceforth referred to as the "Amherst album." Several images as well as a short description of the album were published in the catalog *Images of Alexei Remizov* (Amherst: Mead Art Museum, Amherst College, 1985).

3. This album is in the collection of R. Guerra.

4. Reznikoff collection.

5. "Solomoniia, ee videniia ia snachala narisoval' . . . i po risunku pishu" (Remizov, *Possessed*, 8). I explain below that the drawings were cut out from one of the working drafts of *Solomoniia* (also in Amherst).

6. "La ved' ne voplativshitsia! I vsia moia risoval'naia strast' tol'ko gorit vo mne, nikogo ne podzhigaiia." The 1920s album is in the Reznikoff collection, cited in Gracheva, "Krug shtat'ia," 202.

7. Henceforth I will be also referring to her as Serafima Pavlovna, using the traditional formal combination of the first name and the patronymic.

8. "I tolko noch' provel bezozno v napriazhennom vnimanii k bezumnyim slovam 'materi.' Po kakomu-to demonticheskoiu naitii. Raskazyvaet mne svoiu 'Besovotaiuiu Solomoniia.' 'Mat'—prostiaia zhenshchina. Razskaz ee—ruskaia 'prostoznrodnaia' rec' 'prirodnogo' lada. Vliublennost' v Boga i iavlenie demonov. Meitami porazitelno tak blizko k 'bertiam': v slovakh zavuchalo demonticheskoe. Ia chuvstvoval tak zhivo buldo sam raskazyval'" (Remizov to Serafima Pavlovna, June 16, 1904, Serafima Pavlovna Remizova-Dovgello papers, book 10, 94-95, Reznikoff archive.)

9. Kushelev-Berborodko, 153-68.

10. *Ibid.*, 161, note 10.

11. We learn from the Buslev edition that Iaroslavka came from the town of

Iaroslavl' and that she was given to the demons by her own mother: "razhdénie moe est' ot grada Iaroslavl'ia i ostade mia k sim temnoobraznym mati moia po razhdéniiu moem" (*ibid.*, 162, note 63).

12. The physical location of the figures in this vision is significant, as the "good" and "evil" forces coincide with their traditional placement in representations of the Last Judgment above the church entrance.

13. The three fire pokers are St. Prokopii's iconographic symbol (*Sobranie sochinenii: Limonar'* [Moskva: Russkaia kniga, 2001], 739 [note for p. 354]).

14. Kushelev-Berborodko, 167-68.

15. "Togo mira" (Remizov, *Possessed*, 7).

16. Scholars have pointed out Remizov's tendency to rediscover the original texts he used for his works from the layers of subsequent additions and interpretations. See Gracheva, *Alexei Remizov v drevnerusskaia kul'tura*, 54; and Raevsky-Hughes 1994, 13.

17. "Obrazy cia boleznennogo vobrazheniia, slozhivshiesia pod vlianiem vospitaniia i obshchikh verovaniu, prinimali' za itinu i sostavili predmet dlia literaturnogo razlecheniia sovremennikov" (168).

18. 1907, no. 1.

19. "V dome 'titsevoe'—i kartinkami: dvadtsat' odno vozdukhnoe mytarstvo i vsekh rodov demony po grekham raznoobrazno i iarko, i iz vsekh iarko demony torzheitsvuischikh stikhii: 'bludoliansiit'" (Remizov, *Possessed*, 65).

20. SPEC. SGU-83. The Moscow University manuscript has not been accessioned yet. Microforms of both manuscripts are located in the Hilandar Research Library of Ohio State University. Due to the copyright agreement with Saratov University this manuscript cannot be reproduced.

21. Alexander Amfiteatrov cites the Solovki murals as an example of church painting on the subject. As he explains, the subject of her trials (*mytarstva*) was his particular favorite (Amfiteatrov 1930, 207).

22. *Ibid.*, 212.

23. "Bogatiiu v pyshnoi odzhde, ukrashennoi zhemchugami i iakbontami, vizantitskaia dama" (Remizov, *Possessed*, 65).

24. Dmitrii Rovinskii gives a description of St. Feodora's aerial adventures (372) within ten pages of the initial description of a print where "a certain saint" is exorcising three demons (3:80). This entry was amended in the next volume with a description of a *Solomoniia* print (4:537).

25. This measure describes the actual size of the image. According to Rovinskii, a single print would be composed from glued-together leaves, which are about ten by twelve inches each (Rovinskii 1881, vol. 1).

26. *Ibid.*, 3:85.

27. "Lits Boga oroiashennykh, chistatu svoiu Khristu obshchavushchikh; no ne sobtiushchikh" (*ibid.*, 3:84).

28. The two prints were reproduced in *Angeli e demoni: Il fantastico popolare russo* (Venice: Marsilio Editori, 1994). (1) Anonymous, middle of the nineteenth century, colored ink, pencil, tempera, and gilding on cardboard, donated by P.I. Shchukin, 1905-697 x 523 mm; (2) Anonymous, second half of the nineteenth century, colored ink and white tempera on cardboard, acquired in 1895, 655 x 524 mm.

29. Rovinskii 1881, 4:537. It seems that since Rovinskii refers to the third party as a witness of a Solomoniia print, he had not been able to see the print himself.

30. Rovinskii 1900, 1:334, fig. 257.

31. The page dimensions are 294 x 200 mm.

32. Remizov papers, series 1 ("Alexei Remizov Papers, 1903 [1922-48])," subseries 2 (writings), research materials, box 15, folder 10, Amherst archive. This is most visible on pages 1, 6, 13, and 16 of the draft.

33. Remizov learned about Amfiteatrov's work after the original publication of his tale. I will discuss Amfiteatrov's work in detail in the following chapter.

34. "Zadumal etu povest' vsmoi 1928 vchitavshii' v materialy napechatannye u Kusheleva-Bezboradko v Pamiatnikakh starinnoi russkoi literatury. Narisovale kartinki, a uzhe po nim i pisal. Vei 'niashir' 1928 goda byl porvatshtchen Solomoniia. Tol'ko chits preekbali na novuiu kvartiru v Port-Royal'. Novoe mesto, zimnii luna i osennii veter—vse mne pomagalo pisat'. A perepisal piat' raz—chislo rokovee ilia Solomoniia. Povest' ne proshla darom, v ianvare 1929 goda ia zubbvorai. Ia sviazycvaiu svoiu bol's moim pisanie. Da, takoe tak ne daetsia. No pervoe vesennoe solntse ia vstretil radostno. Zakhobena kniga 22/IX/1934. Dvadzat' sem' riunkov. Pishyi tekst."

35. See the album's dedication page: "This handwritten book (no. 103 of my handwritten editions) the only copy—"tale of the Solomoniia"—I pass on to Dr. Stanislav Leopoldovich Kagan—for his book depository. As a sign of gratitude: author and scribe/6.X.1934."

36. This Solomoniia album was marked no. 133 on Remizov's list (D'Amelia, in Slobin 1987, 164). It is dated 1935.

37. Ibid.

38. Kodrianskaia 1977, p. 379 (drawing no. 7), p. 29 (drawing no. 17), and opposite p. 360 (drawing no. 15). Apparently, this publication took place while the album was still in the hands of its original owner—Chizhov.

39. The first of these images follows the introduction, p. 802, the other is placed at the end on p. 824.

40. Published in *Hippocrate*, 824.

41. The Chizhov image is published in Kodrianskaia 1977, opposite p. 360.

42. For more on his use of this technique, see chapter 2.

43. Reznikoff collection, Paris. It is no. 132, *Solomoniia*, on Remizov's list (D'Amelia, in Slobin 1987, 164). The same number is marked in pencil in the upper left corner of the dedication page.

44. It is possible that the jacket was added later, as the other two albums (also in Reznikoff's collection) with jackets of the same paper were made in the 1940s.

45. It measures 222 x 181 mm.

46. He uses a similar pattern in the portrait of Father Iakov, the story's scribe, in the Amherst album. This portrait was one of the few images in the album that did not originate from his 1928 draft.

47. Blue stands for Solomoniia's cornflowers, her "innocent" color. The brown behind the blue is reddish brown, the color of dried blood, that could represent her other self, tainted by the demons. For more on color symbolism, see chapter 5.

48. The translation published in *Confluences* italicizes the phrase that mentions that the demons appearing to Solomoniia as young men "were much younger than Matvei" (483).

49. Remizov, *Possessed*, 92.

50. Among Lély's best-known erotic verses are *Arden* (1933), *La Sphynx ou l'Étoile carnivore* (1938), and *L'Épouse infidèle* (1966). Lély not only wrote the first scholarly biography of Sade and published much of his papers and correspondence, but he was also the editor of the standard eight-volume collection of Sade's work. See, for example *Lettres choisies du Marquis de Sade* (Paris: Union générale d'éditions, 1938); *Morceaux choisis de Donatien-Alphonse-François, Marquis de Sade* (Paris: P. Seghers, 1948); and *Vie du Marquis de Sade: Écrite sur des données nouvelles et accompagnée de nombreux documents; Le plus souvent inédit* (Paris: Gallimard, 1952-1957). The *Hippocrate* document is signed by S. and Gilbert Lély. Lély described this translation as a "poème en prose adapté du russe d'après une traduction mot à mot" (in *Vie du Marquis de Sade*). The translating relationship between Remizov and Lély was reciprocal—in 1938 Remizov translated some of Lély's poetry into Russian (Gilbert Lély, *Études critiques inédites* [Paris: Thierry Bouchard, 1979], 53).

51. See 1938 *Dictionnaire abrégé du Surréalisme*. Sarane Alexandrian writes about Lély's defense of libertine values. It seems that Lély was too risqué, sexually, even for the surrealists (in *Les libérateurs de l'amour* [Le Seuil, 1977], 232).

52. Gabin, *Gilbert Lély: biographie*, 37.

53. Gilbert Lély dedicated the manuscript of *Je ne veux pas qu'on tue cette femme* to Remizov: "À mon cher et grand ami Alexei Remizov auteur de tant de merveilleux romans et poèmes et qui m'a fait le rare bonheur de traduire en russe ses poèmes,—maintenant plus beaux.../avec ma affectueuse admiration / Gilbert Lély, 23 Jan. 1936" (Amherst archive, series 3, box 27, folder 9). Lély was also an admirer of Remizov's drawings. It was he who arranged for Remizov to exhibit in the Dream Surrealist exhibition (see letter in Amherst), and it was he who put Remizov's images into *Le Courrier Graphique* (in 1937, while still working at the *Hippocrate*, "devenir gérant du Courrier Graphique," and a member of its editorial board [Gabin, 104]).

54. The album remained in Remizov's hands and was passed to Natal'ia Reznikova in 1950. Since the dedication page is left blank it is impossible to say with certainty for whom it was made, but it would be in line with Remizov's habits to prepare such a gift as a token of gratitude for the job of translating the tale. The Amherst album, for example, was dedicated to the person who was eventually in charge of distributing the 1951 *Solomoniia* edition.

55. The aforementioned story by Louÿs came out in the midthirties (an earlier edition, without illustrations, was printed in 1926). In 1928 the publisher R. Bonnel planned to put out an erotic trilogy comprising *Histoire de l'œil* (by Lord Auch, a.k.a. Georges Batailles), *Le Cocu d'Irene* (by Aragon) and *Les Couilles enragés* (by Satyremond, a.k.a. Péret). The first two were printed but Péret's book was not, due to a police raid. Then in 1929 Aragon and Péret authored a work formatted as an almanac with a poem and an explicit photograph for each month. For more detail see Durozoi, 61-162.

56. The results of the initial meeting of January 27, 1928 (formatted as a round-table), were published in the March 15 issue (no. 11) of the journal *La Révolution surréaliste*. The complete transcripts were translated into English and published in 1990 (*Investigating Sex: Surrealist Research 1928-1932*, ed. José Pierre, trans. Malcolm Inpric [New York: Verso]).

57. No. 10, 802-24. Gabin believes that Remizov and Lély met during the poet's tenure as editor in chief of *Hippocrate*, where Lély worked from 1933 to 1939 (94).

58. 1933, no. 3, 529-87.

59. See Evans, 24-25.

60. *Hippocrate*, no. 10, 820.

61. The foreword was adapted from the Russian version recently printed in *Russki Arkiv*. The French translation of the foreword contains some explanations of names that would be obvious to their Russian readers. (It states, for example, that *iar* in Old Slavic is phallus, and that Boguslavka easily associated with the Greek name Theodora in which *theo* stands for "God" as *dog* does in Russian [802]).

62. I believe that these were soon included in the Chizhov album. Stylistically, and in their use of only partial text, the images are identical to the other three drawings from the album published in Kodrianskaia.

63. "L'affaire des bombes cantharides du Marquis de Sade" (95-128). Four years earlier, in 1929, René Char discovered thirteen letters written to de Sade. He entered into correspondence with Maurice Heine, who published, in October 1931, no. 2 of *Surréalisme au Service de la Révolution*, a study on "L'hommage a D.A.F. de Sade" (Gabin, 98).

64. "Le Marquis de Sade et Rose Keller," *Annales de Médecine Légale*, June 1933, no. 5.

65. One of the entries in Remizov's 1924 address book reads: "André Breton/Librarie Gallimard/15 Bd. Raspail/La Révolution surréaliste." This was not in Remizov's hand. Then, in the same book, is a different entry, now in Remizov's handwriting: "La Révolution Surréaliste/42 Rue Fontaine." The latter, of course, was Breton's home address. This, to my knowledge, is the earliest testament of Remizov's acquaintance with Breton, which would predate his friendship with Lély, whom he might have met through Breton. It is hard to establish the degree of acquaintance between Remizov and Breton, aside from a single handwritten invitation issued by Breton to an exhibit at the Gradiva gallery (Amherst archive, series 1/1, box 6, folder 6, 102). The catalog of the sale of André Breton's estate lists several items Remizov gave to Breton. Among them are a signed copy of "Tourguéniev, poète du rêve," as well as a four-page-long manuscript containing the texts of Remizov's three short stories: "The Fried Lion" ("Le lion rôti"), "The Whipping" ("La fustigation"), and "The Bee" ("L'Abeille"). Remizov's choice to share the first of these three stories, which, though written some quarter of a century before, might be an allusion to the Breton-Bataille polemic of the late 1920s when Georges Bataille referred to Breton as a "castrated lion" (*le lion châtré*), seems a bit peculiar.

66. Adrian Wanner, for example, commented on the dreams published there (99, 2004).

67. Pages 10-13.

68. See, for example, Durozoi 164ff., Ades, 203-5.

69. Ades, 203.

70. "Le Cinquantenaire de l'hystérie," in *La Révolution surréaliste*, March 15, 1928, no. 11, 20-22.

71. "Langoly-khraniteli i besy prebycaiat ne gde-nibud' na storone, a vo mne." "Besnoturyi"—nastoyannyy i ocherzhyinyi. // Ia vo vlasti moikh sobosvennykh sil—i ia besnoturyi" (Gracheva, Aleksei Remizov i drevnerusskaia kul'tura, 202); the original is in the Reznikoff archive).

72. "Ia radilnia vo kupal'skuiu noch i voshel vo mir-iz 'demonskoi kipi'... Priroda moego

sushchestva kupal'skaia: ogon' i krovi'" (Kodrianskaia 1959, 89). The ancient celebration of nature's fertility on the eve of Ivan Kupala was by definition hedonistic: it featured dances around the bonfire and arbitrary sexual encounters among the villagers. In a 1909 letter to his wife where Remizov describes a fire he witnessed from the window of their Petersburg apartment, he mentions both the fire as his element and the synesthetic quality that unites fire and music: "And how eerie was that fire, in the white night, [it] draws you in, impossible to tear yourself away [from it]. I do not know if this is like that for others, but for me—fire turns the soul inside out. It could be that I am frightened by our fires, or my nature is—fire. And there is some connection with music. Fire sounds for me, music blazes. Paid the rent (June)." (*A kak eto zhatko zarevo heloi nachiu i tianet, ne otrovesbia. Dlia vsobk li tak, ne znaiu, no menia ogon'—vsiu dubu vyvorotivaciat. To li ia napugan nabimii pozbarami, to li moia priroda—ogon'. I est kabaia to sviaz s muzykoi. Ogon' dlia menia zovucit, a muzyka pylacit. Zaplatil za kvartiru. [iun']*)(Remizov to Serafima Pavlovna, May 29, 1909, copied and edited by him, book 11, Serafima Pavlovna Remizova-Dovgello papers, 268, Reznikoff archive.) There exists a 1924 photograph of Remizov inscribed to his wife: "24.6.1877. v noch' na Ivana Kupala. Moskva. A Remizov" [24.6.1877. on the night of Ivan Kupala. Moscow. A Remizov] (IRLI, manuscript division, f. 256, op. 2, no. 18).

73. "I Savva i Solomonia besnoturye—odcherzhyiny. Krovi'—iz krovi i cherev krovi videniia" (Remizov, *Possessed*, 7). Blood in Savva Grudynin is both literal (from the murder he commits) and figurative (his passion). In *Solomonia*, Remizov changes the seventeenth-century tale when he shows Solomonia drinking a chalice of blood offered to her by Iaroslava.

74. Naville asks Pèret, "Pèret, a-t-il eu des jouissances précises par succubus?"

P.E.: "Oui."

N.A.: "Quel rapport cette jouissance a-t-elle avec celle qu'on obtenait dans la réalité?"

P.E.: "C'est beaucoup mieux."

...

N.A.: "Quelle différence faites-vous entre les représentations féminines dans le succubus et dans l'ensoulement?"

P.E.: "La différence entre le rêve et l'imagination dans la veille" (33).

75. Contemporary Soviet sources could have contributed as well: a look at the newspaper clippings preserved in the Reznikoff collection shows that by 1928 Remizov's interest in the topic of hysteria and religiosity was already in place. There is a clipping from a Soviet newspaper (April 5, 1924 [?]) reporting about a woman from Rome who displays blood, tears, and stigmata on Holy Friday: "Eti istericheskie iavleniia,—tak naz. Stigmaty, khorosho izvestny vracham, proucliatulstva u svoiatoi monakhini" v narednost' opredelennoi forme." The next clipping from June 24 concerns some "sviataina mogila" at Volkovo cemetery. Another from a French Russian newspaper from September 1926 is about "porazitel'nyi religiozny pad'em v Russii." It retells an article from *Izvestiia* no. 217 that mocks this revival (Reznikoff archive, f. 103, p. 51).

76. *L'Hystérie dans l'art* was a compilation of religious works of art showing possession or religious ecstasy that symptomwise resembled hysterical convulsions. Many students wrote their theses and published articles on religious "miraculous" cures, diabolic possessions, etc. Bournevire and Régnard (*Iconographie photographique de la Salpêtrière, service de M. Charcot*, vol. 1 [Paris: Delahaye, 1877]) wrote that there

is "no need at all to invoke supernatural influence" to explain hysteria. Charles Richet wrote "Les Démoniaques d'aujourd'hui et d'autrefois" (in *Revue des deux mondes*, 1880, 373:40-72, 552-83; 8:8-63).

77. Paris: Alcan, 1926.

78. According to Janet a hysterical attack was simply an acting-out of the original disturbing idea (*idée fixe*). This was a post-Babinski book; auto-suggestion is a part of the assumption here. Dr. Joseph Babinski, Charcot's student and his later detractor, sought to "dismember hysteria" and offered a new term to describe the phenomenon: *pituitianism* (a neologism he fashioned from a combination of Greek words meaning "curable by persuasion"). He insisted that hysteria was not justified by real events but was in the patient's head. Evans notes that Babinski's antihysteria stance should be seen in the context of larger antipositivist ideas of fin-de-siècle Europe (57).

79. *Recueil de confessions et observations psycho-sexuelles tirées de la littérature médicale* (Paris: Editions Cres, 1926).

80. Michel Leiris, *L'Afrique fantôme. De Dakar à Djibouti, 1931-1933*, 3rd edition.

81. MacGregor, 281.

82. Auguste Marie, "L'art et la folie," in *Revue scientifique* 67 (1929), 393-98. Cited in MacGregor, 356, note 50.

83. See Alain Jouffrou, "La collection André Breton," in *Lévil* 10 (October 1955), 32-39. Cited in MacGregor, 357, note 90.

84. Lély later reworked his original translation of *Solomonii* into a play (*poème dramatique*). This play, which consists of five chants, introduces two new character-narrators, male Trophime and female Irina. According to one of Lély's bibliographies, an illustrated edition of this play was to come out sometime after 1979 at Jacques Carpentier. The illustrations were to be done by a surrealist artist, Léonor Fini (Gilbert Lély, *Études critiques inédites* [Paris: Thierry Bouchard, 1979], 9). Fini, who is known for her erotic drawings, was certainly an appropriate illustrator for the story as Lély presented it. I was unable to find any traces of either the book or the illustrations, possibly because of Fini's death the same year (1979).

85. No. 10, 802-24.

86. 1945, 481-500. Here, *Solomonii* follows Francis Ponge's essay on Jean Fautrier. It is possible that Jean Paulhan's interest in both Remizov and Fautrier led to their inclusion in the same issue.

87. Paris: Editions du Pavois.

88. Remizov's placement of the tale in the volume devoted to dreams is in line with his interweaving of personal and traditional myths. For Remizov, dreams reveal "the states of soul that precede [his] actual existence" (*des états de mon esprit qui ont précédé mon existence actuelle*), thus setting a template for the present life (Remizov, "Le merveilleux," in *Où finit l'escalier*, 8).

89. In 1859 doctor Paul Briquet referred to hystero-epileptical attacks as "dreams" (*Traité clinique et thérapeutique de l'hystérie*, 398). Cited in Evans, 19.

90. Remizov Papers, series 1, subseries 2, box 15, folder 10, research materials, p. 1, Amherst archive.

91. For this second interpretation of Solomonii's condition by Alexander Amfreatov, see chapter 5.

92. Remizov, "Le merveilleux," 7.

Chapter 5

1. Kushelev-Bezborodko, 168.

2. "A videniiem oni okaiannii biakhu cherni, i sini, i izovery, i strashny" (Kushelev-Bezborodko, 159-60).

3. "Sinie i bagrovye katili'i volny, zabrukhuivai's' v tugie vodovoraty—zbevolasye, kal'batye, otvolisy, peritaniaty, i gladkie i mokhnaty, i s borodavkami i v plamennom pykhu vzdrygnuta iar sam—iar galova zmeia" (Remizov, *Possessed*, 88).

4. Remizov did not shy away from depicting phallic shapes on other occasions. S. N. Sokolov-Remizov tells about an illustrated album made for a family friend, Ariadna Sosinskaia-Chernova, who helped to take care of the elderly Remizov. This album was a token of appreciation for her help and featured "phallic accessories" that served as a reference to the bathing she assisted with ("From the Family Archive" ["Iz semeinogo arkhiva"], 403-4).

5. Remizov, *Possessed*, 92.

6. *Volia Rossiï*, 1929, nos. 5-6: 3-24. I date this story 1928 using the note in the Amherst album that points to November 1928 as the time of the writing. I believe that as it is the earliest reference to the date it is the one that is most accurate. Elsewhere (Kodrianskaia 1959, 114) Remizov gives 1929 as the date of completion.

7. Apparently, in some early manuscripts of the tale, Matvei himself was implicated in cooperating with the evil forces. Pigin refers to another seventeenth-century manuscript of the story (Library of the Academy of Sciences, Arkhangel'sk collection, document 510, p. 136) where Matvei promised his bride to the demons before the wedding, and to a different copy (State Public Library, QXVII.206, p. 97) in which Solomonii's husband is called "devils' brother" (1:16, note 21). Remizov probably knew this variation, as Solomonii's reference to Matvei as *per* follows her using the same word to describe the beastlike demon who visited her on the ninth night of her marriage.

8. Also see Pigin, 117-18. In my opinion, Pigin's otherwise sensitive reading of the tale underestimates the personal elements in Remizov's text. Pigin credits the theme of love in the Oplshnik version to Remizov's "humanist" character, rather than his personal mythology. Although this conclusion makes sense for the analysis of the text itself, once contextualized, Pigin's explanation seems unsatisfactory.

9. "I kak rukoi—svotem popravilas'. I etikh piati mytarshikh let kak ne bylo. Ona ta, preznitna—vasil'kovaia. I govoriš' s nei, kak s chelovekom, ne blazhit" (*Possessed*, 13). The passing reference to *vasil'ki* or cornflowers, traditionally representing the purity of the Virgin in Russian iconography, is a further proof of Solomonii's return to her premarital, virginal self.

10. The Public Library manuscript refers to the evil-eye scenario: "poslan ot cheloveka nedobra" (Kushelev-Bezborodko, 153). The Buslaev version supplements that the evil eye could have come "ot nekogo chardacia volkova ot cheloveka lukaia obniamnika" [from some magician or an evil conjurer] (Kushelev-Bezborodko, 161).

11. *Zbitie prepodobnaga Vasilia Novaga i videniia Grigorii, uchotnika ogo, o mytarshakh prepodobnogo Feodora* (Zaimstvovano iz raznykh dushopolernykh knig, a takzhe iz rukopisei, khroniashchikhisia v bibliotekakh sviat. Afonskoi gory) (*The Life of the St. Vasilii the New and the Vision of Gregory, his Pupil, of the Trials of St. Feodora* [Based on various soul-saving books and manuscripts kept in the libraries of the holy Afon mountain]) (Moskva: Tipoligrafia I. Evimova, 1907).

12. "Kak ia prezhdé, kogda eshe ne sluzhila u sviatogo otca nashego Vasilija, imela supruga, kotorogo mne dala moia gospozha, i ia zbilá s nim, a potom kogda-to s drugimi sograbila" (*The Life*, 35).

13. Remizov Papers, series 1, subseries 2, box 15, folder 13, 19 pp draft, Amherst Center for Russian Culture. The quotation I discuss below is on page 1.

14. "Vot ty videla, [Feodora/Solomonija], strashnye zlye bludnye mytarstva! Znai zhe, kak malo dush minuiti ikh bez napasti: potomu chto vs' mir sredi soblaznov i skveren i vse ljudi slastoljubivy i bludoljubivy i ponyshenie cheloveka eto iustosti utremelno na zhe i redko kto sobludet sebja et bludnykh neobitai. Malo est' umerzhuistichikh vsoi platiakie pokhoti,—malo i prokhdiaushikh svobodno eto mytarstva, no mnogoe nmozhetvo, doidia do nihk pogihat: ibo liutyie bludnykh del' tiaziateli pokhibchaiat bludnicheskie duabi i niz elachat v ad, eshe zhestocie muca, i pokhdiaiatusia nuchal'niki bludnykh mytarstv: 'My, gosvoriat, ne v primer drugim, s izbytkom uvelichivacem ognennoe narodonaselenie ada'" (*The Life*, 82).

15. *Possessed*, 36.

16. The address of St. Feodora to Solomonija ends with: "Solomonija, ty ne vinovata" ("Solomonija, you are innocent"). These words then are crossed out and replaced with "Solomonija, net takogo cheloveka" ("Solomonija, there is no such person"), which ultimately made it into the printed text. Remizov Papers, series 1, subseries 2, box 15, folder 13, 19 pp draft, p. 15, Amherst Center for Russian Culture.

17. Amfiteatrov 1929, 5. In 1902 Amfiteatrov was also exiled to Vologda. There he became interested in the folklore of the Russian north. Remizov, who was arrested in November 1896, was transferred to a Vologda prison in July 1900, where he remained with brief interruptions until his move to Odessa in 1904. I could not find any evidence of the writers' acquaintance at the time, and their correspondence, which I will address later in the chapter, began in 1930. Its initial letters suggest that the two did not know each other personally until they started corresponding.

18. Published in Amfiteatrov, *Icberi i tsvety* (*Demons and Flowers*) (St. Petersburg: Energiia, 1913), 1–59.

19. *Ibid.*, 19. Here he offers the example of Smerdiakov's simulation of his convulsions in *The Brothers Karamazov*.

20. *Ibid.*, 20. As proof for this last point, Amfiteatrov proposed that such "hysterical anesthesia" was the reason for the patience of Christian martyrs during their tortures.

21. Berlin: Mednyi Vсадnik, 1929.

22. Amfiteatrov's only deviations from the Kushelev-Bezborodko texts are in minor details that do not add up to a different interpretation of the narrative. For example, he adds that the wound in Solomonija's stomach from which Saints Prokopii and Ioann extracted the demons healed into a little white scar that would add credibility to her story, 51.

23. No. 3.

24. Kushelev-Bezborodko, nos. 23 and 24, respectively. Remizov will put "Savaa Grudtysyn" into his last printing of "Solomonija" as part of the volume *Possessed* (Paris: Oplshnik, 1951).

25. Amfiteatrov tries to be as faithful as he can to the original texts: he looks for an equivalent for measuring the distance of the forty *popriščb* (fields) mentioned in

the beginning of the tale. This is in sharp contrast to Remizov's decision to preserve symbolism by keeping the number forty but changing the measure itself into the incorrect contemporary units *versty*.

26. Amfiteatrov 1929, 160–62 and 224.

27. Amfiteatrov 1929, 224ff. Here he talks about *khibobnyy razvenat*, free-for-all sexual attacks on women, and about army deserters who hid and lived in the forest, terrorizing the villagers.

28. Alexander Amfiteatrov, *Russkii pop XVIIgo veka: Etyudy* (*XVIIth Century Russian Priest: Studies*) (Belgrad: Russkaia Tipografija, 1930).

29. *Ibid.*, 204–22.

30. Remizov's remarks come in a foreword to the story first published in *Ruski Arhiv*, 5–6.

31. "Solomonija," *Ruski Arhiv*, 1931, nos. 14–15, 5–20. Translated into Serbian by Dr. M. M. This edition is also the only instance where the foreword is not separated from the text. It comes right before the text and, in the last paragraph, fuses with it.

32. The essay is mentioned in a letter dated August 8, 1930. In a letter of August 17, 1930, Remizov thanks Amfiteatrov for the copy of *Oderzhimatai rus'*. *Russkii pop* is mentioned in a letter of November 13, 1930. The unpublished letters of Remizov to which I refer in this chapter are held in the Manuscript Department of Lilly Library, Indiana University, Bloomington, Indiana.

33. Amfiteatrov 1913, 1.

34. Remizov, "Solomonija," 5. Family here equals reproduction, fertility.

35. See *The Oxford Guide to Classical Mythology in the Arts, 1300–1990s* (New York and Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1993), 992. For a different reading of Matvei's origins see Remizov, *Sobranie sochinenii: Limenar'* (Moscow: Russkaia Kniga, 2001), 740.

36. *Hippocrate*, 802. In 1935, as he explained his lack of appreciation of A. Kashina-Evreinova's novel, full of "hallucinations of physiological method in literature" and "descriptions of onanism," Remizov referred to her as Iaroslavka (*Anna Aleksandrovna Kashina-Evreinova. . . Iaroslavka. . . e roman chaitia gallitsiatinii fiziologicheskogo metoda v literature: spisyetel onanism. . .*). Clearly, in this case, Iaroslavka is a generic name for a woman with immodest imagination. Na *bezrochnoi katolge: Russkii istoricheskii al'bom 1926–1943*. (In an *Endless Exile: Russian Historical Album 1926–1943*.) Parizh, entry no. 98. Reznikoff archive.

37. In his late-life recollections about the tale, written down by Natalia Kodrianskaia in 1956, Remizov mentions that he read "Solomonija" to Nikolai Berdiaev, who "understood it symbolically" (Kodrianskaia 1959, 114). We can only speculate about Berdiaev's interpretation. He might have tied the tale to recent history, where Solomonija could stand for spiritual Russia demonically possessed by materialism and by the Bolsheviks' atheism, or to the past history of Rus' subjugated by the Mongols. (See Raeff for Berdiaev's use of historical parallelism, 104 and 170.) Remizov scholars cite examples of the historical parallelism Remizov himself saw between contemporary history and seventeenth-century history: Gracheva, for example, writes that Remizov compared the events of the 1917 revolutions with the seventeenth-century *smuta* and believed that Russia would have a second coming after which it would be reborn through "torments and repentance" (*muki i pokaiantie*) (Gracheva and D'Amelia 2000,

Alexei Remizov, 164–65). Also see Slobin's discussion of historical parallelism in Remizov's writing about the 1905 revolution and *smuta* (Slobin 1903, 116–18).

38. Amfiteatrov 1929, 54, note 5. Here Amfiteatrov proposes that marriageable age at the time would not exceed fourteen. It is curious that in the *Ruski Arkhiv* text itself her age is still sixteen, probably because the translation was already finished by the time Remizov added the foreword. I believe that Remizov made this adjustment as much for the sake of facts as for the additional dramatic effect—the phallic possession of a fourteen-year-old is more poignant.

39. The Remizov-Amfiteatrov correspondence starts with Amfiteatrov's letter of August 1930 in which he asks Remizov to furnish him with some information for his current history of Russian literature. The correspondence begins formally, but soon becomes warm and collegial. The two writers share tips on publishers, and Amfiteatrov helps Remizov to place some of his works.

40. "Menia ochen' interesovalo Vashe izsledovanie, zhalko ia ne znal ranishe—mne by prigodilos' dlia 'Solomonii'" (Remizov to Amfiteatrov, August 6, 1930).

41. "Solomonii mne menishe ponravilas'. Vse, chto vy ot sebja nadumali k illustraciiam ce [epilepti] chesкого недуга, конечно, развито s zhivost'iu i poetichno, no material, neposredstvenno predlagacymi povest'iu, Vy ispol'zovali kak to skupo,—v oboemosti i tserkovnyj chudesu" (Amfiteatrov to Remizov, August 30, 1930, Remizov Papers, series 1, subseries 1, box 2, folder 5, Amherst archive).

42. "Vprochem, mozhet byt', eto mne potomu tak kazhetsia, chto ia sam to vozilsia s etoi Solomoniey uzbe ochen' mnogo." (Ibid.)

43. Remizov to Amfiteatrov, September 4, 1930.

44. Capitalization is Remizov's.

45. Underlining is Remizov's.

46. Amfiteatrov's argument in this chapter was to suggest that Solomoniia made up her underwear tormentors based on her knowledge of folklore about *codiandy*.

47. "Vyrazhaia's' tsenzurno" is added in above the line.

48. Remizov Albums and Supplementary Materials, box 2, folder 4, Amherst archive. This album, dated 1934, was marked #103 on the most complete list of illustrated albums (see chapter 6, note 1).

49. 5–9. The same letter also introduces the first *Solomoniia* album. Remizov wrote to Amfiteatrov that he began his work on Kushelev-Bezborodko's texts by drawing the pictures of the tale: "first, I drew it all" (*snabhal ia vse narisoval*).

50. On Remizov's inclusion of autobiographical material into his work based on the existing narratives, see Gracheva, *Alexei Remizov i drevnerusskaia kul'tura*, 312–13, and Raevsky-Hughes 1994, 13. Sergei Dotsenko lists some other authors who wrote on this question in a footnote to his essay "Tema predatel'stva v poeme A. Remizova 'Iuda,'" in Gracheva and D'Amelia 2003, 43, note 1. Also see page 44, note 2, in that essay for Remizov's own view.

51. I am thankful to Greta Slobin to pointing out an earlier instance of self-imposed guilt by Remizov: his self-blame for the mental, and eventually physical, demise of his mother.

52. Remizov to Serafima Pavlovna, July 4, 1912, Serafima Pavlovna Remizova-Dovgello papers, copied and edited by Remizov, book 12, 220, Reznikoff archive.

53. This is a reference to a chapter by the same title in *Olia*; see below.

54. "Moia vina-celi by ia ranishe sobrazili, vse bylo b po-drugomu. Vse boleznj (preben,

a potom, nastroit'vo 'zentral'noi nervnoi sistemy,' kak vyrazhalis doktory) nachinat'usia s rozhdentia Natushi. Za 'zelenuiu ogradu' obkhatit' [Serghim] Pavlovnei' nel'zia bylo,— polnota 'zhizni' ne po ce mere. Ona rodilas' sovsem drugoi, nepokobzhei na nas, Cherez menia ona vstupila v 'zhizni' protiv' voe [sic] 'prirody,' ona ne dolzba byla vykhodit' zamuzh, a [ia] dolzben byl srazu zbe poniat' ce dushu. Da vot ne ponial i vyvel vo obshchuiu nashu zhizni' strady'" (Reznikoff archive, book 12, 220).

55. "Dlia nego S. P. byla chelovekom ne kak drugie. Po suti svoei, ona ne dolzba byla idti putem obyknovennoi zhenobshchiny. V detstve ei byl ukazan drugi put'—sluzhenie Bogu. Zhenivshis' na nei i imeia ot nee rebenka, A. M. perestupil kakuio-to chertu, za kotoruiu ne dolzno bylo perestupiat'. Cherez vsiu svoiu zhizni' A. M. nes ne pokidavshee ego chuvstvo viny za voee 'prestuplenie'... A. M. vinil sebja za to, chto iz-za nego S. P. pobila po puti, ne sootvetstvuiushchemu ee dukhovnoi prirode" (Reznikova, 52). Also see Raevsky-Hughes 1994, 11.

56. "C'bez bez prestupleniia. V moci prirode—cherez prestupleniie. Odnazhdy ia tronil chego prestupno, protivostestvenno' bylo kasat'ia" (Remizov's emphasis denoted by extra spacing). Published by Gracheva and D'Amelia in Remizov: *Izledovaniia i materialy*, 210. Although this guilt may seem somewhat abstract to a person of today, in theological terms breaking the vow of chastity constitutes the sin of adultery.

57. Reznikova, 52.

58. "Olia"—Serafima Pavlovna Dovgello" (New York: Chekhov Publishing, 1952), 283.

59. "Ne i 3 iunia 1940 goda, ne s bombardirovki Parizha i razgroma nashoi kvartiry nachalas' katastrofa, a s toi minuty, kak Olia rebilas', vopreki isustvovu svoemu, eia soznavaemou i odnazhdy Nornoi otkrytomu, vyiti zamuzh" (Reznikova, 52).

60. It was based on her diary entries and recollections. According to Nina Bertram, in many cases Serafima Pavlovna was the actual source of Remizov's trademark buffoonery: "... vse ego vydamki i grimasy idut ot nee, chto eto ona naviazala emu svoi sny i fantazii, sindromy i komplekxy, i on primial ikh, i pitaias' imi, postroil na nihk svoi mify" (*Kursioi moi*, 1972, München, 307). Avril Pyman notes that Remizov sometimes "borrowed" Serafima Pavlovna's dreams: "... he appears to have appropriated a number of the dreams here recorded and published some in the émiré newspaper *Zvona*, no. 143, 26 October 1925, as 'Moi sny'" (Pyman 1987, 57). Pyman believes that such borrowing is an example of "collective creation" (Khadasevich's definition)—a symbolist feature of Remizov's artistry (Pyman 1987, 58).

61. Paris: Vol, 1927.

62. "V pole blakitnom" came out separately in 1922 (Berlin: Ogon'ki). Remizov also worked on the fourth part, "Sera-Kosmata," which later became "Golova Ivova" and was published in *V rozovom blekie*. It is mentioned in *Olia*, verso of the last page.

63. In the short story "Olia" Remizov talks of the event, stressing that Olia's promise is to herself: "sama Olia govorit ot svoego serdca nesomneno i rerdie: 'ia poriasheba sebja Begu'" ("Olia says from the bottom of her heart, without doubt and firmly: 'I will devote myself to God'") (Remizov, *In the Pink Glow*, 286). First published in the paper *Polednie novosti*, August 20, 1933, no. 4533.

64. Remizov, "Golova Ivova," in *In the Pink Glow*. First published in *Polednie novosti*, July 16, 1933, no. 4498.

65. Remizov, *Possessed*, 65.

66. Remizov, "Against the Grain."

67. "Čto emu v nei ponravilos? Vse. Glaza v osobennosti: za čistotu, za nevinnost'..." [What did he like in her? Everything. Especially her eyes: for purity, for innocence...] (*Olia*, 155).

68. Remizov, *Possessed*, 65.

69. Blue is a traditional color of the Virgin in Russian-Byzantine iconography.

70. She copies a text of a prayer, "The Dream of the Virgin," using blue tracing paper (75). Later in the novel, when *Olia* enters a new "fiery red" stage of life, blue still remains dear to her and she covers an important book with a blue jacket because of its "sacred" color [*sakrotyvnyy svetl*] (477). Also see Raevsky-Hughes 1994, 11, about color symbolism in *Olia*. On another occasion Remizov employs the color blue to designate the innocence of a young girl who is being molested by her uncle in a train car on the Paris Metro (Remizov, *Liubov i liubova*, series 1, subseries 1, box 11, folder 9, Amherst archive).

71. Reznikova, 52.

72. The story was initially published under the title "Strannitsa" by the publishing house Revoliuzionnaia Mysl' (Petrograd, 1918). It was later reprinted in 1922 as "Wandering One" ("Bespriutnaia") (Berlin: Gutnov). I use this text for my analyses.

73. Some of Niuta's postnuptial circumstances seem to be based in the story of Remizov's mother, Maria Naidenova. She also married a much older widower, a merchant, for reasons other than love, and had five children with him in rapid succession. When the youngest, Alexei, was only a year old, Maria left her husband to move into a wing of her family home, bringing along the four surviving children. There she maintained an increasingly solitary existence (her husband died a few years later). Remizov perceived his mother as a long-suffering person, making her a prototype for some of his most tragic literary characters.

74. For parallels between Niuta's story and that of St. Feodora from *Life of Basil the New*, see Vozniak, 58-67. Vozniak even suggests that "Wandering One" might be considered a variation of "Solomonii" (59). Certain details of the tale suggest that Remizov's mother could have served as a prototype for the heroine.

75. Remizov, *In the Pink Glow*, 281.

76. Kodrianskaia 1959, 114.

77. Remizov, *In the Pink Glow*, 281.

78. Remizov, "Against the Grain." Although she never suggests this parallel as a key for a possible interpretation of the tale, Raevsky-Hughes, in her description of the white light as a symbol of Serafima's innocence, refers to the passage in Kodrianskaia 1959, 114, where Remizov discusses Solomonii's nature "et belogo sveta" (from the white light) (Raevsky-Hughes 1994, 17, note 8).

79. Remizov to Serafima Pavlovna, October 31, 1909, copied and edited by him, Serafima Pavlovna Remizova-Dovgello papers, book 11, 315, Reznikoff archive.

80. "Wandering One," 11. This is the first sentence of the tale.

81. Remizov counts his friend the poet Alexander Blok as another of these "white light" of the moon" people (Remizov, "Nepopravimoc," in *In the Pink Glow*).

82. Remizov, *In the Pink Glow*, 281-82.

83. Kodrianskaia 1959, 114; cited in next page reference.

84. Remizov, "Golova Ivova" (281) and "Against the Grain" (197-98), in *In the Pink Glow*.

85. Remizov considered red his "own" color. For more about this color symbolism see the chapter on *Marsau*.

86. Vasily Rozanov's words to Remizov about Serafima Pavlovna that Remizov found meaningful, yet another reference to her purity, which Rozanov opposed to his own "tree of life" nature (Remizov, "Olia," in *In the Pink Glow*, 285).

87. "Tema Solomonii blizka Remizovu: on chasto k nei covrasbaebactia, eto ego lichnaia tema. Sushcheitvo Solomonii 'lunnoe' (i.e. vne pola)" Reznikova, 110.

88. Remizov to Serafima Pavlovna, August 11, 1928, Serafima Pavlovna Remizova-Dovgello papers, book 14, 116.

89. Kodrianskaia 1959, 89.

90. *Posved* was the second of the Opleshnik editions. See Reznikova, *passim* and 109ff., and Gracheva, *Aleksei Remizov*, 311.

91. See also Reznikova, 110.

92. In Kushelev-Bezborodko the text of "Savva Grudtsyn" precedes that of "Solomonii."

93. Contrasting with Remizov's use of Kushelev-Bezborodko's manuscripts as a point of departure is Amfiteatrov's version of "Savva Grudtsyn" (*Benovataia Rus'* [Paris: Mednyi vsadnik, 1929]). As might be expected, Amfiteatrov's "Savva" is a historico-sociological study in which the narrative itself is relegated to the background. Amfiteatrov's thesis is that the content of demonic possession is secondary to the proto-adventure-novel format of the tale.

94. In Kushelev-Bezborodko she is only identified by her husband's name: "Bozhena's wife."

95. *Possessed*, 54. Also see *Liubov' i liubova*, *passim*.

96. Remizov, *Sobranie sochinenii*, 738. Pigin 1989 only deals with the Opleshnik version of the tale.

97. Gracheva, *Aleksei Remizov*, 187-217; hereafter cited in text.

98. *Ibid.*, 200. This text was later published in Remizov's novel *In the Pink Glow*.

99. "Liubov' pokret' i samyi grekh" Remizov, *Possessed*, 54.

100. "If they say 'sin' it means there is no love, love excludes sin." Remizov's entry from May 23, 1950 ("Kak nauchit'sia pisat'"), published in Gracheva and D'Amelia 2003, 284.

101. "Sin? Love excludes a thought of sin. 'Sacrifice' . . . love is always a sacrifice." Remizov's entry from June 5, 1950, *Ibid.*

102. "Solomoniei i Grudtsynym otkryvatsia moia povest' o liubvi. Etogo nikto ne zametil!" (Kodrianskaia 1959, 114.)

103. Remizov's emphasis.

104. Kukovnikov, (Remizov) "Manuscripts and Drawings of A. Remizov." Drawing can also function as a mnemonic device. Sometimes, Remizov says, he needs a drawing to help him find the right words: "chtoby čto-nibud' tvrdo zapomnit', mne malo slov, mne nadoben eshe i risunok . . ." (Remizov, *With Clipped Eyes*, 48).

105. In reference to his *Solomonii* drawings in particular Remizov wrote "ia ne khudezbnik, [. . .] samye primitivnyy" (Remizov to Amfiteatrov, September 4, 1930).

106. Remizov to Amfiteatrov, October 10, 1930.

Chapter 6

1. In the most complete list of Remizov's illustrated albums, entitled "Handwritten Albums with Pictures by A. Remizov" ("Rukopisnye albomy s kartinkami A. Remizova"), the album almost certainly corresponds to entry number 258. Although in the transcription of the list published in D'Amelia 1987, 161–66, the album is listed as *Sibirskie skazki* (186), the actual record number 258, now in the Reznikoff collection, is broken off at "Sibirsk ..."

2. The rest of the inscriptions are collector's marks. Pages are numbered in black ballpoint in the lower left corner of each page. On the recto of the cover: "a37"; along the top edge toward the right in black marker: "1 à 15."

3. These two publications are in folio format, consisting of eight pages with six leaves of plates. They measure 39 cm.

4. RGALI, F. 420, op. 6, no. 4. Both albums have a "Sibirskii skaz" title page in Remizov's handwriting. The album list specifies that *Sibirskii skaz* (number 258) contained twenty drawings, which, once we add the fourteen extant images in the Reznikoff album (removed from the last page of the album; glue marks still remain), brings the count sufficiently close to the cited number. Either the remaining two images were lost together with the pages to which they were pasted, or the count might have been inaccurate (the last three entries on the list of albums were made in shorthand in Serafima Pavlovna's handwriting).

5. *Sibirskii priami: Bol'shim i dlia mal'bykh rebiat skazki* (Peterburg: Alkonost, 1919).

6. Berlin: Skäfy, 1922, 11. For more bibliographical information on the published texts and manuscript drafts of *Sibirskii skaz*, see Alexei Remizov, *Collected Works: Doklady i balagurye*, vol. 2 (Moscow: Russkaia Kniga, 2000), 673–77.

7. The location of this album is unknown.

8. A late nineteenth-century source that Remizov himself cited described a Lapp belief that a shaman must maintain total silence while beckoning the animals, and if he were to utter a single word he would at once turn into stone (Kharuzin 1889, 67). For oral bases of shamanistic poetry see Revunenkovva 1989, 395.

9. See Lampl, 53–54.

10. "S utra sidel z'yrianiin, rasukazyval mne o legendakh. Seichas pol-doenadzatogo, on ushel na dva chasa, potom priidet i budet chitat' svoi proizvedeniia do petukhov." "To'ko chto ushel z'yrianiin. Ostavil material'no z'yrianiiskikh legend. Kak tol'ko priidet, primus' za pisanie nebol'shibk stikhotvoreni' v proze" (Remizov to Serafima Pavlovna, May 27, 1903; Serafima Pavlovna Remizova-Dovgello papers, book 10, Reznikoff archive).

11. Remizov to Serafima Pavlovna, Serafima Pavlovna Remizova-Dovgello papers, book 10. The letter from June 23, 1903, names two stories from the cycle. His letter dated June 24 gives a list of all eight stories: "Zakonchil' Z'yrianiiskii mir'. Poluchilos' raskladnaia kartina 1) Omei' i En, 2) Pelcenziza, 3) Bybulia, 4) Iketa, 5) Kikimora, 6) Kutia-Voixy (ispravleno), 7) Zaklinanie vetra, 8) Oshka-moshka (ispravleno)." Reznikoff archive.

12. It is likely that Remizov learned about Kharuzin's work on the Lapps from the 1890 paper on primitive paganism by Vladimir Soloviev. Soloviev based his extensive description of the Lapp religious customs on Kharuzin's recently published "O no'idakh u drevnikh i sovremennykh loparej," in *Etnograficheskoe obozrenie*, book 1 (Moscow: Russkaia Tipografia, 1889). See Vladimir Soloviev, "Pervobytnoe iazychestvo, ego zhivye i mertvye ostatki," in *Sobranie Sochinenii Vladimira Sergeevicha*

Solovieva, vol. 6, 1886–1896 (St. Petersburg: Obshchestvennaia Pol'za, 1901).

13. See bibliography for more information. Remizov cited many ethnographic sources by name. In *Splinter*, for example, Remizov refers to the journals *Zhivota starina* and *Etnograficheskoe obozrenie*, 164. For more on Remizov's use of books as sources for his work also see Kodrianskaia 1959, 110, 115, and 293. On Remizov's use of scientific literature, especially ethnographic works about the Zyrian culture, see Iu. V. Rozanov's "Nauchnaia kniga v tvorcheskomo soznanii A. Remizova" ("The Scientific Book in Alexei Remizov's Creative Consciousness"), in Gracheva and D'Amelia 2003. For Remizov's close familiarity with turn-of-the-century anthropological publications, see Weiss, 243, note 8. In addition to these purely anthropological sources Remizov was probably familiar with Vladimir Soloviev's long essay "Pervobytnoe iazychestvo, ego zhivye i mertvye ostatki" (1890) where Soloviev describes shamanism and *no'idy* in detail. Reprinted in Soloviev's posthumous collected works, vol. 6, 158–214 (see note 12 above).

14. I. Tolstoy and N. Kondakov, *Russkiiia drevnosti o pamiatnikakh iskusstva* (St. Petersburg: n.p.), I. T. Savenkov, *O drevnikh pamiatnikakh izobrazitel'nago iskusstva na Enisee* (Moscow: Tipografiia Lissnera i Sovko).

15. *Birzhevyie vedomosti*, March 19, 1910, no. 12132, 3; 20 March 1910, no. 12623, 6. Cited in Parton, 102.

16. Among these were Ivan Shchukin's collection, Teploukhov's collection, and the Siberian collection of the Kunstskamera in Petersburg.

17. See Rosenthal 1987, 198.

18. Kharuzin 1889, 50, and Kharuzin 1890, 218. Also see Weiss, 243, note 8.

19. Kharuzin 1889, 53. Also see Weiss, 243, note 8.

20. Remizov, *Chakhdbygyv—Tausu: Sibirskii skaz*, 37.

21. Slobin, 84–88.

22. Klements. See also Weiss, 244, note 13.

23. Anuchin 1899, fig. 13, 99. Spitsyn, fig. 260, 115.

24. Reproduced in *Diószegi* 1998, 6.

25. Spitsyn, fig. 168, 103.

26. Anokhin published several reproductions of such drums (Anokhin, figs. 67–71, 54ff).

27. Bogoraz 1904–9, fig. 205A.

28. Bogoraz 1904–9, 293ff.

29. *Diószegi* 1978, 87, 108–9.

30. *Ibid.*

31. A. S. Sidorov, 14.

32. *Diószegi* 1978, 117.

33. According to Anuchin "it is well known that gagars like to roost and swim on objects (pieces of wood) that are carried by the river, and an ensieian who sees such a bird says that it was sent by some shaman" (Anuchin 1914, 56).

34. Spitsyn, fig. 347, 128.

35. Zelenin 1936, 10.

36. Anuchin 1899, 117, figs. 62 and 68.

37. Spitsyn, fig. 260. A pendant in the shape of a bear with game in its paws is also reproduced in Zelenin 1936, fig. 31, 95.

38. Spitsyn, figs. 378 and 380, 130.

39. Anuchin 1899, fig. 41, 108.
 40. Reproduced in *Diószegi* 1978, fig. 13, 109.
 41. Spitsyn, 397.
 42. Anuchin 1899, fig. 53, 113. This image is marked as "lizard" (*iashcher*).
 43. Plesovskiy, 38, and A. S. Sidorov, 18–19.
 44. Spitsyn, fig. 340, 127.
 45. Moscow: Russian Academy of Sciences, 1936.
 46. Zelenin 1936, 10–14. The animals from the five missing drawings in the album could also be found in Zelenin's text. Among the illustrated *ogony* are the frog figurine, the bear plaque, and the bear with prey, figs. 12, 30, and 31, respectively.
 47. See Zelenin, *Vélikoruskie skazki Viat'skoi gubernii: s prilozheniem shesti voiat'skikh skazok* (Petrograd: Tipografiya. A. V. Orlova, 1915); *Vélikoruskie skazki Permskoi gubernii s prilozheniem, dvoznatni Bashkirskikh skazok i odnoi Meshcherianskoi* (Petrograd: Tip. A. V. Orlova, 1914).
 48. Alexei Remizov and Serafima Remizova-Dovgello Papers, series 1, subseries 1, box 8, folder 2, Amherst Center for Russian Culture archive. I will discuss this correspondence later in the chapter.
 49. Kharuzin 1889, 53.
 50. I. N. Agapitov and M. N. Khangalov, *Materialy dlia izucheniia shamanstva v Sibiri: Shamanstvo u buriat Irkut'skoi gubernii; Izvestiia Vostochno-sibirskogo otdel Imperatorskogo Russkogo geograficheskogo obshchestva*, vol. 14, nos. 1–2 (Irkutsk, 1883), 1–61. Cited in Zelenin 1936, 13.
 51. For more on Kulak brings see Kosarev, 133ff.
 52. F. 420, op. 4, no. 4, p. 3.
 53. "Gde-to odnazhdy, a mozhet, ne raz my vstrechalis' . . . vy zakovannyi v latsy i krestom, la vo moi ostri list'i sbapke pod voi i boi buha" (Remizov, *Vzvikhrennaia Rus'*, 385).
 54. F. Vrangeli, *Puteshestviia po severnym beregam Sibiri i po Ledovitomu moriu, sovershennoe v 1820–1824gg. ekspeditsiei, sostoiavsei pod nachal'svom flota leitnanta Ferdinanda fon Vrangelia*, ch. 1 (St. Petersburg, 1841), 187ff. M. N. Khangalov, *Dnevnik 1906 goda*; cited in Mikhailov, 190. Also see Kulakov. For a more extensive discussion of *dozoverie* among the Buriat, see Mikhailov, 195–203.
 55. Compare Kharuzin 1890, 219, and Prikolonsky, 90ff. Prikolonsky also points out that the shamanistic beliefs of Russian Orthodox merchants were reflected in their observation of sacrificial practices. A. F. Middendorff notes the superficial character of Yakut Christianity (827). See also V. L. Serovskiy, *Iakuty*, vol. 1 (St. Petersburg, 1896) and N. P. Pipusov, "Svedeniia dlia izucheniia shamanstva u iakutov Iakut'skogo okruga," in *Svedeniia vostochno-sibirskogo otdeleniia imperatorskogo rossiiskogo geograficheskogo obshchestva* (Irkutsk, 1884), vol. 15, nos. 3–4; cited in Alekseev, 107–10.
 56. Writing on the Lapps, Kharuzin points out their half-pagan disposition: "In reality, under this outside film of Christianity the Lapps conceal views and beliefs of bygone pagan times" (Kharuzin 1889, 58). Also see Manker, 13–14.
 57. Kandinsky 1889, 102ff. Kandinsky specified that his study concerns only the Syolsk and the Vychegod'sk Zyrian. I will come back to Kandinsky's ethnographic work later in the chapter.
 58. "[*Sovremennoi*] shamanstvo predstavliaet sob' poslednieiu dymiashebniaiu gol-

veiku zbertvennogo kostra prezhnego shamanstva—nel'zia s etoi golovevskoi shbitat'sia kak s prezhnim kostrom i prodolzhat' v odnoi straike udubhivogo dyma energii prezhnego plameni: ee sleduet dogazit'" (Termin, 138).

59. Anisimov, 105.
 60. Remizov, *Siberian Tale*, 37. For more on Remizov's use of *dozoverie* in his fiction see Rosenthal 1987, 201ff. Marcadé even argued that Remizov derived his demonology (*démonologie rémizovienne*) from *dozoverie* by citing the Slavist Pierre Pascal; Pascal, who was also a friend of Remizov, had proposed that *dozoverie* is intrinsic to the religious practice of the Russian people (Marcadé 1998, 26–27, and note 13).
 61. For an early description of shamanistic ecstasy see Kharuzin 1889, 55–56, and Mikhailovskiy 1895, 81. Also in Hultkrantz, 30.
 62. Similar ideas about physical ecstasy as a way to spiritual clairvoyance surfaced in the writings of early-twentieth-century theosophists and other mystics. See, for example, M. V. Lodyzhevskiy, *Sverksobznanie i puti k ego dostizheniiu: Induskaia Radzha-Ioga i Khristianskaia Podviznichestvo* (St. Petersburg, 1912), 132–50. Cited in Vozniak, 64.
 63. Cited in Revunenko 1989, 394.
 64. "Ne kazhdomu damo iukustvo shamanit'; emu nel'zia nauchitsia; eto—chto-to prizvhdennoe" (Anuchin 1914, 23); also see Mikhailovskiy, 73.
 65. Eliade, 493.
 66. Kharuzin 1889, book 1, 43. Remizov talked about the *noids* and their magic role in Lapp folklore in the chapter "Noida," in *Music Teacher*, 18–20.
 67. Mikhailovskiy, passim.
 68. Kandinsky 1889, 102–10.
 69. See Kozhevnikov, 2.
 70. "Seicbas on nachnet vorozhit'—ved' en ne chitait, a vorozhit'—i kogo tol'ko ne zavorozhival on svojim chtivniem" (Kodrianskia 1959, 13). Sinany-MacLeod dedicated an article to Remizov's literary sorcery: "Volshebnoe myshlenie A. M. Remizova: 'Myshkin dudochka'" ("Magical Mentality of A. M. Remizov: 'Myshkina Dudochka") in Gracheva and D'Amelia 1994, 124–28.
 71. "Golos moi kak budto ikh zacharoval" (161). Also see Reznikova, 80, and A. M. Gracheva, "Aleksii Remizov i Pushkinskii Dom," 185.
 72. "Opleshnik—staroe russkoe, oznachai't charovnik; oplatat' (opleshnik)—ocharovyvai't. A takzhe charovnaia zavod, mesto obarovaniia, kak 'brukul.'" This explanation follows the "Opleshnik" bibliography at the end of Remizov's *Povest' o dvoikh zver'kai: Ikhénat* (Opleshnik, 1950). Also see Reznikova, 12.
 73. Kozhevnikov, 21, cited in Gracheva 1997, 186–87. Il'in offers an eloquent description of Remizov's "zverchieski igraivushche vol'kovannii" (creatively playful wizardry) (Il'in, 285–90).
 74. For an overview of shamans' perceived madness, see Revunenko 1974, passim. Also see Weiss, 231, note 4.
 75. "Pokazyvaet seb'ia pomesnannym v ume, izamlennym i boiazivnym" (Mikhailovskiy, 73 and note 44).
 76. "Shamanstvo est' psikhopatologicheskoe iavlenie, ono svyazano s isteriei, epilepticheskimi i rezko vyrazhennymi neravnymi pripadkami" (Rychkov, 3). Also see Bogoraz 1910, 6. As late as 1929 a Marxist ethnographer G. V. Ksenonov in his separately

published article "Kul't sumasshestviia v uralo-altaiskom shamanizme" ("The Cult of Madness in the Ural-Altai Shamanism") described what he called "a shamanistic illness" as schizophrenia; see note on page 17. The few Russian writers who resisted looking at shamans as psychologically disturbed and recognized their ability to incorporate ecstasy into the *kamlanie* ritual still described them as abnormal personalities (Shirokogorov, 60-61).

77. Andrei Siniavsky offers a convincing reconstruction of Remizov's self-deprecating attempts to play up his abnormality. Siniavsky also notes Remizov's self-association with a "wild Siberian shaman" and "an omnipotent wizard" (26, 31).

78. Remizov diary entry, November 1, 1956, in Kodrianskaia 1959, 297. In his 1889 study on the Zyrian, Kandinsky gives a similar etymology of the word (104).

79. Dobuzhinsky, for instance, refers to Remizov's display of toys as "nonsense" (277). Nina Berberova (1907) was annoyed by Remizov's domestic "myth-making," which she believed to be artificial, unnecessary. Smirensky was similarly put off by the artificiality of Remizov's interior decor and appearance (166ff). It was at once enchanted by the magical quality of the writer's apartment and scared by the implicit paganism of his toys and monsters (290).

80. Among others, the rope is described in Kodrianskaia 1959, 33, and Filipov, "Zametki ob A. Remizove," in *Russkii Al'manakh* (Paris: n.p., 1981), 223.

81. See also the list of Remizov's toys given to the Pushkin House, nos. 8, 16, 26, 41, 69 (Gracheva 1997, 209-10).

82. Anisimov, 100-101.

83. See Zelenin 1936, passim.

84. Anisimov, 104.

85. Mongush B. Kenin-Lopsan, 39.

86. Bogoraz 1904-9, 281.

87. *Ibid.*, 294-95.

88. Kodrianskaia 1959, 119.

89. *Ibid.*, 121.

90. "... I gliadiat so stola i so steny malen'kimi bozhkami" (Kozhevnikov, 2).

91. Remizov, *Along the Ledges*, 106, 111.

92. "Rogat[ykh], krylat[ykh], krovat[ykh]." 93.

93. Remizov to Piotr Ust'movich, October 15, 1926, published in Gracheva 1997. During the following decade, Remizov placed the retraced (and amended) copies of the drawing in some of his illustrated albums. I found this drawing in *Monashek* (Houghton collection), *Medvez'bia kalybel'naia* (Bear Lullaby) (Andreev collection, Paris), *Legenda o Solomone i Kitovrate* (Legend of Solomon and Kitovrat) (Guerra collection, Paris), *Volk-Samoglot* (Wolf-Omnivore) (Amherst collection), and *Ritunki pisatelei* (Writers' Drawings) (IRLI). See introduction, fig. A.1.

94. For more explanation on the context of this gift, see Gracheva 1997.

95. Kharuzin 1889, 53.

96. Anuchin, for example, wrote that "anybody who has his own spirits (*dukhi*) is a future shaman" (Anuchin 1914, vol. 2, part 2, 30).

97. Kodrianskaia 1959, 119. Fortunately, the toys survived and were even displayed in one of Remizov's exhibits. Pictures of the Pushkin House 1992 installation of the toys (reconstructing Bulla's photograph) were published in *Alexei Remizov: Issledovaniia i materialy*, ed. Gracheva and D'Amelia, 1994.

98. "Stann[ykh], okamenn[ykh], derevian[n]ykh sushchestv" (Kodrianskaia 1959, 120).

99. Kozhevnikov described the Maroun toys in his interview (2). Cited in Gracheva 1997, 186-87.

100. Zelenin 1929, passim.

101. Anuchin 1914, 23.

102. Krippner, 382.

103. T. V. Gamkrelidze and V. V. Ivanov, *Indoevropskiiazyk i indoevropskoye rekonstitutsiia i istoriko-tipologicheski analiz praiazyka i protokaltury*, volume 2 (Tbilisi: Tbilisi University, 1984), 835-36. Cited in Revunenkova 1989, 395.

104. "Ves'ma neradko, v dosuzhie dni, shamana prosiat poshamaniti 'bez vsiakoio opredelenoi tseli, proto dlia razvechebniia, i v takom sluchae on zameniaet skazochnika. Obyknoevno pri etom shaman razskazyvaet o stranakh i narodakh, poputno povtorit, inogda var'iruiia, obshcherevniuiu skazku, legendu, pridanie. Shamany, kstati sbitaiusia luchshimi, peredavaia razgovor skazochnykh gerov, mimikriuiuit i zhestikuliruiuit, staraiausia roch' kazhdogo attemi'proiznasheniem, na raznye golosa govoriat: zveri rybat, ptitsy klyubit svoimi golosami; inogda eta zvukopodrazhatel'nost' dostigaet virtuzoznosti. . . . Shaman, ne obladaiuschii sposobnost'iu sudzavot' skazki i legendy, ne umiiauschii izobrazit' geroiia, ne budet imet' uspekha" (Anuchin 1914, 26).

105. Remizov, *Splinter*, 145. Also see Gracheva 1997: "Slava skazochnika prochno zakrepil'sia za pisatelem," 185.

106. A. M. Remizov, *Sochineniia: Limonar'*, vol. 6 (Moscow: Russkaja Kniga, 2001), 764.

107. Kodrianskaia 1959, 132.

108. See Gracheva, *Aleksei Remizov i dreverusskaia kul'tura*, passim.

109. Reznikova, 80.

110. "My voice, as if enchanted them . . ." (Remizov, *Splinter*, 161).

111. Shternberg, 11. For more on the special artistic and poetic gifts of the shamans in the Mongol and Buriat cultures see B. Baradin, "Voprosy stsenicheskogo iskusstva buriat-mongolov," in *Zhizn' Buriatit'*, 1924, no. 6, 80; cited in Mikhailov, 127-28.

112. Revunenkova, 394.

113. Remizov, *Splinter*, 115.

114. "Edi merit' zbitiuiu obyknovennogo chlovuka, trudno sebe predstavit', kak skazochnik sushchestvuet na belom svete," published by Gracheva and D'Amelia in *Alexei Remizov: Issledovaniia i materialy*, 1994, 220.

115. For detailed studies of Remizov's style, see Rosenthal 1979 and 1987, Zavalishin, Shane, and Danilova.

116. See Shane and Rosenthal 1987.

117. Revunenkova 1989, 395.

118. *Ibid.*

119. N. Adriani, *Magische Sprache: Festschrift Meinhof* (Hamburg, 1927), 375. Cited in Revunenkova 1989, 396.

120. G. N. Potanin, *Očerki Severo-Zapadnoi Mongolii* (St. Petersburg, 1883), part 4, 61. Anuchin 1914, vol. 2, part 2, V. G. Bogoraz, *Materialy po izucheniiu chukotskogo iazyka i fol'klora* (St. Petersburg, 1899), part 1, 35; cited in Mikhailov, 127-28. On Remizov's work with folk sources, see Schilling, Katalin Sieke notes the intermediary function of the shaman as a keeper of narrative in "Problema identifikatsii avtobiograficheskogo geroiia," in Gracheva and D'Amelia 2003, 21.

121. "Lbom v stenu!" Published by Alla Gracheva in Gracheva and D'Amelia 2003, 293.
122. Kodrianskaia 1959, 303.
123. Eliade, 103.
124. Krippner, 389.
125. For an insightful discussion of the significance of dreams for Remizov, see Pym.
126. Berberova, 304.
127. See Pym, 55.
128. "Cherez son chelovek pronikaet na 'tot' svet; eto edinstvennaia dverka" (Series 1, subseries 1, box 11, folder 9/11, Amherst archive).
129. Manker, 4.
130. Heinze, 355.
131. Mongush B. Kenin-Lopsan, 77.
132. V. N. Vaslev, *Shamanski kositum i buben u iakutov. Sbornik muzeia po antropologii i etnografii pri imperatorskoi akademii nauk 1* (St. Petersburg, 1910), 2.
133. See Bogoraz 1904-9.
134. Cited in Kodrianskaia 1959, 156.
135. For a discussion of the different cultural traditions of *The Book of the Dead*, see Eliade, 577.
136. This drawing is published opposite page 244 in Kodrianskaia 1959. It may have come from a collection of drawings or even an album.
137. S. A. Tokarev, *Rannie formy religii* (Moscow: Nauka, 1964), 63 and 283. Also see Mikhailovsky, 40-43; and Zelenin 1936, 228ff.
138. Cited in Hoppál, 274.
139. "U ljudi i zverei odin i tot zbe iazyk, iz zbe stremeniia" (People and animals have the same language, the same aspirations), Tokarev, 117.
140. Zelenin describes something similar when he talks about how Siberians transferred the idea of vengeance onto the relationship with animals (208ff).
141. A. S. Sidorov sees the juxtaposition of the zoomorphic and anthropomorphic mythological figures as a reflection of the Zyrian transition from matriarchal (zoomorphic idols) to patriarchal (anthropomorphic idols) society, 14.
142. Gracheva notes that in the early drafts of the story the actors are "in part" human, but Remizov turns them into animals in subsequent versions. Gracheva, *Aleksii Remizov*, 173.
143. *Sibirskii skaz*, f. 420, op. 6, no. 4, p. 2, IRLI.
144. Hultkrantz, 30. Also in Heinze, 355.
145. Mikhailovsky, 6: "ljudi ikluchitel'no odarennye po svoei organizatii, iaciviatuobscizia posrednikami mezdu svoimi soplemennikami i etimi zagadobnymi silami." For more on the liminality of shamans, see Dooley, 43-56.
146. Heinze, 356. Also see Bogoraz 1913, 33.
147. Peg Weiss noticed just that when she described Remizov's cover design for *Zvenigorod oklikannyi* [1924] (figure 1) as "intend[ing] to emphasize the role of the artist as intermediary" (Weiss, 244, note 13).
148. "Kakasia v cheloveke sila, iz shamana mozet ikhodit' ogon', vydykbat' ogon'" (Remizov, cited in Kodrianskaia 1959, 131).

149. Compare Mikhailov, 59-60.

150. Revunenkova 1989 lists several studies that connect Russian symbolist writers (Balmont, Bely, Blok, Ivanov) with this and other aspects of shamanistic traditions (396).

151. Weiss, 132-33.

152. Parton, 102-9.

153. *Ibid.*, 103-4.

154. The portrait is in a private collection; its whereabouts are unknown.

155. Kelemen, 189-90. Ady's book of verses came out in French translation in 1930 (Budapest: Librairie française), translated by Louis Joseph Föti.

156. Richardson, 114. Although I could not find any evidence of direct communication between Remizov and Bataille, Remizov should have at least known about the French writer who, in the midtwenties, studied with Lev Shestov; Remizov's close friend of many years. For Bataille's work with Shestov, see Richardson, 30-32.

157. Richardson, 112-14.

158. Kandinsky 1889.

159. Weiss, 75-77.

160. *Ibid.*, 213, note 17.

161. The drawings are dated "vers 1923." Later Kandinsky confirmed the date in his letter of November 11, 1938, to Remizov. Marcadé cites Kandinsky's 1933 letter to Zervos where he sets the number of drawings between fifteen and twenty (Marcadé 1998, 27). The Kandinsky archive at the Pompidou Center contains rejection letters from publishers dating to 1926 (Kandinsky-Remizov correspondence, Bibliothèque Kandinsky, Centre de documentation et de recherche du Musée national d'art moderne-Centre Pompidou, 780 bis.).

162. For another description of Remizov's letters, see Marcadé 1998. When he wrote about the Remizov letters, the location of Kandinsky's responses was unknown to Marcadé (29, note 24).

163. Weiss, 144; for Weiss's analysis of shamanistic imagery in Kandinsky's illustrations of Remizov's tales, see 143-45.

164. See Weiss, 244, note 9; and Marcadé 1998, 27. I was able to reconstruct this context using Kandinsky's unpublished letters to Remizov from the Amherst archive. See Remizov and Serafima Pavlovna Remizova-Dovgello Papers, series 1, subseries 1, box 2, folder 7, item nos. 11-14.

165. Marcadé (27) and Gracheva ("Krug scbat'ia," 204) believe that the two met in Berlin, but the correspondence suggests otherwise. In his letter of December 28, 1936, Kandinsky assured Remizov that he would come to the Bucher gallery at 5 p.m. on Thursday, and he was delighted to be meeting the writer in person at last (Amherst archive, box 2, folder 7, item no. 13).

166. Remizov's four letters are in the Pompidou archive (883-86 Comm. réservé).

167. The Bucher gallery exhibition of Kandinsky's recent paintings, watercolors, and graphic work from 1910 to 1935 ran December 3-19, 1936. Remizov's acquaintance with Bucher dates back at least to the summer of 1935, when the gallery owner offered, in a letter to Serafima Pavlovna, to buy one of Remizov's manuscripts (Amherst archive, series 1, subseries 1, box 2, folder 3, no. 206). Jeanne Bucher was later one of the translators for Remizov's *Ou finit l'escalier: Récits de la*

quatrième dimension; *Contes et légendes*, published by Editions du Pavois in 1947.

168. Parts of this letter are cited in D'Amelia 2000, where it is misdated to 1939 (70-71). Marcadé 1998 mentions the letter as well (27).

169. Remizov to Kandinsky, February 3, 1937.

170. *Cabiers G.L.M. Trajectoire du Réve*, 1938, no. 7, edited by André Breton, "Six rêves de Pouchkine."

171. Remizov to Kandinsky, November 6, 1938 (Kandinsky-Remizov correspondence, Bibliothèque Kandinsky, Centre de documentation et de recherché du Musée national d'art moderne—Centre Pompidou, 886).

172. Kandinsky to Remizov, November 11, 1938.

173. Kandinsky to Remizov, November 16, 1938.

174. Kandinsky-Remizov correspondence, Bibliothèque Kandinsky, Centre de documentation et de recherché du Musée national d'art moderne—Centre Pompidou, 885.

175. See Weiss, 244, note 14. Some of the tales and illustrations to them were eventually published in the 1948 catalog *Kandinsky: Oeuvres de Vassily Kandinsky (1866-1944)*, Christian Derouet and Jaessica Boissel (Paris: Centre Georges Pompidou), and in 1998 in *Macaronis et autres contes, Remizov/Kandinsky* (Nantes: Editions Memo).

176. "Tekst: sčen' vazhno khoroshaia bumaga. Ni Vam, ni mne ne interesno bylo by poiarvenie v 'zhalom' vide. Ne pravda li?" (Amherst archive, series 1, subseries 1, box 2, folder 7, item no. 11).

177. I address this album (held in the Houghton collection) in more detail in chapter 1. Two years after that, on November 4, 1939, Remizov signed the album as a gift to Lev Solomonovich Poliak, parting with his "unique exemplar" for good. It must have been the case that by then Remizov had given up on the idea of publishing his manuscript as well.

178. "Dia nikh, kak ia zametil, vazhno Vash, t.e. na Vashem imeni oni mogut 'čto-to sdelat' i izdaniem" (Remizov to Kandinsky, November 6, 1938, Bibliothèque Kandinsky, Centre de documentation et de recherché du Musée national d'art moderne—Centre Pompidou, 886).

179. Remizov to Kandinsky, December 23, 1936, Bibliothèque Kandinsky, Centre de documentation et de recherché du Musée national d'art moderne—Centre Pompidou, 883.

180. "Okazyvaetsia, seichas v zhivopisii dva napravleniia, i ia stariisui' opredelit' sobia, ot kogo ia proiskhozhu: ot Malevicha ili ot Kandinskogo?" (It turns out that there are two directions in painting, and I strive to define myself: from whom do I descend, from Malevich or from Kandinsky?) (Reznikova, 64).

181. From "La collection Solomon R. Guggenheim. L'art abstrait nous revivendrait-il triomphant d'Amérique?" (Amherst archive, series 1, subseries 1, box 6, folder 6, item no. 131).

182. "Pictures—illustrations of the most vivid dreams—in a mosaic frame; on a gilded background of red, light blue, black—speckled, plaid and net-patterned" (Remizov, "Sonnik," 229).

183. Weiss, 144.

184. "Dia menia bylo by sčen' bol'shim udovol'stviem vidiet' svoi risunki riadom s vašimi chudnyimi tekstami" (Remizov to Kandinsky, November 11, 1938, Biblio-

theque Kandinsky, Centre de documentation et de recherché du Musée national d'art moderne—Centre Pompidou, 883).

185. The Amherst archive has some of her correspondence with Serafima Pavlovna Remizova—Dovgello, series 2, subseries 1, box 30, folder 2.

186. The pertinent correspondence is in the Amherst archive, series 1, subseries 1, box 8, folder 2.

187. Not in Remizov's handwriting.

188. "Je les tiens d'un ami qui me les a apporté de Tomsk (Sibérie) en août 1910."

189. Remizov stayed with Ivanov-Razumnik from July 30 until August 20, 1910 (Remizov, *Adresa ego i marishruty pocsadok* [1905-12], National Public Library, folder 634/1, item 3, p. 4; cited in *Dokuka i balagar'e* [Moscow: Russkaia Kniga, 2003] 641, note for 156-57).

190. "V isentne kolektsiui, na stole, na kartonnom p'dostale nabholitsia 'Maruun' (ot lat. slova mare)—sachek s narostom, nedavno naidennyi pisatелеm na skale, na ostrove Vandrohe . . . Eto morskoie subčestvo, tsar' ostrovo Bur-Buruna (ili Vandroka). Pod nim ego mech' i sbobit . . . i nakonetz dve 'kamenny'e (rogovye) ryby: 'Simp'a i 'Fhundra', na kotorykh derzbitisia ostrov 'Peter-Burun' (Kozhevnikov, 2; cited in Gracheva 1997).

191. "Sibirskii skaz—Peterburgskii s nim sviazana pamiat' o iakute i buriate, kotorye togda poivavilis' u nas na Ostrove" (Remizov, *Siberian Gingerbread*, 1919; IRLI, folder 256/1, no. 86; cited in Gracheva 1992, 20).

192. "My zbilii na Olandskikh ostrovokh: ostrov Vandrok—severnaiia kkmuraina pustynia: skaly i more . . . I mne pochuidilo, čto pitcbika moe serdca, ia smotriu s kamnia i mne vidno: tam u lesa na zbarine brunika. I chivostuiu kak moe serdca ceteleto v ce serdca—v tot mig i ona smotrit s kamnia i videla: tam u lesa na zbarine brunika. Našli glaza, našli ruki, našle serdca spaiariy—perevivalis' luchami" (Remizov, *In the Pink Glow*, 309-11).

193. He had donated Maroun (the wooden spirit) to the Pushkin House some thirty years earlier.

Conclusion

1. D. Severiukhin and O. Leikind, *Khudzbniki russkoi emigratsii (Artists of the Russian Emigration)* (Petersburg: Chernyshev Publishing House, 1994), 378.

2. See chapter 6, note 1. Another, shorter list of 157 albums was originally published in *Nov'*, 1935 (8) and reprinted in Gracheva 1992, 43-44.

3. In her recent essay on Remizov's illustrated albums, D'Amelia suggested an analogous progression from textual to visual in Remizov's graphic work (D'Amelia 2000, 68ff.).

4. These are the numbers from the list of illustrated albums that Remizov put in the upper left corner of the albums' covers.

5. See Gracheva, who observed a similar reliance on images as much as on words in what she called "the graphic variants" of Remizov's books from the 1940s (Gracheva, "Krug sčast'ia," 205).

6. See figures 4, 8, and 9.

7. There is an additional, biographical explanation for the seemingly abrupt end of Remizov's album-making: in early June 1940, a German bomb hit his rue Bouleau apartment building, triggering Serafima Pavlovna's sickness from which she never recovered. See Remizov, *Olia*, 297.

8. See chapter 4.

9. According to Annenkov, Remizov produced two or three drawings a day during this time (218).

10. This assertion came out in Remizov's revised version of *Writers' Drawings* (1934; revised around 1949), *Peterburgskii buerak*, 398.

11. Cited in Bowlit, unpublished statement by Remizov, 1947, Reznikoff collection.

12. *Al'bum Tristana koncil—175 kartinok, otzad v pereplet* (Remizov to N. Kodrianskaia, June 29, 1951, in Kodrianskaia 1977, 185).

13. In a May 22, 1951, letter to Natal'ia Kodrianskaia, Remizov tells her that he draws as he reads the original *Tristan and Isolde* tale in preparation for making his own rendition: *"Dlia vsu na vsheci bumage risuiu—budet bol'shoi al'bum. I medlenno obitaiu text"* (Kodrianskaia 1977, 179).

14. Iurii Molok describes Remizov's progress somewhat differently, believing that it took the writer from calligraphy to manuscript draftlike drawing in realization of his "philological graphic" (*slovestnaia grafika*) or "graphic philology" (*graficheskaia slovestnost'*) (155–56). This trajectory, in Molok's opinion, opposes the more usual development from sketches to more refined draftsmanship.

15. Remizov to Kodrianskaia, December 5, 1954, in Kodrianskaia 1977, 374.

16. Kodrianskaia 1959, 56.

17. *"Kbotel narivocat—sebia, poimal, risuiu. Eto pered kazhdnoi glavoi, eto beskonechno... beskonechno..."* (Kodrianskaia 1959, 329).

BIBLIOGRAPHY

Ades, Dawn. Afterword to *Investigating Sex: Surrealist Research 1928–1932*. Edited by José Pierre. Translated by Malcolm Imrie. London: Verso, 1992.

Alekseev, N. A. *Traditsionnyie religioznye verovaniia iakutov v XIX-nachale XX v.* Novosibirsk: Nauka, 1975.

Amfiteatrov, Aleksandr. *Oderzhimaina Rus': Demonicheskaia povesti XVII veka*. Berlin: Mednyi Vsadnik, 1929.

———. *Russkii Pop XVIIgo veka*. Belgrad: Russkaia Tipografia, 1930.

———. "Solomonii besnovataia: Chelovecheskii document XVII veka." In *I ciberii i tsvety (Demons and Flowers)*, 1–59. St. Petersburg: Energiia, 1913.

Anisimov, A. F. "The Shaman's Tent of the Events and the Origin of the Shamanistic Rite." In *Studies in Siberian Shamanism*, edited by Henry N. Michael, 84–123. Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1963.

Annenkov, Iurii. *Dnevnik moich vstrech: Tikh tragoiia*, vol. 1. New York: Mezhdunarodnoe Literaturnoe Sodruzhestvo, 1966.

Anokhin, A. M. *Materialy po shamanstvu u altaitsov*. Sbornik Muzeia Antropologii i Etnografii pri Rossiiskoi Akademii Nauk. Vol. 4, no. 2. Leningrad, 1924.

Anuchin, D. N. "K istorii iskusstva i verovaniu u Priural'skoi Chudi." In *Materialy po arkhologii vostocnykh gubernii* 3, 87–161. Moscow: Sharapov Publishing House, 1899.

———. *Ocherk shamanstva u Entsieskikh ostiakov*. Sbornik Muzeia Antropologii i Etnografii pri Imperatorskoi Akademii Nauk, vol. 2, part 2, 1914.

Bely, Andrei. "Budushee iskusstvo." In *Symbolism*, 142–44. Moscow: Respublica, 1994.

Berberova, N. *Kur'ye moi: avtobiografia*. Centrifuga: Russian Reprintings and Printings, vol. 3. Munich: W. Fink, 1972.

Blok, Alexander. *Collected Works*. 9 vols. Moscow: Gosudarstvennoe Izdatel'stvo Khudozhestvennoi Literatury, 1962.

Bogoraz, V. G. *The Chukchee: The Jesup North Pacific Expedition*. Edited by Franz Boas. Vol. 7, *Memoirs of the American Museum of Natural History*. New York: G. E. Stechert, 1904–1909.

———. "Chukotskie risunki." In *Sbornik o chet' semidtsiatiletiiu professora Dmitriia Nikolaevicha Anuchina*, 397–419. Moscow, 1913.

———. "K psikhologii shamanstva u narodov Severo-Vostochnoi Azii." In *Etnograficheskoe obozrenie*, nos. 1–2, book 84/85 (1910): 1–63.

- Bowit, John. "Colors and Words: The Visual Art of Alexei Remizov." *Russian Literature Quarterly* 19 (1986): 165-76.
- . ed. *Russian Art of the Avant-Garde: Theory and Criticism 1902-1934 (The Documents of Twentieth-Century Art)*. New York: Viking, 1976.
- Brandt, R. F. *Lekzii no slaviano-russkoi paleografii otkrytiia v 1908-1909 g*. Moscow: Moscow Archeological Institute, 1909.
- Breton, André, and Paul Éluard. *Dictionnaire abrégé du Surréalisme*. Paris: Galerie des Beaux-Arts, 1938.
- Chartier, Roger. *The Order of Books*. Translated by Lydia Cochrane. Palo Alto, Calif.: Stanford University Press, 1994.
- Compton, Susan. *The World Backwards: Russian Futurist Books 1912-1916*. London: The British Library, 1978.
- . *Russian Avant-Garde Books 1917-1934*. Cambridge: MIT Press, 1993.
- D'Amelia, Antonella. "A. M. Remizov: L'incontro con libro." *Ricerche slavistiche XVII-XIX (1970-1972)*: 95-108.
- . "The Autobiographical Space of Alexei Mikhailovich Remizov." Introduction to *Uchitel' muzyki* [Music Teacher], by Alexei Remizov, i-xxiii. Paris: La Presse Libre, 1983.
- . "Neizdannaiia kniga Merlog: Vremia i prostranstvo v izobrazitel'nom i slovestnom tvorchevstve A. M. Remizova," in Slobin, *Aleksei Remizov: Approaches to a Prosean Writer*, 1987, 141-67.
- . "Pis'mo i risunok: Al'bomy A. M. Remizova." In *Slavica Tergestina*, edited by Maria Chiara Pesenti, 53-76. Trieste: n. p., 2000.
- Danilova, I. F. "O skazkakh Alekseia Remizova." In *Dokuku i balagur'e*, by Alexei Remizov, *Sobremniie sochineniia* 2: 611-18. Moscow: Russkaia Kniga, 2000.
- Diószegi, Vilmos. "Pre-Islamic Shamanism of the Baraba Turks and Some Ethnogenetic Conclusions." In *Shamanism in Siberia*, edited by Vilmos Diószegi and Mihály Hoppál, 83-168. Budapest: Akadémiai Kiadó, 1978.
- . "Shamanism—Reprint from *Encyclopaedia Britannica*." In *Shamanism: Selected Writings of Vilmos Diószegi*, edited by Mihály Hoppál, 1-9. Budapest: Akadémiai Kiadó, 1998.
- Dobuzhinskii, Mstislav. *Vospominaniia*. Moscow: Nauka, 1987.
- Dooley, John. "Shamans, Actors, and Images." In *Shamanism in the Performing Arts*, edited by Tae-gon Kim and Mihály Hoppál, 43-56. Budapest: Akadémiai Kiadó, 1995.
- Dotsenko, Sergei. "Avtobiograficheskoe i' apokrificheskoe v tvorchevstve A. Remizova." In 1994, *Aleksei Remizov: issledovaniia i materialy*, Gracheva and D'Amelia, 33-40.
- . "I k zlodeiam prichten." Tema predatel'stva v poeme A. Remizova "Iuda." In Gracheva and D'Amelia, *Aleksei Remizov: Issledovaniia i materialy*, 2003, 43-53.
- Drucker, Johanna. *The Visible World: Experimental Typography and Modern Art, 1900-1923*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1996.
- Durozoi, Gérard. *History of the Surrealist Movement*. Translated by Alison Anderson. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2002.
- Eliade, Mircea. *Shamanism: Archaic Techniques of Ecstasy*. Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1972.

- Erenburg, Ilya. *Liudi, gody, zbizen'*. Books 3 and 4. Moscow: Soviet Writer, 1963.
- Evans, Martha. *Fits and Starts: A Genealogy of Hysteria in Modern France*. Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1991.
- Friedman, Julia. "Blok's 'Gift of Hearing' through Remizov's 'Audible Colors.'" *SEEJ* 47, no. 3 (Fall 2003): 367-92.
- Gabin, Jean-Louis. *Gilbert Lély: Biographie*. Paris: Séguier, 1991.
- Glad, John. *Russia Abroad: Writers, History, Politics*. Washington, D. C.: Birchbark Press and Hermitage Publishers, 1999.
- Gracheva, A. M. *Aleksei Remizov i drevennrusskaia kul'tura*. St. Petersburg: Petropolis, 2000.
- . "Aleksei Remizov i Pushkinskii Dom." In *Russkaia Literatura*, 1997, 185-215.
- . "Frantsuzskii siuralizm i proizvedeniia 'bol'shoi formy' Alekseia Remizova." In *Russkie pisateli v Parizhe: Vzgliaid na frantsuzskuiu literaturu, 1920-1940, 90-99*. Moscow: Russkii Put', 2007.
- . "Krug schat'ia—litsevoi kodeks Alekseia Remizova." In *Risunki pisatelei*, 200-30. St. Petersburg: Akademicheskii Proekt, 2000.
- . ed. *Vokhlebnyi mir Alexsia Remizova: Katalog vystavki*. St. Petersburg: Chronograph, 1992.
- Gracheva, A. M., and Antonella D'Amelia, eds. *Aleksei Remizov: Issledovaniia i materialy*. St. Petersburg and Salerno: Russian Academy of Sciences/Institute of Russian Literature, 2003.
- . *Aleksei Remizov: Issledovaniia i materialy*. St. Petersburg: Dmitrii Bulanin, 1994.
- Gurianova, N. "Al'bomy Kruchionyk'h." *Panorama Iskusstva* (1991): 13, 373-81.
- . "A Game in Hell, Hard Work in Heaven: Deconstructing the Canon in Russian Futurist Books." In *The Russian Avant-Garde Book 1910-1934*, edited by Margit Rowell and Deborah Wye. New York: MOMA, 2002.
- . "Remizov i 'budetliane.'" In Gracheva and D'Amelia, *Aleksei Remizov: Issledovaniia i materialy*, 1994, 142-50.
- . *Russian Futurists and Their Books*. 4 vols. Paris: La Hume, 1993.
- Hahl-Koch, Jelena, ed. *Arnold Schoenberg—Wasily Kandinskii: Letters, Pictures, and Documents*. London: Faber and Faber, 1984.
- Heinze, Ruth-Inge. "Who Are the Shamans of the Twentieth Century?" In *Shamanism Past and Present*, part 2, edited by Mihály Hoppál and Otto von Sadosky, 355-62. Budapest: Ethnographic Institute, Hungarian Academy of Sciences, International Society of Trans-Oceanic Research, 1989.
- Hoppál, Mihály. "Performing Shamanism in Siberian Rock Art." In *Shamanism in the Performing Arts*, edited by Tae-gon Kim and Mihály Hoppál, 273-80. Budapest: Akadémiai Kiadó, 1995.
- Hultkrantz, Åke. "Ecological and Phenomenological Aspects of Shamanism." In *Shamanism in Siberia*, edited by V. Diószegi and Mihály Hoppál, 27-58. Budapest: Akadémiai Kiadó, 1978.
- I'tin, I. A. "Tvorchestvo A. M. Remizova." In *O'me i provovetienii: Kniga khudozhestvennoi kritiki: Bunin—Remizov—Smelev*, vol. 6, *Collected Works*, 271-333. Moscow: Russkaia Kniga, 1996.
- Iulova, Antonina. "Perepiska s Remizovym 1905-1920." In *Literaturnoe nasledstvo: Aleksandr Blok novye materialy i issledovaniia* 2: 82-142. Moscow: Nauka, 1981.

- Janecek, Gerald. *The Look of Russian Literature: Avant-Garde Visual Experiments, 1900-1930*. Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1984.
- Kandinsky, Wassily. *Complete Writings on Art*. Edited by Kenneth C. Lindsay and Peter Vergo. New York: Da Capo Press, 1994.
- . "Iz materialov po etnografii Sýsýolskikh i Vyehgodskikh zýrián." *Etnograficheskoe obzrenie* 2: 102-10. Moscow, 1889.
- Karlova, M. "Osud i son pisatelja." In *Russkaia literatura v emigracii*, edited by Poltoratzkii, 191-97. Pittsburgh, Pa.: University of Pittsburgh, 1972.
- Kashin, N. P. "Znachenie knigi v drevnei rusi: Drevnerusskaia rukopisnaia kniga." In *Russkaia kniga ot nachala pis'mennosti do 1800 goda*, edited by V. Ia. Adariukov and A. A. Sidorov, 34-61. Moscow: Gosudarstvennoe izdatel'stvo, 1924.
- Kelemen, Andras. "Medicine Man Personality and Shamanistic Worldview." In *Shamanism in Eurasia*, edited by Mihály Hoppál, 184-90. Göttingen: Edition Herodot, 1984.
- Khangalov, M. N. *Novyye materialy o shamanstve u buriat*. Irkutsk: Tipografiia K. I. Vitkovskoi, 1890.
- Kharuzin, Nikolai. "O noidakh u drevnikh i sovremennykh lopareí," in *Etnograficheskoe obzrenie* 1. Moscow: Russkaia Tipo-Litografiia, 1889.
- . *Russkie lopari. Očerki proshlogo i sovremennago bytia*. Moscow: Livenson, 1890.
- Klement, D. A. "Neskol'ko obratov bubnov minisinskikh inorodtsev." *Etnograficheskii vestnik sibirskogo otdela russkogo geograficheskogo obshchestva*, vol. 2, no. 2 (1890): 25-35.
- Kodrianskaia, Natalia. *Alexei Remizov*. Paris: N. Codray, 1959.
- . *Remizov v roikié pis'makh*. Paris: n.p., 1977, 1978.
- Kosarev, M. F. *Drevnie kul'tury Tensko-Narynskogo priob'ia*. Moscow: Nauka, 1974.
- Kozhevnikov, P. "Kollektzia A. M. Remizova: Tvormyi apokrif." *Utro Rossii*, no. 243 (September 7, 1910).
- Krippner, Stanley. "The Use of Dreams in Shamanic Traditions." In *Shamanism Past and Present*, Part 2, edited by Mihály Hoppál and Otto von Sadovsky, 381-92. Budapest: Ethnographic Institute, Hungarian Academy of Sciences, International Society of Trans-Oceanic Research, 1989.
- Ksenofontov, G. V. "Kul't sumasheshtvia v uralo-altaiskom shamanizme." Irkutsk: Russkoe Geograficheskoe Obshchestvo, 1929.
- Kukovnikov, Vasily [Alexei Remizov]. "Manuscripts and Drawings of A. Remizov" ("Rukopisi i risunki Remizova"). *Cóida* 9 (1933): 191-94.
- Kulakov, P. E. *Buriatyi Irkutskoi gubernii. Izvestiia Vostochno-Sibirskogo otdela* 16 (1846): 4-5. Irkutsk: Rossiiskoe geograficheskoe obshchestvo.
- Kushelev-Bezborodko, Grigory. *Pamiatniki starinnoi russkoi literatury* [Landmarks of Old Russian Literature]. Vol. 1. Edited by Nikolai Kostomarov. St. Petersburg: Tip. Kulisha, 1860.
- Lamp, Horst. "A. M. Remizov: A Short Biographical Essay (1877-1923)." In *Russian Literature Triquarterly* 19 (1986): 7-60.
- Likhachev, D. S. "Povestvovatel'noe prostranstvo kak vyrazhenie povestvovatel'nogo vremeni v drevnerusskikh miniaturakh." In *Literatura i zhivopis'*, 93-111. Leningrad: Nauka, 1982.
- Livak, Leonid. *How It Was Done in Paris: Russian Emigré Literature and French Modernism*. Madison: University of Wisconsin Press, 2003.

- MacGregor, John. *The Discovery of the Art of the Insane*. Princeton, N.J.: Princeton University Press, 1992.
- Manker, E. "Seite Cult and Drum Magic of the Lapps." In *Folk Beliefs and Shamanistic Traditions in Siberia*, edited by Vilmos Diószegi, 1-14. Budapest: Akadémiai Kiadó, 1996.
- Marcadé, Jean. "Remizov et Kandinsky." In Slobin, *Remizov/Kandinsky: Makaronis et autres contes*, 25-29. Nantes: Editions Memo, 1998.
- . "Remizovskie pis'mena." In *Aleksii Remizov: Approaches to a Protean Writer*, 1987, 121-35.
- Markov, A. "Barsakyniji Skazki" A. M. Remizova." *Panorama Iskustvo* 11 (1988), 381-92.
- Markov, Vladimir. *Russian Futurism: A History*. Berkeley: University of California Press, 1968.
- Middendorf, A. F. *Puteshestvie na sever i vostok Sibiri*. Part 2. St. Petersburg, 1869.
- Mierau, Fritz. "Affenrat und Zwovierion." *Alexei Remizov in Berlin (1921-1923)*. In *Berlin-Moskau 1900-1950, 179-85*. Munich: Prestel, 1995.
- Mikhailov, T. M. *Buriatskii Shamanism: Istoriia, struktura i sotsial'nye funkzii*. Novosibirsk: Nauka, 1987.
- Mikhailovskiy, V. M. *Shamanstvo: Sravnitel'no-etnograficheskie ocherki. Izvestiia Imperatorskogo Obshchestva Liubitelia Estestvoznania Antropologii i Etnografii* 75. *Trudy Etnograficheskogo Otdela* 12. Moscow: Petrovka, Dom Levensan, 1892.
- Minz, Z. G. "Perepiska s Remizovym 1905-1920." In *Literaturnoe Nasledstvo: Aleksandr Blok novyye materialy i issledovaniia* 2: 62-82. Moscow: Nauka, 1981.
- Mneva, N., and Postnikov-Loseva, M. "Miniature and Ornamental Manuscript Decoration." In *Istoriia Russkogo Iskustva* 4: 467-88. Moscow: USSR Academy of Sciences, 1959.
- Molok, Iurii. "Po tu storonu umeniia i neumeniia: O graficheskikh tekstakh Aleksieia Remizova." In Gracheva and D'Amelia, *Alexei Remizov: Issledovaniia i materialy*, 1994, 151-57.
- Mongush B. Kenin-Lopsan. "Every Tree Has a Soul." In *Shamanic Songs and Myths of Tíeva*, edited by Mihály Hoppál, 39. Budapest: Akadémiai Kiadó, 1997.
- Nekrasov, A. I. "Nachalo knigopechataniia v rossii." In *Russkaia kniga ot nachala pis'mennosti do 1800 goda*, edited by V. Ia. Adariukov and A. A. Sidorov, 64-126. Moscow: Gosudarstvennoe Izdatel'stvo, 1924.
- Nikitin, V. P. "Kukushkina: Pamiat' A. M. Remizova." In *Ezhegodnik Rukopisnogo otdela Pushkinskogo Doma na 1990*, edited by N. Griaklova, 268-307. St. Petersburg: Akademicheskii Proekt, 1993.
- Obatnina, E. R. "Magnitnye polia; A. M. Remizov i frantsuzskii surrealizm" [Magnetic Fields: A. M. Remizov and French Surrealism]. In *Russkie pisateli v Parizhe: Vzgljad na frantsuzskuiu literaturu, 1920-1940* [Russian Writers in Paris: A Look at French Literature, 1920-1940], 263-75. Moscow: Russkii put', 2007.
- . "Metafizicheskií smysl russkoi literatury." In *Ogn' Vesel'ei*, by Alexei Remizov. St. Petersburg: Limbakh, 2005.
- . "Polemicheskii dialog A. Remizova i I. Il'ina." In Gracheva and D'Amelia, *Alexei Remizov: Issledovaniia i materialy*, 2003, 181-202.

- . *Tar' Asyhai i ego poddannnye* (*King Asyha and His Subjects*). St. Petersburg: Limbakh, 2001.
- Parton, A. *Mikhail Larionov and the Russian Avant-Garde*. Princeton, N.J.: Princeton University Press, 1993.
- Pigin, A. V. "Povest' A. M. Remizova *Solomonii* i ee drevnerusskii istochnik." *Russkaia Literatura* 2 (1989): 114–30.
- Plesovsky, F. V. "Kosmogonicheskie mify Komi i udmurtov." In *Etnografiia i fol'klor Komi: Trudy instituta iazyka, literatury i istorii*, no. 13 (1972): 32–45.
- Priklonsky, V. L. "O shamanstve u yakutov." *Svedeniia vostochno-sibirskoi otdelenia imperatorskogo russiiskogo geograficheskogo obshchestva* 18, nos. 1–2 (1886).
- Pyman, Avril. "Petersburg Dreams." In Slobin, *Aleksei Remizov: Approaches to a Protean Writer*, 1987, 51–113.
- Raeff, Marc. *Russia Abroad: A Cultural History of the Russian Emigration*. New York: Oxford University Press, 1990.
- Raevsky-Hughes, Olga. "Alexey Remizov's Later Autobiographical Prose." In *Autobiographical Statements in Twentieth-Century Russian Literature*, edited by Jane Gary Harris, 52–65. Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1990.
- . Introduction to *Ognennaiia pamiat'*, by Natal'ia Reznikova, 9–15. Berkeley: Berkeley Slavic Specialties, 1980.
- . "Obraz S. P. Remizovoi-Dovgello v tvorchestve A. M. Remizova (k postonovke problemy)." In Gracheva and D'Amelia, *Alexei Remizov: Issledovaniia i materialy*, 1994, 9–19.
- Rannit, Alexis. *Invention and Tradition*. Charlottesville: University of Virginia Art Museum, 1980. "Ten Drawings, A. Remizov, A Mannerist Drama." *New Directions International Anthology* 38 (1979), 47–51.
- . "Ten Drawings: Alexei Remizov." In *Images of Alexei Remizov*, 25–31. Amherst, Mass.: Mead Art Museum, 1985.
- . "Ten Drawings, A. Remizov, A Mannerist Drama." *New Directions International Anthology* 38 (1979), 47–51.
- Remizov, Alexei. *Abkru: Povest' petersburgskaia*. Berlin: Izd. Z. I. Grzhebnina, 1922.
- . *Besovarye: Savva Grudtsyn i Solomonii* [Possessed: Savva Grudtsyn and Solomonii]. Paris: Oplëshnik, 1951.
- . *Beprriutnaia. Povest' monastyr'skaia*. [Wandering One.] Berlin: Gutnov, 1922.
- . *Chaktkbygyt-Tuusa: Sibirskii skaz*. Berlin: Skify, 1922.
- . *Toverei* [Splinter]. Vol. 8. Moscow: Russkaia Kniga, 2000.
- . *Kukba: Roznovy piima*. New York: Serebrianyi Vek, 1978.
- . "Maroun." In *Krasnyi balietis* 4 (1920): 27–30.
- . *Martyn Zadeka: Sonnik* [Martyn Zadeka: Book of Dreams]. Paris: Oplëshnik, 1954.
- . "Marun." In *Sobranie sochinenii* 6. St. Petersburg: Shipovnik, 1911.
- . "Neizdannnyi Merleg." In *Minushche: Litericheskii Al'manach*, vol. 3, with an introduction and commentary by Antonella D'Amelia, 199–262. Moscow: Progress and Phoenix, 1991.
- . *Olia*. Paris: Editions du Pavois, 1947.
- . *Petersburgskii buerak* [Petersburg Ravine]. Paris: Lev, 1981.
- . *Petersburgskii buerak: Shurum-burum* [Petersburg Ravine: Shurum-Burum]. In *Sobranie sochinenii*, edited by Alla Gracheva. Moscow: Russkaia Kniga, 2003.

- . *Plushchii demon* [The Dancing Demon]. Paris: Navarre, 1949.
- . *Podstrizhennymi glazami* [With Clipped Eyes]. Paris: YMCA, 1951.
- . *Po karnizam* [Along the Ledges]. Belgrade: Russkaia Biblioteka, 1929.
- . *Posolon* [Sunwise]. Paris: Tair, 1930.
- . *Rossia iu pir'menakh* [Russia in Wit]. Moscow: Glikon, 1922. Reprint, New York: Russica Publishers, 1982.
- . "Rukopisnye illiustrirovannye al'bomy Remizova." *Nov'* 8 (Tallin, 1935): 200–202.
- . "Russkaia povest' XVIIgo veka o besnovatoi Solomonii." *Volia Rossii*, nos. 5–6 (1929): 3–24.
- . "Solomonie la Possedée." *Hippocrate: Revue d'humanisme medical*, no. 10 (1935): 802–24.
- . "Solomonie la Possedée." *Confluences*, June–July 1945: 481–500.
- . "Solomonie la Possedée." In *Où finit l'escalier. Récits de la quatrième dimension: Contes et légendes*. Paris: Editions du Pavois, 1947.
- . "Solomonija." *Ruski Teacher*, nos. 14–15 (1931): 5–20.
- . *Uchitel' muzyki* [Music Teacher]. Edited by Antonella D'Amelia. Paris: La Press Libre, 1983.
- . *V rozzvom beske* [In the Pink Glow]. New York: Chekhov, 1952.
- . *Vzrobbnennaiia Rus'*. Paris: Tair, 1931.
- Revenenkova, E. V. "O lichnosti shamana." *Sovetskaia Etnografiia*, no. 3 (1974): 104–11.
- . "Shamanism and Poetry." In *Shamanism Past and Present*, part 2, edited by Mihály Hoppál and Otto von Sadovsky, 393–98. Budapest: Ethnographic Institute, Hungarian Academy of Sciences, International Society of Trans-Oceanic Research, 1989.
- Reznikova, Natal'ia V. *Ognennaiia pamiat'*. Berkeley: Berkeley Slavic Specialties, 1980.
- Richardson, Michael. *Georges Bataille*. London: Routledge, 1994.
- Roman, G. H. "The Ins and Outs of Russian Avant-Garde Books." In *The Avant-Garde in Russia, 1910–1930: New Perspectives*, edited by Stephanie Barron and Maurice Tuchman, 102–9. Cambridge, Mass.: MIT Press, 1980.
- Rosenthal, Charlotte. "Alexei Remizov and the Literary Uses of Folklore." Ph.D. diss., Stanford University, 1979.
- . "Primitivism in Remizov's Early Short Works (1900–1903)." In Slobin, *Aleksei Remizov: Approaches to a Protean Writer*, 1987, 195–207.
- Rovinskii, D. A. *Materialy dlia russkoi ikonografi*. 13 vols. St. Petersburg: n. p., 1884–1891. *Russkie narodnye kartinki*. St. Petersburg: Tip. Imp. Akademia nauk, 1881.
- . *Russkie narodnye kartinki*. Edited by N. P. Sobko. St. Petersburg: Golik, 1900.
- . *Russkie narodnye kartinki*. St. Petersburg: Tip. Imp. Akademia nauk, 1881.
- Rozanov, Vasily. *Izbrannoe*. Munich: A. Neimanis Buchvertrieb und Verlag, 1970.
- Rychkov, K. M. "O religioznykh vozrenieniiakh i shamanizme sibirskii inorodtsev." In *Zapiski Zapadno-Sibirskogo otdela RGO* 2 (Omsk, 1914): nos. 1–2.
- Schilling, Susan. "On Stylization and the Use of Folktales Material in A. M. Remizov's *Polodon*." Ph.D. diss., Brown University, 1982.
- Seke, Kathelin. "Problema identifikatsii avtobiograficheskogo gerioia." In Gracheva and D'Amelia, *Aleksei Remizov: Issledovaniia i materialy*, 2003, 13–21.

- Shane, Alex. "Rhythm Without Rhyme: The Poetry of Aleksei Remizov." In Slobin, *Aleksei Remizov: Approaches to a Protean Writer*, 1987, 217-36.
- Shchepkin, V. N. *Uchebnik russkoi paleografii*. Moscow: Obshchestvo Istorii i Drevnosti Rossiiskikh pri Moskovskom Universitete, 1918.
- Shirokogorov, S. M. *Opyt issledovaniia osnov shamanistva v tungusoi*, vol. 1. *Uchebnye zapiski istoriko-filologicheskogo facul'teta*. Vladivostok, 1919.
- Shternberg, L. Ia. *Materialy po izucheniiu gil'katskogo iazyka i fol'klora*. Vol. 1, part 1. St. Petersburg, 1908.
- Sidorov, A. A. "Kniga kak ob'ekt izucheniia." In *Russkaia kniga ot nachala pis'mennosti do 1800 goda*, edited by V. Ia. Adariukov and A. A. Sidorov, 10-32. Moscow: Gosudarstvennoe izdatel'stvo, 1924.
- Sidorov, A. S. "Ideologija drevnego naseleniia Komi." In *Etnografija i fol'klor Komi: Trudy instituta iazyka, literatury i istorii*, no. 13 (1972): 10-23.
- Sinany, Elena. *Bibliographie des oeuvres de Alexis Remizov*. Institut d'Etudes Slaves, nos. 84-123 (1978).
- Siniavsky, Andrei. "Literaturnaia maska Alekseia Remizova." In Slobin, *Aleksei Remizov: Approaches to a Protean Writer*, 1987, 25-41.
- Slobin, Greta, ed. *Aleksei Remizov: Approaches to a Protean Writer*. Vol. 16, UCLA Slavic Studies. Columbus, Ohio: Slavica Publishers, 1987.
- . "Dinamika slukha i zreniia in poetics of Alexei Remizov." In Gracheva and D'Amelia, *Alexei Remizov: Issledovaniia i materialy*, 1994, 157-66.
- . "Dvoinoe soznanie i dvuiazycnye v rasskaze A. M. Remizova 'Industrial'naia podkova' v kontekste zhurnala *Chislá* [Dual Consciousness and Bilingualism in A. M. Remizov's Story 'Industrial Hooof' in the Context of the Journal *Chislá*]. In *Russkie pisateli v Parizhe: Vzglád na frantsuzskuiu literaturu, 1920-1940* [Russian Writers in Paris: A Look at French Literature, 1920-1940], 326-47. Moscow: Russkii Put', 2007.
- . "Remizov's Erotic Tales: Stylisation and Subversion." In *The Short Story in Russia 1900-1917*, edited by Nicholas Luker, 53-72. Nottingham, Eng.: Astra Press, 1991.
- . *Remizov's Fictions*. De Kalb: Northern Illinois University Press, 1991.
- . "The Writer as Artist." In *Images of Alexei Remizov*, 13-25. Amherst: Mead Art Museum, 1985.
- Smirensky, Vladimir. "Vospominaniia ob Aleksee Remizove." In *Litsa*, compiled and edited by E. R. Obatnina, 161-91. St. Petersburg: Feniks, 1996.
- Sobolevsky, A. I. *Slaviano-Russkaia Paleografija*. St. Petersburg: Lopukhin Publishing House, 1902. Second edition, St. Petersburg: Synod Publishing House, 1908.
- Sokolov-Remizov, S. N. "Iz semeinogo arkhiva" ("From a Family Archive"), in Gracheva and D'Amelia, *Aleksei Remizov: Issledovaniia i materialy*, 2003, 373-405.
- Spitsyn, A. "Shamanskie izobrazheniia." In *Zapiski otdeleniia ruskoj i slavianskoj arkhologii imperatorskogo russkogo arkhologicheskogo obshchestva*, vol. 8, part 1, 29-145. St. Petersburg: Tip. Skorokhodova, 1906.
- Struve, Gleh. *Russkaia literature v izgnanii* [Russian Literature in Exile]. Second edition. Paris: YMCA Press, 1984.
- Termen, A. I. *Sredi buriat Irkutskoi gubernii i Zabaikal'skoi oblasti*. St. Petersburg: Tip. Ministerstva Vnutrennikh Del, 1912.

- Tynianov, Iurii. *Arkhaisity i novatory* [Archaists and Innovators]. Leningrad: Priboi, 1929.
- Uspensky, A. I. *Tvarskie ikonopisty i zhivopisty XVII veka*. Moscow: Pechatnia A. Snegirevoi, 1910-1916.
- Vagner, G. K., and T. F. Vladyshevskaya. *Iskusstvo drevnei Rusi*. Moscow: Iskusstvo, 1993.
- Vozniak, Anna. "Agiografia I aktualizaziia: Esteticheskie iskania A. Remizova v povesti 'Bespriutnaia.'" In Gracheva and D'Amelia, *Alexei Remizov: Issledovaniia i materialy*, 1994, 58-67.
- Wanner, Adrian. "Alexei Remizov's Dreams: Surrealism Avant le Lettre?" *Russian Review* 58, no. 4 (October 1999): 599-614.
- . *Russian Minimalism: From the Prose Poem to the Anti-Story*. Evanston, Ill.: Northwestern University Press, 2004.
- Weiss, Peg. *Kandinsky and Old Russia: The Artist as Ethnographer and Shaman*. New Haven, Conn.: Yale University Press, 1995.
- Zaretzky, N. V. *Russische Dichter als Maler und Zeichner*. Rechinghausen, Germany: Aurel Bongier, 1960.
- Zavalishin, Viacheslav. "Ornamentalism v literature i iskusstve i ornamental'nye motivy zhivopisi i grafike Remizova." In Slobin, *Aleksei Remizov: Approaches to a Protean Writer*, 1987, 135-41.
- Zelenin, D. K. *Kul't ongenov v Sibiri: Perezhitki totemizma v ideologii sibirskikh narodov*. Leningrad: Academy of Sciences, 1936.
- . "Taboo slov u narodov vostochnoi Evropy i Severnoi Azii." In *Sbornik muzeia antropologii i etnografii*, vol. 8. Leningrad, 1929.

Page numbers in bold reference illustrations. Plates will be found in the gallery following page 48.

- Ady, Endre, 140, 213155
 albums, illustrated, xxiii–xxiv
 audience for, 4, 21–22, 39–40, 88, 127, 17314,
 180157–59
 and exile in life of R, 4, 63
 patronage system for selling albums, 39–40,
 184163
 private information revealed in *zapú*, 81
 role in R's art, xxiii–xxiv, 140–50, 152, 17314
 as source of earnings, 21–22, 39–40, 127,
 180157–59
See also manuscript books; Remizov, Alexei,
 albums, illustrated; names of specific al-
 bums, e.g., *Maroun*
- Amfiteatrov, Aleksandr, 81, 98–101, 102, 20017,
 20022, 205031
 Andreev holdings, appendix 155–56
 Annenkov, Iurii, 52, 189149, 21619
 Anokhin, A. M., 115
 illustrations from: Altai drums (fig. 6.3), 118,
 207166; Karagay shaman's costume (fig.
 6.1b), 116, 117
- Anuchin, D. N., 115, 207133, 210196
 illustrations from: bear (fig. 6.8), 121, 124; bird
 (fig. 6.6), 122; frog (fig. 6.10b), 121, 125
 on storytelling, 132–33
- Appé *Tsur Asyuka*, xcvi, 16, 44
 Angon, Louis, 80, 89, 90, 195155
 artists' books, 6, 140
 audience (readers/viewers), 4, 5, 9, 19, 88
 autobiographical references
The Circle of Happiness, 133
The Dancing Demon, 41–44
 "Savva Grudstyn," 112
 "Solomonka" 8–9, 120, 111
With Clipped Eyes, xvii, 20, 41, 55, 179147
 Avvakum, Archbishop, 26–27, 43, 100
- Babinski, Joseph, 198178
 Baker, Leon, 5, 176111
 Basil, Sr., 74–75, 97–98
 Baraille, Georges, 140, 174181, 195155, 196166,
 213157
 Baudelaire, Charles, 24, 150
 bear images
 in shamanistic art, 121; (fig. 6.8), 121, 124; (fig.
 6.9), 121, 124
 in *Siberian Tale* (fig. 6.9), 121, **plate 13**
 Bely, Andrei, xxviii, 22, 25, 51, 60, 61, 64,
 appendix 158, appendix 164, 217115–19, 190159,
 191165, 192181, 213150
 book-making by, 25–27
- Benois, Aleksandr, 5
 Bilbin, Ivan, 176133
 bird images
 in shamanistic art (fig. 6.3), 119, 121; (fig. 6.6),
 121, 122
 in *Siberian Tale*, 121, **plate 11**
- Blake, William, 27
 Blok, Alexander, 52–54, 64, 66
 and *Maroun*, 7, 50, 52–55, 59–61, 188125, 189150
 and "Maroun" the toy, 146, 215193
 portraits of: (fig. 3.2), 59, 60; appendix 166
 R's illustrations for *The Foolish*, 61
- Bogoraz, Valdemar, 125; (fig. 6.3), 118, 119, 121; (fig.
 6.1), 125, 127, 131
 book collectors and bibliophiles, 39
 book-making
 experiments in, xxvi–xxvii, xxix–xxx, 25–27
 financial reasons for, 21–22, 39–40, 127,
 180157–59
 by futurists and primitivists, 28
 in symbolist movement, xcix, 27
See also manuscript books; Old Russian
 manuscript books

boundaries, crossing of
and creative play, 4, 17603
and erotic tales, 41
in shamanisms, 19
See also liminality

Breton, André, xxvii, 45–46, 87–91, 176033, 196065

Briusov, Valerii, appendix 164

Bucher, Jeanne, 141, 145, 2330167

Butlak, David, xxvii

Bulas version of Solomoniia. See "Tale About the Possessed Woman Solomoniia, The" ("P'vest' o besovoi zhenе Solomoni")

calligraphy
and drawing, 56, 189044
in progression of writing to drawing, 23–24, 36
R's studies of, 22, 29, 47
Russian vs. French texts of *Maroun* (fig. 2.5), 34–35, 36–37
as source of earnings, 21–22
See also *skazopis'*

calligraphy, Chinese, 56, 189041

Carrington, Leonora, 140

Chat, René, xxvii, 88, appendix 162, 196065

Chida (journal), 5–6, 150

Chizhov album. See *Solomoniia* (Chizhov album, 1931)

Chizhov, P. N., 68, appendix 159–60, 194038

color and sound
and Kandinsky, 55, 188033
in *Maroun* (fig. 3.ad), 51, 49–66 passim

color symbolism
in *Olia*, 200470
in *Solomoniia*, 107, 120
in *Tales*, 145

creativity
artist's creative self-consciousness, 41
and eccentricity, xxix, 3, 16, 130–31
and mentally ill, 13–14, 91, 130, 200976
as play, 174012
and possession, 89–90, 92, 110
and R's 1079, 17, 111–32, 146, 235093
and shaman's ecstasy, 129

cryptography in Russian manuscripts, 38

deer motif in *Maroun*, 57

Dobazhinsky, Mstislav, xxvii, 5, 176033

dreams and dream images
and color, 141, 2140185
and combination of graphic and verbal texts, 45
drawing used to express, 149
ground spirits in, 118–19
literary images based on, xxiv
in *Olia*, 106
in *Old Fair Tales*, 91
and possession, 89

in R's signature, xxvii
and shamanisms, 133–36
in *Tales from the Fourth Dimension*, xxx–xxxi, 9, 45–47, 92 (fig. 2.6), 46, 47

drums
Altai drums (fig. 6.2), 118, 118
and shamanisms, 19, 125–16, 138, 139, 138, 140
Teleut shaman drum (fig. 6.3), 129, 131, 122

duality of faith (*aboveverie*), 128–29, 209060

duckling images
in Reznikoff, 125–26, 137–38, plate 24
in shamanistic art (fig. 6.17), 126, 126

ecstasy
and hysteria, 91
and shamans, 129, 138
and symbolist movement, 138, 140

Eldendenbaum, Boris, 52, 53, 54

Eland, Paul, xxvii, 16, 88, 176033

Ernst, Max, 16, 140

erotica
as broadening boundaries, 41
and marginality, 17706
and R's 1079, 132
in *Solomoniia*, 87–88
and surrealists, 195055

Tales from the Fourth Dimension as, 143

exile and emigration, 4–5, 54, 62–63, 127, 17709

fair tales, 133–34, 135

Feodora, St.
parallels with Solomoniia, 97
sources of album drawings, 74–75, 193224

fire imagery, 90, 196072

fish imagery in *Maroun*, 58–59

Frank, Semion, appendix 165

frog images
in shamanistic art (figs. 6.70b, 6.100), 125, 125
in *Siberian Tale* (fig. 6.101), 125, 125

futurists
book-making experiments by, 28
and creativity as game, 174012
and ethnography, xxx
and primitivism, 16

Galerie Vivin exhibition, 16, 91

Goncharova, Natalia, 28, 276033

Gorky, Maxim, 53, appendix 166

Gorodetskii, Sergei, appendix 165

graphic diaries (fig. 6.15), 135–36, 136

Great and Free Order of Apes (*Obez'vospol*)
game, 16–17, appendix 165

Grebenshchikov, I. P., 42–43

ground spirits (fig. 6.3), 118–19, 119, 121, 131

Guerra holdings, appendix 157–62. See *Solomoniia* (Chizhov album, 1931)

Gumliier, Nikolai, appendix 165

Guro, Elena, xxvii

hare images
in shamanistic art (fig. 6.3), 119, (fig. 6.7b), 121, 123
in *Siberian Tale* (fig. 6.3), 119, 121

Heine, Maurice, 91

historical parallelism, 207037

Hugo, Victor, 5

hysteria
and ecstasy, 91
and religiosity, 197075–76
and surrealists, 88, 89–91

icon painting, influence of, 34, 44, 85

Ianchenko, A. S., appendix 166

Ili, Ivan, xxix, 47, 36, 174066

incubi, 89, 92

inscriptions (*zapis'*)
Fairy Tale (*Skazka*), 40
The Little Monk (*Monastchik*), 40
Maroun (fig. 2.3), xxxii, 40
Reznikoff album, 87
Sibirskii shaz, 113, 127
Solomoniia (Amherst album, 1934) (fig. 4.4), 30, 76, 80, 81, 92
Tales from the Fourth Dimension (fig. 2.2), 30, 31 (fig. 2.2), 31
The Willow (*Vibula*), 40

Iushkevich, Semion, appendix 165

Ivanov, Vacheslav, xxv, 64

Ivanov-Razumnik, R. V., 52–53, 46, 2150189

Jaine de Fabres holdings, appendix 157–57

Janet, Pierre, 91, 198078

Kamenskii, Vasily, xxvii
kamenskii (shamanistic act)
as form of poetry-making, 132
in *Maroun*, 114–15
and symbolist movement, 138, 140
and use of shamanistic images, 127

Kandinsky, Vasily
collaboration with R, 46, 141–43, 145, 216067, 217065
on color and sound, 11, 188031
Illustration for Remizov's "The Devil and the Tears" (fig. 6.17), 141, 142
on R's draftsmanship, 176033, 17604
and shamanism, 129–30, 140–41
on synthetic art, 22, 65, 181068

Khangulov, M., 115, 149

Kharin, N., 105, 246, 129, 206012, 208066

Khlebnikov, Velimir, xxvii, 27–28, 65, 174012

Khodasevich, Vladimir, xxvii, 52, 60, 135, 209058

Klee, Paul, 12, 13, 178030, 179032

Kodrianskiia, Natal'ia, 61, 61, 81, 130–32 passim, 133, 153

Kostomarov, Nikolai, 61, 62, 64

Kovalevskaia, E., 143

Kruchonkh, Alexei, xxvii, 25, 27, 28, 182019, 183020, 184060, 188032

Kukonikov, Vasily (pseudonym of R), 5–6, 24, 56, 181069

Kushlevy-Bezborodko edition of Solomoniia. See "Tale About the Possessed Woman Solomoniia, The" ("P'vest' o besovoi zhenе Solomoni")

Kustolev, Boris, 176031

Kuzmin, Mikhail, 51, appendix 155

La Révolution Surréaliste (journal), 89–91

Larionov, Mikhail, xxvii, 140, 176033

Lely, Gilbert, 43–46, 87–88, 91, 101, 193010–11, 193015, 198084

Lempert holdings, appendix 161–61

Lermontov, Mikhail, 24, 150

Leskov, Nikolai, appendix 167–69

Lifar, Leonid, appendix 162

Lifar, Serge, appendix 164

life-creation (*zhiznisorozhdeniia*), xxiv, 17, 19

Life of St. Basil the New, 74–75, 97–98

liminality
of art of the mentally ill, 13
of illustrated albums, xxvii
and multiple frames of reference, xxx
of R, xxix, 3–4, 138
of shamanism, 128–29
See also boundaries, crossing of; marginality

love
duality between sacred and profane
love, 109
expressed in the albums, 146
in "Legend Through the Ages", 111
in "Sava Cradiny", 100–101
in "Solomoniia" (*P'vest' o Besovoi*), 110–11, 19908, 205090

Makarskiy Hagio-graphic Calendar, 39, 41

Mallarmé, Stéphane, 27

Man Ray, 88

manuscript books
financial considerations in production of, 22–23, 39–40, 127, 188037–39
as means of becoming visual artist, 150
production and distribution of manuscript books, 39–40, 150
as synthetic art, 12
See also albums, illustrated; Old Russian manuscript books

marginality
of erotica, 17706
in R's life, xxix
in *Tales from the Fourth Dimension*, 9
See also liminality

Maroun (1930 Russian text), 38, 49, 184055, 187012

Maroun (album, 1931)

calligraphic signature from (fig. 3), xxvii

collages, 50, 54, 62, **plate 3**; first collage, 54–55; **plate 34**; second collage, 62, **plate 30**
 color palette in (fig. 3.1), 50, 57
 difference from published versions, 54–55
 drawings: (fig. 3.1), 50, 51; first drawing (fig. 3.4a), 56–57; fourth drawing (fig. 3.4d), 61–62; second drawing (fig. 3.1b), 50, 54, 57–58, 62, 190n62; third drawing (fig. 3.1c), 58–59, 61, **plate 2**
 French and Russian texts of (fig. 2.5), 34–35, 36–37, 187n2
 inscription, 40
 techniques used in, 29–30, 38
 “Marou” (*Krasnyi balilet*, 1921), 187n2
 “Marou” (toy spirit), 132, 146, 219n101
 Mayakovskiy, Vladimir, xxvi, 25, 26, 179n24
 medieval book-making. *See* Old Russian manuscript books
 Mikhailovskiy, V., 115, 119–120, 158
 Mochilovskiy, K. V., appendix 166
 modernism
 and art of the mentally ill, 12
 and creation of an authorial persona, 45
 and primitive art, 12–13, 16
 and R’s reworking of tradition of Russian scribes, 40–41, 47
 role of K in, xxvi
of Tales, 42–47
 Monnerot, Jules, 140
 Morgenthaler, Walter, 12–13
 music
 and Blok in *Marouan*, 55, 59–60
 and color, 188n31
 loss of in exile, 62–64
 relation of book-making in, 27–28
 and symbolist movement, 64
 as synthetic art, 21, 27–28, 196n72
See also sounds
 mythopoeitics, 43, 45, 102
 Nalimov (Zhenya storyteller), 115
 Noll, Marcel, 88
 normalcy
 and creativity, 129
 R’s fear of, xxiii
 in *Solomonie*, 9
 and supernatural possession, 67
 Old Believers, 27, 43
 Old Russian manuscript books
 cryptography in, 38
 influence on 20th century, 25–26
 inscriptions (*zapisi*) in, 30, 31, 32
 and musical forms, 27–28
 production and distribution of, 34, 39–40, 41
 R’s use of, xxix–xxx, 6, 29–30
 and scribes, 41–43, 44, 56–57

See also manuscript books

origami (praying figurines), 126, 131
 Orzhikh, Mikhail, 5, 36, 179n101–12
 outsiders
 art of, 9, 12–13, 16, 91
 R as, xxvi, 134, 179n15
 Ou-yang Hsiu, appendix 167
 Peret, Benjamin, 88
 phallic imagery
 as demons, 74, 87
 mythical quality of, 101
 and possession, 93–94
 in *Solomonie*, xxx
 in “*Solomonie*” (1928), 86, 196n61, 199n4
 in *Solomonie* (Amherst album): (fig. 4.2), 77, 93–94; (fig. 5.1), 94, 95
 Prast, Vladimir, 52
 Picasso, Pablo, xxvii, 176n33
 Pinegin, Nikolai, appendix 166–66
 Poliak, Lev Solomonovich, 40, 185n74, 214n177
 Polonskii, I. B. and L. A., appendix 166–57
polnoustav, 38
 possession
 as a creative phenomenon, 89–90, 92, 110
 and normalcy, 67
 primitivists, book-making experiments by, 8
 Prizhivotov, Hans. *Artistry of the Mentally Ill*, 13, 17, 91
 Public Library manuscript. *See* “Tale About the Possessed Woman Solomoniea, The ‘‘Povest’ o besnovatoy zhene Solomonii’’
 Puni, Ivan, xxvii, appendix 165, 176n33, 179n33
 Pyman, Avriil, xxvii, 190n61, 201n60, 212n15
 Queneau, Raymond, 88
 Rannit, Alexis, xxvii, 179n23
 readers/viewers. *See* audience (readers/viewers)
 Remizov, Alexei
 and Amfiteatrov, 81, 100–101, 112, 146, 150, 194n13, 200n17, 201n33, 204n81, 205n93
 artistic training of, 19–20, 179n47
 and Blok, xxx, 7, 50, 52–54, 58–63, 128, 189n39, 195n50
 as “drawing writer,” 21
 earnings from manuscript books and albums, 21–22, 39–40, 127, 180n57–59
 as eccentric, xxx, 3, 16, 130–31
 in exile, 4–5, 51, 54, 62–63, 177n39
 graphic duties (fig. 6.13), 135–36, 136
 as intermediary, 140
 as Kukonnikov, 5–6, 24, 56, 181n69
 living spaces of, 17, 19, 11, 210n79
 marriage of, 103–4, 106, 107–8, 109, 110. *See also* Remizova-Dovgello, Serafima Pavlovna
 nearsightedness of, 20

photographic: (fig. 1.1), 18; (fig. 1.6), 23; (fig. 6.14), 133; (fig. A2), xxxiii; (fig. B1), 148
 place in Russian literature, xxviii
 red as color of, 55, 62, 189n34, 205n93
 as scribe, 40–41, 44–45
 as shaman, 128, 170–72, 178
 signature: (fig. A2), xxxii, xxv, 137; (fig. A3), xxxii
 as storyteller, 133, 134
 technical skills, xxvi, 176n33, 181n69
 toy collection of, 17, 131–32, 149, 219n203
 as wizard (fig. 1.3), 18, 130
 word usage of, 134–35
 Remizov, Alexei, albums, illustrated
Alive to Me, Dead Flowers (*Zhivye mne meryetsy tovary*), 6–7, 152–53; **plate 1**, (fig. B3), 152, appendix 171
Bear Lullaby (*Molodchitsya kolybel’ naia*), appendix 155–56
Contemporaries and Ancestors (*Sovremenniki i predki*), appendix 154–57
The Dark Night (*Noch’ temnaya*), appendix 157
Fairy Tale (*Skazka*), 40, 185n74
Fairy Tales III (*Skazki III*), appendix 171
Fairy Tales IV (*Skazki IV*), appendix 171–72
Fierce Beasts (*Lisuty zverei*), appendix 158–59
From Gogol (*Iz Gogolia*) (fig. B1), 150, 151, appendix 172
Froxy Fishnets (*Moroznye zaryby*), appendix 159–60
Gavrilov’s Tale (*Gavrilova povest*), 28, 27n11
Iz Lesova, 149
Kourinas, 147
The Legend of Solomon and Kitovost (*Legenda o Solomone i Kitovoste*) (fig. A2), xxxii, xxx, 113, appendix 164–64
Leski, appendix 167–69
The Little Monk (*Monashok*), 40, 185n64
Lisuty zverei, 149
The Lost Letter (*Propravshais gramata*), 149, appendix 163
Marouan. *See* *Marouan* (album, 1938)
Martyry Zudeba: Book of Dreams (*Martyry Zudeba Senniki*), 46, 175
Mummies in Russia (*Momonie en Russie*), 11
My Flowers (*Dreams*): *Tales from the Fourth Dimension*, 46
On the Ocean of Air (*Na vozdukhom okeane v Dans L’ocean aerienn*), appendix 157–58
Party-table (*Ladushki*), appendix 160
Siberian Tale. *See* *Siberian Tale* (*Sibirskii sbazh*) (album, 1940)
Solntse i mesiatz, 149
Solomonie. *See* *Solomonie* (French, Remizov album, 1935)
Solomonie. *See* *Solomonie* (Amherst album, 1935)
Solomonie. *See* *Solomonie* (Chelizhov album, 1935)
Solomonie (fig. 1.1), 18; (fig. 1.6), 23; (fig. 6.14), 133; (fig. A2), xxxiii; (fig. B1), 148
 place in Russian literature, xxviii
 red as color of, 55, 62, 189n34, 205n93
 as scribe, 40–41, 44–45
 as shaman, 128, 170–72, 178
 signature: (fig. A2), xxxii, xxv, 137; (fig. A3), xxxii
 as storyteller, 133, 134
 technical skills, xxvi, 176n33, 181n69
 toy collection of, 17, 131–32, 149, 219n203
 as wizard (fig. 1.3), 18, 130
 word usage of, 134–35
 Remizov, Alexei, albums, illustrated
Alive to Me, Dead Flowers (*Zhivye mne meryetsy tovary*), 6–7, 152–53; **plate 1**, (fig. B3), 152, appendix 171
Bear Lullaby (*Molodchitsya kolybel’ naia*), appendix 155–56
Contemporaries and Ancestors (*Sovremenniki i predki*), appendix 154–57
The Dark Night (*Noch’ temnaya*), appendix 157
Fairy Tale (*Skazka*), 40, 185n74
Fairy Tales III (*Skazki III*), appendix 171
Fairy Tales IV (*Skazki IV*), appendix 171–72
Fierce Beasts (*Lisuty zverei*), appendix 158–59
From Gogol (*Iz Gogolia*) (fig. B1), 150, 151, appendix 172
Froxy Fishnets (*Moroznye zaryby*), appendix 159–60
Gavrilov’s Tale (*Gavrilova povest*), 28, 27n11
Iz Lesova, 149
Kourinas, 147
The Legend of Solomon and Kitovost (*Legenda o Solomone i Kitovoste*) (fig. A2), xxxii, xxx, 113, appendix 164–64
Leski, appendix 167–69
The Little Monk (*Monashok*), 40, 185n64
Lisuty zverei, 149
The Lost Letter (*Propravshais gramata*), 149, appendix 163
Marouan. *See* *Marouan* (album, 1938)
Martyry Zudeba: Book of Dreams (*Martyry Zudeba Senniki*), 46, 175
Mummies in Russia (*Momonie en Russie*), 11
My Flowers (*Dreams*): *Tales from the Fourth Dimension*, 46
On the Ocean of Air (*Na vozdukhom okeane v Dans L’ocean aerienn*), appendix 157–58
Party-table (*Ladushki*), appendix 160
Siberian Tale. *See* *Siberian Tale* (*Sibirskii sbazh*) (album, 1940)
Solntse i mesiatz, 149
Solomonie. *See* *Solomonie* (French, Remizov album, 1935)
Solomonie. *See* *Solomonie* (Amherst album, 1935)
Solomonie. *See* *Solomonie* (Chelizhov album, 1935)

The Sorcerer’s Fair (*Sorochinitsa iarmarka*), 149; (fig. 1.1), 7, 8; appendix 181–63
Sud 1a, 149, 185n59
Tales from the Fourth Dimension. *See* *Tales from the Fourth Dimension*
There Lived a House Spirit (*Domezhil Domesoi*), 122, appendix 156–57
There’s a Ball at Five (*U boy ball, 40, 185n64*
Tristan and Isolde (*Tristan i Izolda*), 150, 151, appendix 172
Volk-Samogoi, 149
The Willow (*Verba*), 40, 185n64
The Witch (*Vol’na Koboka*), appendix 161
Zlata-Morova, 147
 Remizov, Alexei, drawings
 “From the Book of the Dead” (“*Iz knigi mertykh*”), 137
Pictures for the Little Ones, 9
 Remizov, Alexei, published works
Book of the Dove (*Solobinitsa kniga*), 4
Chudobnyye Tani. *Sibirskii sbazh*, 114
The Circle of Happiness (*Krug shchast’ia*), 113
The Clock (*Chasy*), 180n51, 184n51
 “The Crow-Plume Scribe” (“*Pisets’-volnye pero*”) (part 3 of *The Dancing Demon*), 38–39, 41–42
The Dancing Demon (*Plushchibii demon*), 38, 41–44
 “Drawings by Writers,” 21, 23, 24
 “Exhibition of Writers’ Drawings,” 21
A Girl’s Lament Before Marriage (*Plach devushki pered zamuzhenstvom*), 115
The Indefatigable Dream (*Necessnoy kuberni*), 116
In the Pine Grove (*V rosnom boku*), 104, 106–7, 109
 “Legends Through the Ages” (story cycle), xxx, 112, 134
 “Manuscripts and Drawings of A. Remizov” (“*Rukopisi i risunki A. Remizova*”), 5
Martin Zudeba: Book of Dreams (*Martyry Zudeba Senniki*), 46, 175
Midnight Sun (*Polnochnnoye solntse*), 180n55
Music Teacher (*Lishti’ muzyk*), 179n48
Olia, 104, 106–8, 209
 “Olia,” 203n63
On first Linnæus: Récits de la quatrième dimension; *Contes et légendes*: *Marouan* in, 187n12
Solomonie in, 62, 88–89, 92
Passionel (*Brenovayel*), 119–118. *See also* “Solomonie” (*Passionel* (*Brenovayel*), Opleshnik ed., 1951)
Russia in Wit (*Russiya v pishnoubk*), 29, 38, 44
 “Russkii povest’ XVIIgo veka o besnovatoy Solomonie.” *See* “*Solomonie*” (*Usta Russii*, 1901)
 “Sava Gradyanyn,” 10, 111

Siberian Gingerbread (*Sibirskii priamii*), 117-16, 146
Siberian Tale (*Sibirskii skaz*) (book, 1921), 129, 137
Splinter (*Sverer*), 130
Suvovitsa (*Poonson*), 115, 132, 131, 184n58, 187n2
Tale of the Two Beasts: Ikhdalat, 137
 "To the Stars" ("K zvezdam"), 62-63, 191n70
 "Wandering One" ("Bespriutnitsa"), 108-9, 204n72
With Clipped Eyes (*Podrizhivennyi glazami*) (*Les Yeux tranchés*), xvii, 20, 41, 51, 179n47
With Fowls (*Plume*) (*Plumierung peron*), 133
Zemgorodok oklikaevy, 116
 Remizova, Maria, née Naidevna (mother), 202n51, 203n73-74
 Remizova-Dovgola, Serafima Pavlovna
 assistance in R's work, 44
 as calligraphy teacher, 29
 death of, 67-7, 152
 dedications to, 111, 137, 146, appendix 160
 marriage of as breaking of chastity vow, 103-4, 106
 as Olla, 107-8
 photograph (fig. 5.1), 105
 R's memories of, 44, 146, 186n92
 and "Solomonida," xxx
 Reznikoff archive, 147, appendix 164-72
 Reznikova (Reznikoff) Natalia¹⁷, 17, 39, 104, 110, 134, appendix 184, 167, 171, 193n54
 Riazanovskiy, Ivan, 47
 Rozanov, Vasilii, 27, 203n86
 Sade, Marquis de, 87, 88-89
 Schwitters, Kurt, xxvii
 sensory abilities, 60
See also music; sound; vision and hearing, convergence of
 Severianin Igor¹⁸, appendix 165
 Shaginian, Marietta, 52
 shamans and shamanism
 (*shovsvia*)
 and communication with animals, 137-38
 and dreams, 135-37
 and ecstasy, 129, 158
 as intermediary, 138, 140
 liminality of, 128-29
 madness as creativity and, 130, 200n76
 as magicians, 129-32
 and nonverbal communications, 114-35
 role in R's life, xxx, 19
 sharing of dwelling with spirit helpers, 131
 and *Siberian Tale* album, 114-15
 sources of R's knowledge of, 15, 207n13
 and story telling, 112-35
 and string with talismans (fig. 6.12), 127, 137

visual imagery in, 114-15
 as wizards, 129-30
 Shchegolev, P. E., appendix 166
 Shchepkin, Iliia, 29
 Shestov, Lev, xxvii, appendix 164, 213n105
 Shipovalov, A. D., appendix 161
Siberian Tale (*Sibirskii skaz*) (album, 1920)
 as departure from earlier albums, 113-14
 and ethnographic studies, xxx, 111, 120-21
 Reznikoff album, 112-13, 119, appendix 170-71
 third drawing, 116, **plate 9**; fourth drawing, 121, **plate 12**; fifth drawing, 115-16, 137-38, 206n4, **plate 14**; eighth drawing (fig. 6.4), 119, 120, ninth drawing (fig. 6.10a), 125, 126, tenth drawing, 119, **plate 10**; twelfth drawing (fig. 6.7a), 121, 123; thirteenth drawing, 121, **plate 13**; last drawing, 121, **plate 11**
 RGALI album, 114, 127, 158, 206n61 (fig. 6.16), 138, 139
 Sira, Albert, 114
skoropi
 in early albums, 16, 21, 149
 history, 38, 184n56
 in *Marsus* (fig. 2.5a), 35, 37, 38
 in *Siberian Tale*, 21, 114
 in *Solomonida* (Amherst album), 30
 in *Tales*, 40
See also calligraphy
 Sokolov-Mikitov, K. S., appendix 166
 Sologub, Fyodor, xxviii
Solomonie (French, Reznikoff album, 1933), 68, appendix 169-70
 collage with inscription, 87, **plate 7**
 dedication, 193n54
 differences in text, 87
 "The First Night," 85, **plate 5**
 "St. Feodora," 75, 85, **plate 4**
 "The Tenth Night," 85, **plate 6**
 "The Universe Is an Act of Pleasure"
 ("Univers est un acte de volupté"), 87, 170, **plate 8**
 "Solomonie la Possédée" (French, *Confluences*, 1943), 67, 92, 194n58
 "Solomonie la Possédée" (French, *Hippocrate*, 1933)
 foreword to, 92, 196n61
 illustrations in, 81-82, 88-89
 Lely translation of, 92
 publication of, 67
 "Solomonie la Possédée" (French, *Oil tint* *Essai*, 1947), 67, 85, 88-89, 92
Solomonie (Amherst album, 1924)
 compared to Chizhov album, 81, 85
 dedication, 193n54
 drawings, 76; "The First Night" (fig. 5.1), 94-95; "The First Night" and "The Tenth Night" (fig. 4.8), 81, 86; "Priest Lakov" (fig. 4.3), 76, 79; "Solomonida flanked by

the forces of good and evil" (fig. 4.7b), 84; "Solomonida tortured by the demons" (fig. 4.5b), 80, 82; "Solomonida with the Saints Prokopii and Ioann" (fig. 4.6b), 81, 82
 foreword and characters (fig. 4.2), 76, 78
 inscription (*zapis*) (fig. 4.4), 30, 76, 80, 82
 page from (fig. 4.1), 76, 77, 94
 as a publication of the story, 68, 192n5
 script with images in, 149
 visual sources of, 74-75
Solomonie (Chizhov album, 1923)
 compared to Amherst album, 81, 85
 description, 81-82, 196n62
 drawings, 85-86; "Solomonida flanked by the forces of good and evil" (fig. 4.7a), 82, 83; "Solomonida tortured by the demons" (fig. 4.5a), 80, 82; "Solomonida with the Saints Prokopii and Ioann" (fig. 4.6a), 80, 82
 and folk art, 76
 narrative of, 149
Solomonie (French translation). *See Solomonie* (French, Reznikoff album, 1935)
Solomonida, original seventeenth-century story.
See "Tale About the Possessed Woman Solomonida, The" ("Povest' o besnovom zhené Solomonide")
 "Solomonida" (*Povest' [Benevolny]*) Opleshnik ed., 1951
 alterations from original story, 197n73
 autobiographical elements, 8-9, 110, 111
 drafts, 92, 97-98, 111
 foreword and preface to, 81, 90, 103
 as hymn to love, 110-12, 199n81, 205n90
 normalcy in, 9
 portrayal of marriage in, 96
 publication of, 67
 "Solomonida" (*Vilia Rossi*, 1929)
 and Amiteator, 102
 changes from original story, 94, 96
 dating of, 193n6
 as first publication, 67, 100
 role of parents in, 94
 as text of Amherst album, with changes, 76, 81
 "Solomonija" (Serbian, *Kash Arbite*, 1931)
 foreword, 81, 100-101, 102, 201n1
 publication of, 67
 Sosnov, Konstantin, 5
 sounds
 in *Marsus*, 49-50; (fig. 3.2d), 51, 61-62
 reading aloud, 38-39, 184n60, 184n62
See also color and sound
 spiritual/carnal duality in *Solomonida*, 102-3
 Spitsyn, A.
 atlas of shamanistic images: bears (fig. 6.8, fig. 6.9), 121, 124; bronze figure (fig. 6.13),

126, 128; duck (fig. 6.11), 126; frog (fig. 6.10c), 124; hare (fig. 6.7b), 121, 123; owl (fig. 6.1a), 116, 116; *nald* image (fig. 6.1c), 116, 117
 as ethnographer, 135
 Semenov, Yuravna, 25, 182n1
 Sepun, Hektor, appendix 166
 storytelling, 112-35
 Stroganov Art School, 19-20
 succubi and surrealism, 83
 surrealism
 and art of the mentally ill, 12, 16
 and dreams, 45-46
 and erotica, 193n5
 and ethnography, xxx
 hysteria and possession, 81, 89-91
 and Marquis de Sade, 85, 88-89, 193n50, 196n61
 and possession, 81, 89-91
 and primitive art, 13
 and *Solomonie*, xxx, 88-89
 symbolism of numbers, 101-2, 200n53
 symbolist movement
 book-making in, xxix, 27
 ecstasy and, 138, 140
 life-creation (*zhiznecvoenie*) in, xxix
 music and, 64
 reader/viewer in, 9
 R's place in, xxix
 and shamanistic *kamlenie*, 138, 140
 and synthetic art, 64-65
 synesthesia, xxviii, xxix, 49, 114, 145, 196n72. *See also* color and sound; music; vision and bearing, convergence of
 synthetic art
 and illuminated manuscripts, 22
 in *Marsus*, 7, 49
 R's striving for, xxvii, xxix
 in symbolist movement, 64-65
 "Tale About the Possessed Woman Solomonida, The" ("Povest' o besnovom zhené Solomonide")
 Amiteator's use of, 98-101, 102, 200n12
 history of text, 69, 192n11
 in inscription to Amherst album, 81
 psychoanalytic interpretation of *Solomonida*, 74, 98-101
 R's adaptations of, 74, 97-94, 96, 100-102, 202n18
 and Sava Grubyn, 110-11, 205n99-91
 summary of text, 69-74
Tales from the Fourth Dimension (*Récits de la quatrième dimension* [sic]) (album, 1937)
 authorial persona in, 44
 color in, 34, 145
 dedication of, 193n64
 drawings: "The Devil and the Tears," 143, **plate 15** (fig. 6.8), 144; "The Devil and the Tears"; Kandinsky illustration (fig. 6.17),

- 141, 142; "The Geese and the Swans" (fig. 2.3), 33-34; "I Cannot Go Away" (fig. 2.4), 34-35
 inscriptions: (fig. 2.1), 30, 31; (fig. 2.2), 32
 dreams and dream images, 92-140; (fig. 1.2), 9, 10; (fig. 1.3), 9, 11; (fig. 1.4b), 15; (fig. 2.6), 46, 47
 as erotica, 143
 and ethnographic studies, xxx-xxxii
 modernist quality of, 45-47
 techniques used in, 30, 34-35
- Tanguy, Yves, 88
- Tereschenko, A. M., 50-51, 52
- threshold. *See* boundaries, crossing of; liminality
- Tolstoy, Lev, appendix 167
- toys in R's living spaces, 17, 131-32, 146, 215n93
- Turchaninov, Kapiton, 19
- Tynianov, Iurii, 53, 54-65, 181n66
- ustavi*, 38
- Veiner, P. P., 27, 182n11, 182n19
- Vinchon, Jean, 91
- vision and hearing, convergence of, 60-61
- Wagner, Richard, 64, 191n76
- Wölffli, Adolf, 12-13, 91
 (fig. 1.4a), 13, 14
 writers' drawings, 12-23, 150, 181n68-69
- Zamiatin, Evgenii, 53, 188n13
- zapisi*. *See* inscriptions (*zapisi*)
- Zaretsky, Nikolai, 150
- Zelenin, D. K., 126
- Zhdanevich, Ilia, 25
- Zhukovskiy, Vasily, 5

About the Author

Julia Friedman is an assistant professor of art history at the School of International Liberal Studies of Waseda University in Tokyo.



JULIA FRIEDMAN is an assistant professor of art history at the School of International Liberal Studies at Waseda University in Tokyo.