

V. I. Ivanov in Beinecke Rare Book and Manuscript Library, Yale University¹

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Materials concerning Vjačeslav Ivanovič Ivanov that are held in the Beinecke Rare Book and Manuscript Library of Yale University can be broken into four groups. The first group is comprised of original manuscripts by Ivanov, of which two have potentially large significance; this group also includes Ivanov's letters to Vladislav Xodasevič². Secondly, there are manuscripts of works about Ivanov by two of his most significant interpreters, Oľga Aleksandrovna Šor (Deschartes) and Fedor Avgustovič Stepun. Thirdly, there is a multitude of letters and artifacts relating to the rise of academic interest in Ivanov. Lastly, there is a significant body of letters from third parties that shed light on Ivanov's biography and critical reception both in post-war Germany and among the Russian emigre community. The bulk of original materials is located among the papers of Fedor Stepun (Gen. MSS 172), which, unfortunately, reflect only the post-war period, when Stepun and Ivanov had no personal contact. Other relevant manuscript collections at Beinecke are those of Nina Berberova (Gen. MSS 182), Boris Filippov (uncatalogued), Roman Gul' (Gen. MSS 90), Jurij Ivask (Gen. MSS 93), Alexis Rannit (uncatalogued), and Leonid Rževskij (uncatalogued).

Ivanov's MSS

The manuscripts of Ivanov in the papers of Gul' and Stepun are all typescripts, executed by Oľga Šor and intended either for publication or for private

¹ All materials are quoted with the gracious permission of Beinecke Rare Book and Manuscript Library, Yale University (New Haven, Conn.). I would like to express my deep gratitude to the curator of modern European collections Mr Vincent Giroud and all the staff of Beinecke Library who have assisted me in the preparation of this paper, and also to Valerij Blinov, Pamela Davidson, Nikolai Firtich, Inka Gollnisch, Dimitrij Ivanov, and Michael Wachtel for their important advice and assistance. Unless otherwise indicated, materials are from Stepun's papers. Catalogued materials from Beinecke are cited by collection, box, and folder, separated by colons; citations from Ivanov's works, given with volume (Roman numeral) and page (Arabic numeral), refer to the edition: Vjačeslav IVANOV, *Sobranie sočinenij*, I–IV (Bruxelles: Foyer Oriental Chrétien, 1971–1984).

² Ivanov's correspondence with Xodasevič (182:57:1298) was published in its entirety by Nina BERBEROVA in *Novyj žurnal* (no. 62, 1960, pp. 284–289).

edition (*Logos, Zeitschrift für Philosophie der Kultur* II 1911–12)⁷. They collaborated on the journal *Trudy i dni*, published from 1912 to 1915; Stepun's contributions to this journal bear witness to the deep influence Ivanov had on his thought. Their relationship became closer after Ivanov's move to Moscow in 1913, and in 1914 Ivanov dedicated the poem "Demony maskarada" to Stepun. They resumed a correspondence in 1925 after Ivanov reached Rome, but it seems to have continued in a sporadic fashion and only until 1933, after which they apparently had no direct contact⁸. Stepun did help to arrange the German translation and publication of Ivanov's works "Die russische Idee" (translated by Evsej Šor; Tübingen: C. B. Mohr, 1930) and *Dostojevskij* (translated by Alexander Kresling; Tübingen: C. B. Mohr, 1932), as well as his contributions to the journal *Hochland*.⁹ Although, with a secure teaching position at Dresden from 1926 to 1937, Stepun travelled extensively and was able to arrange speaking engagements for Russian émigrés in Germany, he neither travelled to Italy nor invited Ivanov to Germany. The only contact they had seems to have been through the mediacy of mutual acquaintances (see below). Stepun wrote at least nine essays or reviews on Ivanov over a more than fifty-year period,¹⁰ and many of his other writings, especially those concerning the theatre and aesthetics, exhibit Ivanov's clear influence. The following passage can illustrate Stepun's early view of Ivanov:

С высоты могильного холма Владимира Соловьева увидел Вячеслав Иванов смутные очертания страны своих чаяний. своей новой органической эпохи, весь сложный путь пленительнейшего мастера слова прошел он ее ученым топографом, заумным звездочетом и вдохновенным певцом.¹¹

Ivanov's poems "Dveri" and "Derev'ja", are cited at the very beginning of Stepun's memoirs and also appear constantly in his correspondence.

It is noteworthy that the main personal tie between Stepun and Ivanov seems to have been the personality of Ol'ga A. Šor (1894–1978), whom Stepun first met in the mid-1910s through Sergej Gessen, a co-editor of *Logos* (see Šor's letter to Stepun from November 7, 1955; 172:32:1066). Lidija Ivanova recalled that her father met Šor in 1918 or 1919, but a close relationship arose only in

⁷ The Russian State Library holds two letters from Stepun to Ivanov from 1911 concerning Ivanov's essay on Tolstoj (f. 109 k. 34 ed. xr. 79).

⁸ The Ivanov Family Archive in Rome holds four letters from Stepun to Ivanov (from March 15 1925 to October 17 1933), and a draft of Ivanov's letter to Stepun from March 22, 1925. Stepun's first letter and Ivanov's draft are to be published in the forthcoming *Convivium/Beseda*.

⁹ See on this IV 757–758, 760–762.

¹⁰ The fullest list is in Pamela DAVIDSON, *Viacheslav Ivanov: A Reference Guide* (New York: G. K. Hall, 1996); this can be supplemented by a short article Stepun wrote to publicise Ivanov's *Das alte Wahre* (on which see below): F. STEPUN, Wjatscheslaw Iwanow: *Dichten und Trachten* III (1954) 41–43.

¹¹ Fedor STEPUN, *Osnovnye problemy teatra* (Berlin: Slovo, 1923) 105.

Šor's notations and corrections (172:69:2167–8).¹⁶ Stepun's text gives 46 poems from the first half of the collection, about a third of the total number, of which several show significant variation on the printed text. Comparison with Šor's commentary to the Oxford volume show that some of the typescripts reflect an earlier redaction than that printed. Some of the variations, however, are not given by this commentary.¹⁷ "Ščast'e" has an additional, second stanza:

Тот, кто с душою своей разлучается,
 Душу обрящет, – нам Слово ручается.
 Жизни, шадя, не губи.
 Семя, что в глыбах со Смертью встречается,
 Колосом сочным над ветром качается.
 Счастия хочешь? Люби!
 (172:69:2167)

The copy of "Evksin", here entitled "Soči", gives a quite different second stanza with much more concrete images, conveying a much more personal experience:

Что там, за гроздьем лиловых глициний,
 Гладю сверкает алмазисто-синей,
 Маревом реет сквозь куши чинар?
 Влажных сафиров полдневный пожар.
 Я под крайнюю сяду чинару,
 Буду следить убегающий парус
 В дальнюю даль, в розовеющий пар.

The "Rimskij dnevnik 1944-go goda" is much more complete, missing only eight poems¹⁸; of the rest about thirty exhibit significant variations on the published text not included by Šor in her commentary,¹⁹ and many have different or expanded dates. March 1, for example, consists of just three stanzas:

Март, купель моих крестин,
 Месяц верной Поликсены,
 Месяц лома, грома льдин
 И ветров внезапной смены.

¹⁶ Individual poems from *Svet večernij* with Šor's commentary are located in Gul's papers (90:35:831, 90:50:1257; Šor's "Posleslovie" 90:33:760); published in *Novyj žurnal*.

¹⁷ We adduce only the most significant variations. There is also a curious variant, which may simply be a mistyping, in the end of the first stanza of "Kot-vorožej":

Обличья гадов, птиц, шакалов, львиц, коров,
 Какими в дол глядит полдневный мрак бесов.

Apart from the last word this corresponds to the version published in *Sovremennye zapiski* 65 (1937) 165. The version of "Ščast'e" may be identical to that printed in *Moskva* (1918, № 1), noted by V. Markov in his review of volume III of Ivanov's *Sobranie sočinenij* (*Slavic Review* 40/3 [1981] 464–466).

¹⁸ January 8; February 2; March 3; June 1; July 4; November 6, 7, 9.

¹⁹ January 1, 2, 10, 11; February 4, 5, 11; March 1, 2, 6; April 2/1, 3, 11; May 7, 9, 10; June 5; July 3, 7; August 1, 2, 5, 6, 7, 10; September 1, 2, 7, 6; November 1, 5; December 1, 4, 6. Significant variation includes everything from a single different adjective to entire stanzas.

In her letter, Šor does not explain that, as far as can be ascertained, she in fact typed up a revised version of the text that differs significantly from any published version.²⁰ Some of the corrections, additions and abridgements apparent in the Beinecke typescript are clearly marked in Ivanov's hand on the margins of the page proofs, which are still at the Ivanov Family Archive in Rome. Not all of the additions Ivanov indicated in the proofs are followed in Beinecke typescript, including most of the Greek and Latin quotations written in by hand. However, there are also significant additions in the typescript that are not indicated on this surviving copy of proofs. Most importantly, there is a three page excursus on the difference between Dionysus and Christ that is inserted into the introduction to the work on page 7 of the proof text, pages 8 to 10 in the typescript (see Appendix A). Here Ivanov reiterates the similarities and even genetic link between the religion of Dionysus and Christ, but only to point out their fundamental difference: Dionysus is god, not man, and his sufferings do not lead to a salvific descent into death, rather oscillating above the surface of human life. Moreover, Dionysus, although a suffering god, is not merciful, rather the cruelest god on Olympus.

These three pages of text state in no uncertain terms what many readers of "Ėllinskaja religija" had long yearned to hear,²¹ that Ivanov was not identifying Dionysus with Christ and Hellenism with Christianity, rather likening them, comparing them, asserting similarities, while remaining cognizant of the fundamental and unique revelation, transfiguration, and resurrection of Christ. While Ivanov had often hinted at such a view, he never pronounced it with such clarity. What the Beinecke manuscript cannot tell us is when this addition was made by Ivanov. Its accurate dating would bear witness at the very least to a break with a previous tolerance of ambiguity in these matters, if not a fundamental shift in his actual understanding of Dionysus, and, perhaps more importantly, Christ.

MSS by Stepun and Šor

Of the manuscripts by Stepun and Šor, the most notable is a 31 page, untitled, Russian-language typescript by Šor, filed among her letters to Stepun (172:32:1070). Although textually it coincides with portions of articles published elsewhere, in our view it is the fullest single exposition of her understanding of Ivanov's thought and its relation to his biography, apart from her extended introduction to the first volume of Ivanov's *Sobranie sočinenij*. This is important as

²⁰ For the history of the text see N. V. Kotrelev's commentary in *Ėsxil: tragedii* (Moskva 1989) 556–557. It should be noted that both the Russian State Library (RGB) and Ivanov Family Archive in Rome contain abundant materials connected to Ivanov's work on "Ėllinskaja religija" which have not been fully reviewed for this paper: further study is required to ascertain the precise history of the text.

²¹ O. Šor singles out D. Svjatopolk-Mirskij and Berdjaev for their inability to recognize Ivanov's distinction between Dionysus and Christ (*Sobranie sočinenij* II 77–708), but this 'misconception' was practically universal, although it was never addressed directly by Ivanov in print.

Some of Stepun's jottings from Ivanov's essays, along with typescripts of individual poems or essay fragments are filed among Stepun's notes (172:59:1849–50, 172:60:1866, 1871). His papers also include six photographs of Ivanov, all published, and two photographs of Walter Rössler's bust of him (172:70:2100).²³

More significant are the frank views he expresses in the outgoing correspondence that survives among his papers, mainly dating from after 1960, during his work on *Mystische Weltschau*.²⁴ In a letter to Leonid Rževskij from April 16, 1962, Stepun gives his general impression of Ivanov:

Очень он труден, очень сложен, но и очень интересен. Это все же один из самых больших ученых России. Все что он знает, он знает точно, хотя с вполне точными знаниями, как философ и пророк обходится иногда и легковесно. В начале мая еду недели на три в Рим...
(Rževskij papers, Beinecke Library)

Upon his delayed return from Rome, Stepun gives another characteristic assessment of Ivanov in his letter to Vladimir Markov from January 23, 1963:

Вячеслава Иванова я (...) довольно близко знал и как поэта всегда ценил. Хотя иногда и отталкивался от слишком большой пышности его творчества. Особенно циклы сонетов и «Венки Сонетов» ощущались мною уж слишком риторически-декламационными. Но его значение измеряется, как мне кажется, прежде всего тем, что он как поэт до конца рос. В «Римском дневнике» и в целом ряде других стихотворений, вошедших сейчас в большой том в Оксфорде («Свет вечерний») очень много глубокого и прекрасного. Есть эти стихи (sic) совсем на бытовой лад простые, которые можно было бы принять почти за бунинские.

Work on Ivanov's portrait for *Mystische Weltschau* likewise brought Stepun to ponder more deeply Ivanov's view of the Church. Despite Šor's explanations, Stepun remained confused by Ivanov's 1926 conversion to Catholicism; confessing to Ivan Morozov, editor of the *Vestnik Russkogo Xristianskogo Dviženija*:

Его размышления о католичестве, как об аполитическом вселенском христианстве и о православии как об исторически-ущербленном национальном вероисповедании – все же весьма субъективно. Написал я Вам это так потому, что попало под руку, прошу пока этого не распространять. У меня есть на это свои веские соображения.

(Letter of March 29, 1962; 172:23:792)

Stepun was the first to relinquish the role of critic and memoirist for that of an academic student who is most of all concerned with organizing Ivanov's various

²³ The photographs were sent to Stepun by O. A. Šor in the years following Ivanov's death in 1949, as documented in her correspondence with Stepun. Most of the photographs have been published in Ivanov's four-volume collected works, one was published by Alexis Rannit in his article "Vyacheslav Ivanov and His Vespertine Light: Notes from My Critical Diary of 1966 (*Russian Literature Triquarterly* 4 [1972] 265–288). The photographs of Walter Rössler's bust of Ivanov are accompanied by letters from the sculptor, one from July 3, 1949, in which he asks about Ivanov, and from October 30, 1953, where he mentions sending Stepun the reproductions (172:28:964).

²⁴ Stepun only began to preserve carbon copies of outgoing correspondence in 1961 or so. Outgoing letters from before that date are few and randomly distributed.

archive, along with English translations of poems he discussed by Lowry Nelson, Jr., Denis Mickiewicz, and others.

Another significant milestone in the study of Vjačeslav Ivanov, the publication of his collected works, is also illuminated by Rannit's correspondence with Ol'ga Šor, as well as by Boris Filippov's correspondence with both. In March 1964, Filippov visited New Haven on his way to Rome. At this meeting, Rannit apparently suggested to Filippov, by that time the editor of Gumilev's works and soon to undertake the works of Mandel'stam, Axmatova and Kljuev, that he arrange with Šor and Dimitrij Ivanov for the publication of Ivanov's works. Filippov did so, and his subsequent correspondence with Šor, lasting from April of 1964 to 1969 and numbering 19 outgoing letters and 8 from Šor (some also signed by D. V. and L. V. Ivanov), testifies to the dedication of this editorial team. The work moved slowly, but by 1968 the first volume was ready to be printed, and Filippov travelled to Rome in July and August for negotiations. While Filippov eventually did not publish the works, it would appear that he was an important catalyst in a process that did result in Ivanov's *Sobranie sočinenij* being published, beginning in 1971, by the Brussels-based Foyer Oriental Chrétien, under the editorship of Ivanov's longtime companion Ol'ga Šor and his son, Dimitrij. It is interesting to speculate whether a closer association to such poets as Gumilev, Axmatova, Mandel'stam and Kljuev, might not have contributed to a different reception of Ivanov the poet.

Testimonies

The last group of materials to be discussed here is an array of letters from various people, mostly to Stepun, which supplement the picture that has begun to form regarding Ivanov's last years. One connecting link between the two men was Boris K. Zajcev, who on September 16, 1946 reported to Stepun:

Вячеслав Иванов жив, в Риме, служит в Ватиканской библиотеке, ходит в гости к папе. (172:38:1327)

On a later trip Zajcev related:

Встретили во Флоренции Вейдле²⁸, а в Риме был у Вяч. Иванова – очень стар, сердце слабое, ходить почти не может, но голова ясна. Работает понемногу – 83 года!
(Letter of May 2, 1949; 172:38:1327)²⁹

Another source of information was Victor Leontovitsch (Viktor Vladimirovič Leontovič, 1902–1959), an émigré legal and church historian, who had worked in Rome law institutes during the war years.³⁰ Following the war he returned to

²⁸ Vladimir Veidle (Wladimir Weidlé, 1895–1979) — émigré critic, art historian and poet.

²⁹ Zajcev recorded this trip to Italy in an article, published after Ivanov's death: *Italija. Vnov' v Rime: Russkaja mysl'* n. 166, August 21, 1949, pp. 3–4.

³⁰ On Leontovitsch see his necrology by Helmut NEUBAUER in *Jahrbücher für Geschichte Osteuropas* Bd. 7 H. 3 S. 395.

Apart from this one isolated case, Stepun was the more active of the two old acquaintances. He seems to have served as the main intermediary between Ivanov and literary Germany, probably due to the constant stream of articles on Ivanov streaming from beneath his quill. In this, Stepun was actually reprising the role he had fulfilled in the years following Ivanov's emigration to Italy. A letter from R. Piper & Co. Verlag from July 29, 1960 indicates that Stepun had recommended Ivanov's study of Dostoevskij for republication (172:28:968). On a trip to Rome in May 1962, intended for the study of Ivanov's archive, Stepun received the Ivanov family blessing for a reprint edition of "Prozračnost" planned by Dimitrij Tschizewskij.³⁴ Stepun also attempted, unsuccessfully, to interest the Theater am Gärtnerplatz of the Bayerisches Staatstheater in staging Lidija Vjačeslavovna Ivanova's opera "Der Raub der Schwiegermutter" (see Stepun's correspondence with the theatre: 172:34:1157, Šor's letter from July 20, 1962: 172:32:1067, and Stepun's letter to Dimitrij V. Ivanov from October 25, 1962: 172:15:511).³⁵

But Stepun's promotion of Ivanov went beyond such individual cases. The Second World War caused tremendous displacement in the intellectual communities of Western Europe. Anticipating the process of reorientation that was bound to occur after the war's end, Dimitrij Tschizewskij wrote to Stepun on October 26, 1944:

(...) мы все сидим на небольших скалах среди волнующегося моря, – и если упасть со скалы в море, то Бог его знает, куда оно нас выбросит, во всяком случае навряд ли на ту же самую скалу... (172:34:1170)

Ivanov's stature seems to have been obscured by these geological disruptions. In the post-war years, the first to express to Stepun an interest in publishing Ivanov's works was the founding editor of *Merkur*, Hans Paeschke (born 1911). Paeschke, writing to Stepun in 1946, remembers Ivanov as the man, "to whom I am obliged for the deepest human impressions of my youth" (172:22:767; see full German text in Appendix B). But, he asks, "is he still alive?"³⁶ This question is not uncommon, and is posed also by Sergej Gessen (July 10, 1946: 172:14:470), Ivanov-Razumnik (March 19, 1943: 172:15:514), and Margarita Vološina (Woloschin) through the mediacy of both Kurt Reith of Verlag 'Wort und Geist' (August 31, 1946; 172:27:944), and one Erst Slanina (November 1, 1946; 172:

³³ *World Biography. Fourth Edition of the Biographical Encyclopedia of the World* (New York: Institute for Research in Biography, 1948) pp. 2398, 4538–4539. Dimitrij Ivanov denies that his father ever consented to the use of his name by *World Biography* (personal communication).

³⁴ See Tschizewskij's letters from May 5, June 24, and September 27, 1962 (172:34:1173). The book was published with an introduction by Johannes Holthusen by Fink-Verlag in 1967, as volume 30 of the series "Slavische Propyläen".

³⁵ The name of Lidija Ivanova's opera is in Italian "La suocera rapita", in Russian "Poxiščenie tešč'i". The date of its first staging in Bergamo is given variously as 1956 and 1962 (see: Lidija Vjačeslavovna Ivanova: IV 704–712, p. 708; V. BLINOV, V. RUDIČ, Lidija Ivanova: *Novyj žurnal* 162 (March 1986) 279–283, p. 281).

³⁶ See Paeschke's letter to Ivanov in WACHTEL, *Vjačeslav Ivanov*: 213–214, n. 262.

More practically, Wittkowski, on his return to Europe, was able to compile a collection of previously published essays by Ivanov for publication in the Suhrkamp-Verlag of Frankfurt.⁴¹ Andreas Wolff, the descendent of prominent Russian publishers, turned to Stepun in 1954 to help publicize the book. He explains that, while Ivanov's famed "Correspondence from one corner to another" had been published once since the war,⁴² "the name of Ivanov is undeservedly forgotten" and it is time to remind the German reader that "before 1917 the idea of the West and of Humanism was at home in Moscow and Petersburg" (172:33:1141; see original text in Appendix E). Stepun's short essay was published in Suhrkamp's publicity journal in 1954,⁴³ but any review of the book by Stepun is unknown.

One later letter preserves a glowing assessment of Ivanov by Johannes von Guenther, who had known Ivanov in Petersburg.⁴⁴ In his letter of November 9, 1964, Guenther comments regarding Stepun's *Mystische Weltanschauung*:

Ihr Buch hat mir einen sehr starken Eindruck gemacht, erlauben Sie mir, Ihnen das zu sagen. Und zwar insbesondere ist es Ihr Essay über Wjatscheslaw Iwanow. Sie werden wissen, dass mich manches mit diesem Dichter verband, der mir eine ganze Reihe kostbarer deutscher und russischer Gedichte gewidmet hat. Ausserdem war ich im Frühling und Sommer 1908 drei Monate lang sein Gast und so konnte es nicht ausbleiben, dass sich eine gute Freundschaft einstellte. Die Zeit hat uns dann auseinander gebracht, aber er hat mir noch aus Rom geschrieben und immer wieder Grüße bestellen lassen. Ich selber habe eine ganze Reihe Arbeiten von ihm übersetzt.

Ich glaubte eigentlich, dass ich Iwanow kenne, aber ich sehe, dass man sich nie solchen Gedanken hingeben soll, denn ich glaube, dass ich ihn jetzt erst durch Ihren wunderbaren und unschätzbaren Essay ganz kennen gelernt habe. Und dafür möchte ich Ihnen von Herzen danken. Ich kenne über Iwanow eigentlich nur den grossen Essay meines verstorbenen Freundes Sergej Makowskij, aber ich muss ehrlich sagen, dass diese Arbeit von Ihrer völlig in den Schatten gestellt wird und ich glaube, Sie haben für alle Zukunft das Bild Iwanows damit gezeichnet. (172:13:435)⁴⁵

Other letters in the Stepun archive allow us to see the frank views of leading Russian critics on Ivanov. We see important passages on Ivanov in the letters of Vladimir Markov and Jurij Ivask.⁴⁶ Markov, writing to Stepun on December 17,

⁴¹ *Das alte Wahre. Essays* (Berlin und Frankfurt a. M.: Suhrkamp Verlag, 1954). Wittkowski (1909–1960) wrote to Stepun periodically over the intervening years. They met in Rome in May 1955; shortly after Wittkowski attempted suicide (see Šor's letter from June 6, 1955).

⁴² "Briefwechsel zwischen zwei Zimmerwinkeln" was published in Stuttgart in 1948 by Verlag von Ernst Klett. The translator and editor of the edition, Nicolai von Bubnoff, was a friend and correspondent of Stepun's, but his letters from this period shed no light on this publication.

⁴³ F. STEPUN, Wjatscheslaw Iwanow: *Dichten und Trachten* III (1954) 41–43.

⁴⁴ Guenther (1886–1973) speaks extensively of Ivanov in his memoirs *Ein Leben im Ostwind* (München: Biederstein Verlag, 1969) 120–125, 201–204. On him see WACHTEL, 214–215 n. 265. Beinecke holds the extensive correspondence of Guenther with both Boris Filippov, Gennadij Panin, and Aleksis Rannit, in their respective papers.

⁴⁵ See Sergej MAKOVSKIJ, Vjačeslav Ivanov: *Portrety sovremennikov* (New York: Chekhov Publishing House, 1955) 269–310.

⁴⁶ Ivanov is also mentioned Vjačeslav Ivanov: *Portrety sovremennikov* (New York: Chekhov Publishing House, 1955) 269–310 favorably in W. Szykarski's letter from December 3, 1954 (172:33:1145).

так как это признак близкого конца. В три часа по полудни 16-го он коснулся сердца, произнес «как(ая) тяжесть», и погас как свеча. Память была ясна до последнего часа, но он не думал о смерти. Вы по опыту дорогих потерей знаете что годы ушедшего не имеют значения, и что всякая потеря оставляет в сердце жгучую боль. Эта потеря особенно больна и так что погас такой глубокий источник знания и света, и больно и за то что он унес с собою.

Сердечный привет вам обоим и с глубокой нежностью и тоской жму ваши руки

Ольга Ресневич Синьорелли
(172:32:1074)

Appendix A⁴⁹

Дионисова религия, первая в эллинизме, определила своим направлением водосклон, неудержимо стремивший с тех пор все религиозное творчество к последнему выводу – христианства. В христианстве нуждалась греческая религиозная мысль как в крайнем своем выводе, как в последнем своем еще недоговоренном слове. Но как вода в реках, текущих в море, – не та же, что в море, – так и существо Дионисовой религии совершенно различно от существа христианства. В плане божественного откровения она должна была привить человечеству некоторые категории мистического умозрения, чуждые еврейскому преданию: представления о боге-сыне, единосущном отцу, нисходящем в мир, чтобы пострадать и умереть, о боге воскресающем из царства мертвых и вызывающем на лицо земли людей, которые были уведены им в подземное царство, т.е. в нем умерли. Но если для христианства важна прежде всего единственность сыновнего воплощения, совершенная полнота этого воплощения и единственность тела погребенного и воскресшего, в Дионисовой религии господствует своеобразный докетизм; ни одна из многочисленных эпифаний Дионисовых не окончательна, он никогда не воплощается до конца, его превращения призрачны, он не имеет единственного тела и собственно не имеет тела вообще. Последовательность его богоявлений не имеет конца и цели: и потому он и не искупитель, не воскреситель в эсхатологическом порядке, но животворитель и возродитель в плане космологическом. Нельзя говорить об однородности эллинского и христианского чувствования божественной жертвы уже по той причине, что Дионис есть бог, правда, страдающий, но не сострадающий, что его жертвенное нисхождение есть действие космической необходимости или внутренней закон его бытия, но не подвиг любви, совершаемый «нас ради человек и нашего ради спасения» как гласит никейский Символ Веры. Любви или сострадательности мы сообще не находим в его эллинском характере: напротив, он жесток не менее, а может быть, и более других олимпийцев, он веселится в буре гибели, им причиняемой; все силы и свойства унаследовал он от своего отца, кроме милосердия. Правда, трагедия, искусство по преимуществу дионисийское, должна была по Аристотелю возбуждать в зрителе чувство сострадания, но по тому же Аристотелю, чувство это должно было быть возбуждено только для того, чтобы душевное равновесие зрителя, восстановленное целительным действием трагедии, не нарушалось более избытком этого чувства: таким же образом возбуждала трагедия и страх, чтобы зритель в результате ее воздей-

⁴⁹ The typescript from F. Stepun's papers in Beinecke Library (172:69:2166) is in the old orthography and carries handwritten additions, mostly of Latin and Greek words, in O. Šor's hand, and F. Stepun's notations. The latter are not indicated, orthography is modernized, and obvious mistypings are corrected. The published text, on pp. 8–11 of the typescript, continues the paragraph that begins with the words: «„Пассии“ Диониса», after the words «темный и сложный феномен вселенского значения», falling on p. 115 of the original publication in *Novyj put'* (1904, № 1, pp. 110–134), pp. 6–7 of the page proofs. After this extended paragraph the typescript resumes the text of the journal and book publication, from the words «И здесь мы опять касаемся основного недоумения».

sein Werk, abgesehen von dem Dostojewski-Buch nur in einigen verstreuten Aufsätzen in der „Corona“ und im früheren „Hochland“ bekannt wurde. Vieles ist wohl noch nicht übersetzt.

Soeben erfahre ich, dass Sie an eine Professur in München berufen wurden. Ich verbinde meine herzlichsten Glückwünsche für diese Ernennung mit dem Ausdruck meiner ergebensten Hochachtung

Ihr
Hans Paeschke

Letter 2

Hans Paeschke
Herrn
Prof. Fedor Stepun
München
Mauerkirchenstr. 52

20. August 1949

Lieber Herr Professor,
soeben erfahre ich den Tod von Wjatscheslaw Iwanoff. Es wäre wirklich nicht gerecht, Berdjajew⁵⁵ gross zu würdigen und Iwanoff nicht. Können Sie mir einen Rat geben, wer das am besten könnte? Arthur Luther⁵⁶ scheint mir nicht ganz geeignet. Heiseler, der mir von dem Tod berichtete, auch nicht (auch hat er darüber schon in der neuen Zeitung geschrieben⁵⁷). Wer hätte das Zeug dazu? Würden Sie selbst die Aufgabe übernehmen wollen?

(...)

Herzlichst
Ihr
Hans Paeschke
In Abwesenheit gezeichnet:
Kizelmann (?)

Letter 3

Hans Paeschke
Herrn
Prof. Dr. Fedor Stepun
München
Mauerkirchenstr. 52

30. August 1949

Lieber Herr Professor,
(...)

Zu Iwanow: Sie wissen, dass ich Stammier sehr schätze.⁵⁸ Ich weiss hingegen, dass Stammier immer sehr wenig Zeit hat. Ich warte seit vielen Monaten auf einen von ihm versprochenen Essay über amerikanische Kriegsliteratur. Wenn Sie unserem Freunde, sagen wir väterlich mahnend so zureden könnten, dass er den Iwanow bald macht – es könnte ja ruhig kurz sein, zwischen 5 und 10 Seiten, aber konzentriert – wäre ich Ihnen sehr dankbar. Das Buch von Iwanow über Dostojewski, das beste über den Dichter, das ich kenne, könnte ich selbst Stammier zur Verfügung stellen. Mit Weidle⁵⁹ bin ich gut bekannt, man könnte auch an ihn denken, wenn Stammier nicht kann.

⁵⁵ Nikolaj Berdjajev had died on March 24, 1948. The proposed essay on Berdjajev did appear; see: Nikolaj Berdjajev: *Merkur* 20 Jg. 3 Heft 10 (1949) 953–969.

⁵⁶ Arthur Luther (1876–1955) — prominent German Slavist.

⁵⁷ We have been unable to trace this reference.

⁵⁸ Heinrich Stammier — German scholar of American literature, subsequently a prominent American Slavist was a close friend of Stepun's in Germany.

⁵⁹ On Wladimir Weidlé see above n. 28.

Appendix D

Letters from Victor Wittkowski⁶³

Letter 1

Rio de Janeiro, den 15. VII [1949]
111 Badeira da Gloria
Quarto 20

Sehr geehrte Herr Stepun,
<...>

Ganz besonders wertvoll ist mir auch das letzte Kapitel Ihres Buches⁶⁴ „Das geistige Leben in Moskau und Petersburg“ geworden, das nicht nur kühl registriert, sondern auch die Atmosphäre einer schon abgeschlossenen Epoche wiedergibt. Ich ersehe aus diesem Kapitel mit grosser Genugtuung und Freude, welche eine grosse Hochachtung Sie für den Dichter und Denker Wjatscheslaw Iwanow hegen, den auch ich für einen der bedeutendsten geistigen Vertreter nicht nur dieser Epoche und nicht nur Russlands halte.

<...>

Mit der vorzüglichsten Hochachtung
Victor Wittkowski

Letter 2

Rio de Janeiro, den 4. X. 1949
111 Ladeira da Gloria
Brasilien

Sehr geehrter Herr Professor Stepun,
<...>

Ihr freundliches Anerbieten, mir den zweiten Band Ihrer Lebenserinnerungen zu senden, akzeptiere ich dankbar, denn dieser Band hat den Weg anscheinend noch nicht hergefunden. Ganz besonders würden Sie mich verbinden, wenn Sie mir noch einige Erinnerungen an Wjatscheslaw Iwanow aufschreiben könnten, sozusagen eine Nachlese zum persönlichen Gebrauch. Dieser russische Dichter und Gelehrte interessiert mich sehr, und zwar nicht nur – wenn auch in erster Linie – als Geist, sondern auch als Erscheinung. Äusserungen von ihm, die Ihnen im Gedächtnis geblieben sind, Tendenz und Geste – all das wäre mir äusserst wertvoll zur Ergänzung meines unvollkommenen Bildes dieser russischen Persönlichkeit, die so tief ins Europäische des Raumes und der Zeit gewachsen ist. Hätte ich das, was ich nicht habe, Namen und Einfluss, so würde ich diese Dinge dazu verwenden, dieser grossartigen Erscheinung den Nobelpreis zu verschaffen, den Sie mit tausendfach mehr Berechtigung erhalten würde als die üblichen Clowns. Aber vielleicht darf ich mir die grosse Freiheit nehmen, Sie, verehrter Herr, zu einer solchen Intervention zu animieren. Als Universitätsprofessor und Schriftsteller haben Sie das Recht, einen solchen Schritt in Stockholm zu unternehmen. <...>

Mit den besten Wünschen für Sie und Ihre Arbeit, ganz besonders Ihre literarische
bin ich Ihr sehr ergebener
<...>
Victor Wittkowski

⁶³ In all there are six letters from Wittkowski to Stepun, two of which remain outside our attention here: from February 28, 1951, and from August 28, 1951. The two letters from 1955 are handwritten postcards, the rest are typescript letters (172:38:1311).

⁶⁴ Wittkowski speaks of the first volume of the German edition of Stepun's memoirs, published in 1947.

Appendix E

Letter from Andreas Wolff⁶⁷

17. 2. 1954 W/H

Herrn
Prof. Dr. Fedor Stepun
München
üb. Universität München

Sehr verehrter Herr Professor –

Innerhalb der „Bibliothek Suhrkamp“ geben wir unter dem Titel „Das Alte Wahre“ etwa sieben Essays von Wjatscheslaw Iwanow in diesem Frühjahr heraus. Es handelt sich um folgende Beiträge: Terror Antiquus / Der Sinn der antiken Tragödie / Anima / Vergils Historiosophie / Gogol und Aristophanes. Wie Sie wissen, hat Iwanow in den dreissiger Jahren eine ganze Reihe Beiträge in der Zeitschrift „Corona“ veröffentlicht und war durch seine „Korrespondenz mit Gerschenson“ damals zu mindest in den literarisch interessierten Kreisen Deutschlands bekannt. Nach dem Kriege ist die „Korrespondenz“ wohl noch einmal erschienen, aber der Name Iwanow ist unverdienterweise völlig in Vergessenheit geraten. Darüber hinaus werden Sie uns wahrscheinlich recht geben wenn wir der Ansicht sind, dass der heutige Leser völlig vergessen hat, dass vor 1917 ein wirklich europäisches Russland existiert hat und dass die Idee des Westens und des Humanismus durchaus auch im damaligen Moskau und Petersburg zu Hause war. Dies möchten wir mit der Veröffentlichung der Essays von Iwanow innerhalb der „Bibliothek Suhrkamp“ wieder in Erinnerung bringen. Sie werden sicherlich verstehen, dass die Durchsetzung des Buches von Iwanow unter den heutigen Umständen manche Schwierigkeiten bereiten wird. <...>

Wir möchten sie, sehr verehrter Herr Professor, heute fragen, ob Sie nicht die Möglichkeit für sich sehen, uns einen kleinen Beitrag über Iwanow, den Sie sicherlich bekannt haben, und zwar über seine Persönlichkeit und Bedeutung innerhalb des russischen aber auch europäischen Geisteslebens, für die neue Jahresschau zur Verfügung zu stellen. <...>

mit besten Grüßen
Ihr sehr ergebener
SUHRKAMP VERLAG

<signatur>
(Andreas Wolff)

Сердечный привет
и поздравление!
Уважающий Вас
Андрей Вольф
(внук М. О. Вольфа
Петербург–Москва)⁶⁸

⁶⁷ Typescript letter on printed stationery of Suhrkamp Verlag. In all Stepun's papers include seven letters from Suhrkamp Verlag from 1954–55 (172:33:1141).

⁶⁸ The Russian text written in by hand.